

CLASSICAL UZBEK (CHAGATAY) AÇUQ YARUQ:  
AN EXAMPLE OF LEXICALIZATION OF COORDINATED WORDS

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In Yūsuf Amīrī's famous satire, *Bang u Čagir* (The Bang and the Wine) we read the following prosodic insert:

330v: 10 Ba'zī šigufṭahātir va ḥwašvaqt gul bigin,

11 Ba'zī banafša dek salīban bašlarin goyī.

Ba'zī kalāča birlä avunup açuq yaruq,

331r: 1 Ba'zī gatip tamaği gurup ağzida suyī.

It sums up the impression the poet got while, already under the influence of *majoön* that he had just tossed down, he was observing a strange group of people engaged, in a corner, in enjoying wine and opium. Scrutinizing them closely he found that "Some of them were lighthearted and happy like roses. Others, like violets, were hanging their heads. Still others were openly indulging in small cakes of opium. Others, their palates dry, were pouring water down in their throats.

The term *açuq yaruq* had caught the attention of G. Alpay, the editor of Amīrī's text in Latin transcription,<sup>2</sup> and in a note she provided the following information: "It seems that the verb *avun*-that preceds *açuq yaruq* assumes a complete sense with the help of these words. Connected with this is in Kāshgharī [*'s Divān Luġat at-turk* the twin-verb] *yaru-yaşu* [meaning] 'to enjoy, to rejoice'. We must only think of the possibility that *açuq* in the text was erroneously copied from such a [derivative] *yaşuq*, although this idea is not [to be taken as] mandatory."<sup>3</sup> What Alpay suggests is that *açuq yaruq* in the *Bang u Čagir* is a form resulting from a copyist's error for \**açuq-yaşuq* and

1 From A.J.E. Bodrogligeti and R. Jaeckel, *Yūsuf Amīrī's "The Bang and the Wine"*. Introduction, Transcription, English Translation, Glossary, and English Index. (Forthcoming.)

2 G. Alpay, "Yusuf Emiri'nin Beng ü-Çagir adlı Munazarası," *TDAY Belleteri*, 1972 (pp. 103-127).

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

as such is a complement to *avun-* and serves to provide this verb with a full meaning.

Kāshgharī does indeed, include this twin-verb in his *Divān* in the infinitive (*yarumaq, yašumaq*), in the definite past (*yarudi, yašudi*), and in the Aorist (*yarur, yašur*) forms<sup>4</sup>. He gives a context illustration only for the definite past: *er yarudi yašudi* 'the man was pleased, happy'. He does not include the derivatives *yaruq yašuq*<sup>5</sup>. Kāshgharī also has the verb *avīn-* 'alışmak, avunmak' which occurs as a full verb without *yaru-* + *yašu-* complementing its meaning<sup>6</sup>. Old Uyghur Buddhist texts from about the same time as the data in Kāshgharī's work attest this twin-verb along with the derivatives *yaruq yašuq*. They, however, appear to be nouns in the sense of 'light, radiance' illustrated in the sentence *ot önglüg yaruq yašuq* 'a radiance like that of a fire'<sup>7</sup>.

Further comparison of *yaru-* + *yašu* and *avīn-* also reveals that *avīn-* covers a much broader semantic field both in early documents and in modern dialects where it has survived. For the data in Amīrī's *The Bang and the Wine* the meaning 'to be preoccupied with, to indulge in, to delight in', attested abundantly in sources from as early as the Karakhanid period, is most appropriate. The twin-verb *yaru-* + *yašu-* had a much narrower semantic range: 'to be happy, to rejoice' as seen in Buddhist texts with no implication of preoccupation, addiction, and the like, as source of the subject's happiness. Also, it is of restricted distribution and does not seem to be represented in sources beyond the Karakhanid period. Neither did it survive in modern dialects. It is unlikely that the form *\*yaruq yašuq* as twin-words were in use in the time of Yūsuf Amīrī.

There is another problem with Alpay's explanation of *açuq* as a copyist's error for *yašuq*. If that were the case, the error would have been made from *\*yašuq yaruq* in order to yield the *açuq yaruq* that we have in the text. The constituents of twin-words in Turkish very rarely alternate; e.g., *erk-türk* 'power', *ev-bağ* 'house', *ed-tavar* 'goods', *yat-baz* 'stranger', *körk-yaraş* 'comeliness', to mention but a few always occur as above.

