The Ottoman gerund in -Ub functions as a conjunctor and designates a unidirectional ‘and’ relation. Sometimes, a second conjunctor like ve, ammâ, lâkin is added after -Ub. Erich Prokosch (Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmanisch-Türkischen, Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980, pp. 145–46) thought this double clause conjunction to happen only when the subjects (first actants) and/or diatheses are different from one another in the two clauses, i.e. in the basis segment and the gerundial segment. However, in this article, we try to show that in documents (and other Ottoman prose texts), one may also witness a shift of perspective, scene, plot, group of people, or even a total change of topic.

Keywords

Ottoman documents – gerunds/converbs – conjunctors

For many decades, Elizabeth A. Zachariadou had been very much dedicated to editing and interpreting Ottoman documents. Thus, I hope Elizabeth would have drawn pleasure from the following linguistic observations.

An important split of the category of Turkic gerunds/converbs is the one in <B> gerunds and <A> gerunds. <A> gerunds usually are modifying.1

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1 Johanson, Lars, “Some remarks on Turkic ‘hypotaxis’”, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 47 (1975), p. 116.
However, <B> gerunds in general, and the Ottoman gerund in -<I>Ub</I> in particular, are predominantly characterized by their coordinative function as conjunctors. They are non-modifying (“E1 occurs, E2 occurs’ rather than ‘E1 occurring E2 occurs’”), plot-advancing and designate a unidirectional ‘and’ relation. This is shown by an example from modern Turkish:

Example 1: <I>Kalkıp çıktı</I>.
“He got up and went out”.

A typical feature of Turkic languages in general is the frequent stylistic use of periodic chain sentences. Periodic chain sentences are “units of information that can be used as a stylistic alternative of coordinated predications with finite predicates”. In Ottoman texts of the so-called <I>inşā</I> style or <I>dīvān negri</I>, as it has come to be called more recently, periodic chain sentences were extremely abundant. Periodic chain sentences often only contain <B> gerunds.

The typical structure of a periodic chain sentence has been shown by Lars Johanson, who used the following abbreviations: ChBS = Chain basis segment, BS = Basis segment, GS = Gerundial segment, in the sketch below starting at the bottom line and going up to the top line. Thus, the first gerundial segment is coordinated or subordinated to a basis segment, which in its turn functions as the gerundial segment for the next basis segment, which itself functions as

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2 Johanson, Lars, “On the renewal and reinterpretation of ‘instrumental’ gerunds in Turkic”, <I>Oriens</I>, 31 (1988), p. 138.
3 Johanson, Lars, “On Turkic converb clauses”, in <i>Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds</i>, Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König (eds) (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), p. 324.
4 Johanson, “Turkic ‘hypotaxis’”, p. 116. For exceptions in the case of topicalization, where “E1 occurring E2 occurs” is valid, see Römer, Claudia, “Topicalization in constructions with <B> gerunds”, in <i>Advances in Turkish Linguistics</i>, Semiramis Yağcıoğlu et al. (eds) (Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2006), pp. 249–54.
5 Johanson, Lars, “Periodische Kettensätze im Türkischen”, <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>, 82 (1992), p. 205.
6 In stylistically intricate Ottoman texts, however, periodic chain sentences can be made up of a combination of coordinating <B> gerunds with subordinating <A> gerunds (cf. Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”; idem, “Aspectotemporal connectivity in Turkic: Text construction, text subdivision, discourse types and taxis”, in <i>Connectivity in Grammar and Discourse</i>, Jochen Rehbein, Christiane Hohenstein, Lukas Pietsch (eds) [Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007], pp. 187–98), thus creating subdivisions in a text. Using periodic chain sentences adds to the effect of other stylistic devices like sec ‘and rhetorical elements, which Tietze has discussed thoroughly; Tietze, Andreas, “Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli’s prose style”, <i>Archivum Ottomanicum</i>, 5 (1973), 297–319.
7 Johanson, “Aspectotemporal connectivity”, p. 187.
the gerundial segment for the chain basis segment. The number of gerundial segments and their basis segments is practically unlimited.