4 B. Atalay, *Divanü Lugat-it-Türk Dizini 'Endeks'*. Ankara, 1943, p. 574.

5 B. Atalay, *Divanü Lugat-it-Türk Tercümesi*. Cilt III. Ankara: Alâaddin Kural Basımevi, 1941, p. 89

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 51

7 V. M. Nadelaev, and others. *Drevnet 'urkskii slovar'*. Leningrad: The Publishing House "Nauka", 1969, p. 244a.

There is no reason to believe that a hitherto unattested \**yašuuq-yaruq* existed along with *yaruq yašuuq*, amply documented in Karakhanid works.

We must look elsewhere for an explanation. I suggest that we accept *ačuq yaruq* as the form the author intended to use. We are justified to do so because in his *Dah Nāma* (Ten Love Letters)<sup>8</sup> he uses it in the same form, although with a different verb and in a different context:

246r- 10 Aradīn alayīn yatliḡ ḡicābīn  
ačuq yaruq yībarayīn čavābīn.

The Princess while reading the third love letter of her admirer makes an important decision: Instead of speaking to him in riddles and enigmas, she decides to send him a straightforward answer: "I am willing to lift the veil that keeps us apart as strangers, I am willing to send him a plain answer."<sup>9</sup>

This example, from the same author, leaves no doubt about the existence of *ačuq yaruq*, and about its functions as an adverbial complement, not bound to one particular verb, such as *avun-*, but occurring freely with other verbs, in the given example, with *yībar-* 'to send'.

Since the early form *yaruq-yašuuq* was based on the twin-verb *yaru-* + *yašuu-*, it is legitimate to ask whether *ačuq-yaruq* also resulted from a twin-verb \**ač-* + *yaru-*. If it did, then we have here a derivative form of an already lexicalized coordinated verbs. If it did not, the lexicalization took place only with the derivatives in *-q*, the suffix that indicates the concrete result of the action expressed by the verbal base<sup>10</sup>.

Documents do not attest the existence of *ač-* and *yaru-* as twin-verbs. Between the derivatives *ačuq* and *yaruq*, however, there was an associative tie created and maintained by literary-stylistic conventions found as early as in the Karakhanid period. In rhyming prose or in poetry these words occurred in coordinated expressions as adverbial modifiers or predicative complements to nouns themselves with associative ties to one another. E.g., *yüz* 'face' and *alīn* 'forehead' in

8 Yūsuf Amīrī, *Dah-nāma*. MS London, British Museum Add. 7914, pp. 282-272. Cf. J. Eckmann, "Die tschagataische Literatur", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Vol. II. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965, pp. 319-321.

9 From A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, *Yūsuf Amīrī's Ten Love-letters*. Introduction, Transcription, Translation into English, Glossary, and English Index. (Forthcoming).

10 Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954, § 43, pp. 109-111.

QB<sup>11</sup> 5222 Süçig sözlä barça kişigä tilin,  
açuq tut yüzüñni yaruq tut alin.

“Say sweet words with [your] tongue to all people; keep your face open, and [your] forehead, shining.” Or *könğül* ‘heart’ and *zamir* ‘mind’ in

NMQ<sup>12</sup> 13r:1—3

Qāzī... ša‘rī hīlalar girihidin könğli açuq, fuqahā  
tazvirları tīralaridīn zamīri yaruq.

“[As for] the judge, his heart should be cleared from the knots of legal manipulations and his mind should be freed from the darkness of the deceptions of theologians.”

The two derivatives may occur coordinated by the particle *ham*, with *açuq* in the first position:

QB 2000 Közi toq kārāk ham uvutluğ tüzün  
açuq ham yaruq bolsa qılqın sözün.

“[The prince] should be generous, modest, and noble. In regard to his actions and his words he should be sincere and clear.”

The first occurrence hitherto noticed of *açuq yaruq* as a lexicalized phrase is in the Rylands Interlinear Koran translation<sup>13</sup>. In verse 35:25 *Va in yuka-zibūka fa-qad kazzaba ʾllazīna min gablihim cā'athum rusuluhum bi ʾl-bayyināti va bi ʾz-zuburi va bi ʾl-kitābi ʾl-muniri*. ‘And if they reject thee, those before them also rejected their messengers came to them with clear arguments and with scriptures, and with illuminating Book’<sup>14</sup>, the Arabic adjective *munirun* or the Persian adjective *āškār* is glossed by *açuq yaruq*. It is significant in this example that *açuq yaruq* explains the meaning of one lexical item. Eckmann, in his edition of the Turkic glosses of this document, included *açuq yaruq* as a separate entry word<sup>15</sup>. For a definition of their meaning, however, he translated both elements separately “clear and illuminating”, treating them as

11 R.R. Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig*. I. *Metin*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947.

12 Navā’i, *Maḥbūbu’l-qulūb*. MS Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi, no. 1 / 226. I thank the Turkish National Committee of UNESCO for making it possible for me to obtain a photocopy of this work.

13 J. Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation*. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, XXI. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1976.

14 English translation from Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān*. Sixth Edition, Lahor 1973.

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

twin-words in which the constituents preserved their individual meanings. Other interlinear translations of the Kor'ān explain *munīr* in the same verse as *yaruq*<sup>16</sup>.

Lexicalization of a phrase is complete only when its constituents yield their individual definition to a new meaning that the phrase as a whole has obtained. E.g., *ant içmāk* 'to take an oath' (lit., to drink the oath'), *ata-ana* 'parents' (lit., father-mother'), *oğul-qız* 'children' (lit., 'son-daughter') are completely lexicalized<sup>17</sup>. If we accept that the elements of *açuq yaruq* in the Rylands interlinear Qur'ān translation have preserved their individual meanings, we must also accept that the two words stand for two different meanings of the same Arabic word irrespective of whether or not both meanings fit the text of the Qur'an. It would be most unlikely that a verbatim translation of the Qur'ān into Turkic would alter in any way the original text, in the given case to the extent as to put 'with clear and illuminating book' instead of 'with an illuminating book'.

To further explore this issue we must remember that at least two other interlinear Qur'ān translations from the same period translate *munīr* with one word only, and that word is *yaruq*, not *açuq*<sup>18</sup>. This suggests that *yaruq* or *açuq yaruq* could stand for A. *munīr* but *açuq* alone could not. It seems that the coordinated relationship between these words that was accentuated in QB 2000 above by the conjunction *ham* has changed in the process of lexicalization.

To find out more about the nature of this change let us consider the word *açuq* in other combinations. Along with *açuq yaruq* Eckmann also registers *açuq āškārā* in the phrasal verb *açuq āškārā qıl-* which he translates as 'to do openly and publicly' for stem IV of 'alana or for P. *āškārā kardan*<sup>19</sup>. This occurs in the translation of Qur. 16,23: *Lā carama anna 'llāha ya'lamu mā yusirrūna va mā yu'linūna* ('Undoubtedly Allah knows what they hide and what they manifest'), which the Turkish explains in segments<sup>20</sup> as *harayna /*

16 See fn. 18.

17 Lexicalization of this type of structures is especially proessed in Modern Uzbek. Cf. V. V. Reshetov, *Osnovy fonetiki, morfologii i sintaksisa uzbekskogo ėazyka*. Tashkent: The State Publishing House "Srednaya i vysshaya škola", 1961, p. 94, § 141.

18 See Eckmann's note to *açuq taruq*. *Op. cit.*, p. 30. The Qarshi Commentary also translates Ar. *mubīnum* with T. *açuq*. Cf. A.K. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira XII-XIII vv.* Moscow: The Publishing House of Oriental Literature, 1963, p. 65, s.v. *açuq*.

19 *op. cit.*, p. 30.

20 For the method the flossist used in preparing his interlinear translation and the lessons we must draw from it see A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, "The Rechnique of the Glossist as a Key to Understanding the Lexical Material of Early Eastern Middle-Turkic Interlinear Qur'ān Translations," *UJb* 50 (1978), pp. 17-24.

*Taṅgri bilür / anı kim yaşarurlar / yimä / anı kim açuq āškārā qılurlar* which Eckmann translates as 'Certainly God knows what they hide and what they do openly and publicly'<sup>21</sup>. Also in this example, *açuq* occurs as the first element of the phrase. The Shushter copy of the *Muqaddimatu'l-adab*<sup>22</sup> contains the Khorazmian Turkic gloss *açuq durust qıldi sözini* as the explanation of one single phrase where *açuq* occupies the first position<sup>23</sup>. An important example occurs in the Uyghur translation of the *Suvarnaprabhāsa*<sup>24</sup>. The phrase *açuq adırtlıg* is used in the following sentence: *Adınlar köngülin biltäci açuq adırtlıg körtäci* 'He must know other people's hearts, he must distinctly see them'. The *Säkiz Yükmäk*<sup>25</sup> also provides testimony of the use of this phrase in *Açuq adırtlıg bilgäli uqğali yarayur üçün* 'So that it be appropriate for knowing and understanding it distinctly'<sup>26</sup>. It is common to all the examples above that their meanings are not affected significantly by removing *açuq*, the first element of the phrase: *Taṅgri bilür ... anı kim āškārā qılurlar* 'God knows ... what they reveal', or ... *durust qıldi sözini* 'he corrected his words', or ... *adırtlıg körtäci* 'he must distinctly see', and ... *adırtlıg bilgäli* 'for knowing it distinctly', in essence, mean the same thing as with the addition of *açuq*. If we remove *āškārā*, *durust*, and *adırtlıg*, the second elements of the pairs, from the above sentences, *açuq* will not be sufficient to convey the intended meaning: *Taṅgri bilür anı kim açuq ... qılurlar* 'God knows what they make open', *açuq ... qıldi sözini* 'he made his words open' *açuq ... körtäci* 'he must see it clearly', *açuq ... bilgäli* 'for knowing it thoroughly' are not specific enough or, as compared to the original versions, even point in a different direction.