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{GS – ChBS} \\
&\text{GS – BS} \\
&\text{GS – BS}
\end{align*}
\]

Johanson encourages further research on the periodic chain sentence in order to determine the rules of its composition from the perspective of a "discourse-oriented study of narrative techniques". What especially interests us here is the following statement: "... the combinatory properties necessary for construing and subdividing text portions, in particular the role of serialization by means of converbial junctors in periodic chain sentences".\(^8\)

-\text{Ub} gerunds ‘duplicate’ the function of the \text{BS}. The \text{GS} is only formally subordinated to the \text{BS}, but it is "used on the same level of the sentence as the \text{BS}".\(^9\) Thus, the relationship between the propositions in the modern Turkish sentence given in example 2 should be classified as a paratactic one. This is in line with the definition of \text{<B> gerunds} as conveying the ‘and’ relation.

Example 2: \textit{Bu kitap yüz sayfa olup fiyatı iki liradır.}

“This book has one hundred pages and its price is two liras”\(^10\)

The pattern of such a sentence is: Subordinate Predication + Superordinate Predication. First actant (subject) shift is more frequent than earlier scholars were ready to accept. In Ottoman, it is extremely frequent.\(^11\)

When we observe first actant shift, there are "possessive relationships holding between (expressed or implied) entities of the two predications" as is shown in example 3 from Uzbek. “Often there is even a kind of thematic identity between the predications, a parallelism by which the same state of affairs is expressed in two ways or from different viewpoints”. It can be translated by ‘and thus’\(^12\).

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\(^8\) Ibid., pp. 197 and 187 respectively.  
\(^9\) Csató, Éva Á., and Lars Johanson, “On gerundial syntax in Turkic”, \textit{Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae}, 46 (1992), p. 134; Johanson, “‘Instrumental’ gerunds”, pp. 138–39.  
\(^10\) Johanson, “Turkic ‘hypotaxis’”, p. 113.  
\(^11\) Csató and Johanson, “Gerundial syntax”, p. 134.  
\(^12\) Ibid., p. 138. In this case, the -\text{Ub} gerund could be described as modifying, even if there is no topicalization involved; cf. Römer, “Topicalization”.

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Example 3: Qaziniŋ xåtini ȯlib u yålghiz qålådi.
“The cadi's wife died and thus he stayed alone”.

First actant shift can also be seen in the next example.

Example 4: Äfändimiz ikisine bile amän vermäyüb qatl olundular.
“Our master pardoned none of the two, and they were killed”.

“Since <B> conveys no additional semantic idea (temporality, causality, instrumentality, conditionality, etc.) in a systematic way, it is often considered a conjunct with rather ‘vague’ functions”. In addition to first actant shift -Ub can step in for practically any finite form.

In some instances, however, the connection semantics can be stressed by adding a second conjunct like ve, ammâ, lâkin, etc. Erich Prokosch puts forward that this double conjunction occurs when the first actants and/or the diatheses of the two clauses, i.e. the basis segment and the gerundial segment, are different from one another, as is exemplified below:

Example 5: Vä äfändimize gälüb buluşub và dedilär ki...
“And they came to our master, met him and said...”

The aim of this article is to examine this type of double clause conjunction in Ottoman documents (with a few examples from other prose texts) and to see if it is just a matter of stressing the connection and expressing a change of first actant or diathesis, or if one can determine other functions as well, like a change of perspective, scene, plot, group of people, etc.

Ottoman documents share a number of features with normal prose texts. Depending on its author, its addressee, and its purpose as well as the category of documents to which it belongs, the prose may be more simple or intricate.