It is obvious that in the pairs considered above the second element carries the main sense. The examples also show that *açuq* is always the first element of the pair, and that there are no variants of the pairs discussed in which the order of the constituent words would be reversed, i.e., we do not have pairs such as \**āškārā açuq*, \**durust açuq*, or *adırtlıg açuq*. It follows, then, that the role of *açuq* in the phrases we are considering is secondary, and that its position and function are determined by the second element, not by any other part

21 For a few textual problems in the edition see A.J.Z. Bodrogligeti, "J. Eckmann, Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Kiran Translation," *IJMES*, 11 (1980), pp. 130-134.

22 Recently published by N. Yüce, *Ebu'l-kāsim Cārullāh Mahmūd bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmed ez-Zamaḥsari el-Hvārizmī, Mukaddimeti'l-Edēb.* Ankara, 1988.

23 *Op. cit.*, p. 31, 5:2.

24 Nadelaev, p. 7a.

25 W. Bang, A. von Gabain, and G.R. Rachmati, "Türkische Turfantexte VI. Das buddhistische Sutra *Sakiz Yükmäk*," *SPAW* 1934, X. pp. 92-192.

26 *Op. cit.*, note 383.

of the sentence in which it occurs. Its function is that of an adverbial modifier serving to intensify the meaning of the second element. *Açuq*, as it appears in these examples, could be best described as an intensifier of limited distribution used only with a group of specific words.

The combination of *açuq, yaruq*, from an associative relationship in stylistic conventions through appearing as twin-words with coordinated or converging meanings, developed into a structure of modifier + head and reached the level of lexicalization at that stage. As it appears in Yūsuf Amīrī's *The Bang and the Wine* and in his *Ten Love-letters*, *açuq yaruq* is one lexeme with adverbial ('quite manifestly') or adjectival ('quite clear') meanings.

Data from Modern Uzbek support this view. Borockov's Uzbek-Russian dictionary<sup>27</sup> includes *očiḡ-oydin* as separate entry with reference to *očiḡ* 4, where it is explained as 1. 'perfectly obvious; manifest; 2. 'obviously'; 3. 'frank, candid'; 4. 'frankly, candidly; directly';<sup>28</sup>. Ma'rufov's explanatory dictionary<sup>29</sup> has *očiḡ-yoruḡ* as separate entry with reference to *očiḡ-oydin* as its synonym. *Očiḡ-oydin* is explained here as 'quite clear', 'doubtless' with illustrations such as *očiḡ-oydin masala* 'a clear issue', *očiḡ-oydin cavob* 'a clear answer', or 'open, straight' as in *očiḡ-oydin gap* 'straight talk'<sup>30</sup>. As their definitions and the attached illustrations show, *očiḡ-oydin* and its synonym *očiḡ-yoruḡ* are full-fledged lexical items and can occur in the function of adverbs and adjectives.

The existence of *očiḡ-yoruḡ* in Modern Uzbek with the characteristics it had in *The Bang and the Wine* and in the *Ten Love-letters*, is another proof<sup>31</sup> of the close ties that exist between this language and the language of the classical literature of the Central Asian Turks.

27 A.K. Borovkov, and others, *Uzbekso-russkiĭ slovar'*, Moscow: The State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1959.

28 *Op. cit.*, p. 310b.

29 Z. M. Ma'rufov, *Ūzbek tilining izohli lughati*. Vol. 1-2. Moscow: The Publishing House "Russkiĭ :azyk", 1981.

30 *Op. cit.*, p. 533a.

31 The same conclusion was reached in a historical analysis of another lexico-grammatical item of Amīrī's "The Bang and the Wine". See, A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, "A Participle for Curses and Good Wishes: The Roots of an Uzbek Phenomenon in Yūsuf Amīrī's "The Bang and the Wine," *U.A.Jb.* 63 (1991), pp. 000