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13 Csató and Johanson, “Gerundial syntax”, p. 137.
14 Prokosch, Erich, Studies zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmanisch-Türkischen (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 146; cited by Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”, p. 234.
15 Johanson, “Instrumental’ gerunds”, p. 139.
16 Prokosch, Studies zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen, pp. 146–47.
17 Johanson, "Periodische Kettensätze", pp. 237–8.
18 Prokosch, Studies zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen, pp. 145–46; Johanson, "Periodische Kettensätze", pp. 202–3 and passim.
19 Prokosch, Studies zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen, p. 146; cited by Johanson, "Periodische Kettensätze", p. 208.
Similarly, the ability of any given author of a prose text and the text genre they produce determine its stylistic refinement or simplicity.20

Double clause conjunction of -Ub ve and -Ub with similar conjunctors occurs not only in Ottoman documents, but also in other kinds of prose texts of the sixteenth century and beyond.

In the introduction to Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī’s Künhū l-Aḥbār, for instance, there is only one occurrence.

Example 6: lākin selāṭīn-i āl-i ʿOsmāna ʿarż-i ʿubūdiyyet ēdüb ve kirāʿat-i ḥuṭbe-i rāfiʿatü r-rūtbede mülük-i ʿosmāniden şoṅra ẓikr olunub “that they have presented their respectful service to the sultans of the House of ʿOsmān and [thus]21 are mentioned after the Ottoman kings in the recitation of the sermon of sublime degree”.22

The scarcity of -Ub ve in this relatively short text of Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī may have to do with the author’s highly refined Dīvān neşri.23 Taʿlīḳīzāde, who was both criticized and praised for his style by Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī,24 has some occurrences. The following example contains a complex parallel construction, where each element of the first sentence matches one element of the second. Additionally, it features a word play on the colours, which is made up of a seciʿ with words of Turkish origin. The double clause conjunction seems to be motivated by the wish to express two different sensations, which result in two different colour changes—the eyes become black and the complexion turns yellow, each as a consequence of the intensity of a different feeling.

20 On this topic, see Römer, Claudia, “16. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Vesikalarının Bazısına Nesir Şaheseri Denilebilir mı?”, in Klasik Edebiyatımızın Dili (Bildiriler), Mustafa İsen (ed.) (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2017), pp. 421–29.
21 Addition by Claudia Römer.
22 Schmidt, Jan, Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī’s Künhūl-ahlbār and Its Preface According to the Leiden Manuscript ([Istanbul]: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1987), pp. 27, 52.
23 In this respect, only a detailed analysis of longer works by this author (e.g., his Counsel for Sultans or his Description of Cairo) concerning double clause conjunction will yield a conclusive result. See Tietze, Andreas, Muṣṭafū ʿĀlī's Description of Cairo of 1599: Text, Transliteration, Translation, Notes (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975); idem, Muṣṭafū ʿĀlī's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes, 2 volumes (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979–82).
24 Schmidt, Muṣṭafū ʿĀlī’s Künhūl-ahlbār, pp. 13–14, 38–42, 62–67. On this şehnāmeci and his work, see Woodhead, Christine, Taʾlīḳīzāde’s Şehnām-e Hümâyûn: A History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary, 1593–94 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983).
Example 7: ḥarāret-i sevdāsından gözi ḵararub ve merāret-i ṣafrāsından beñzi ṣararub
“Through the intensity of his passion his eyesight failed and through the bitterness of his bile his complexion turned yellow”.25

As an example posterior to the period focused on in the present article, we might mention Mollā Muṣṭafā Başeski, a Bosnian eighteenth-century writer.26 The register of his mecmūʿa is quite different. Başeski’s text contains a total of 28 -Ub ve sentences, many of which show first actant shift, e.g.:

Example 8: baʿż-ı kimesne andan fetvā alup ve fetvāda üstād idi
“Some people got fatwas from him. And he was a master of [composing] fatwas”.27

Here, the second sentence is a comment on the author of the fatwas.

However, it seems28 that -Ub ve with a total shift of topic can be observed on a more regular basis in Ottoman documents than in other Ottoman prose texts.

As early occurrences in Ottoman documents (one ūccet of 1491 and a firman of 1492) we may cite three instances to be found in one of Zachariadou’s publications:

Example 9: ḣişbu ikī but Desbina Ḥatun bīnt Desbot getürüb manāstrumuz-da emānet ḳoyub tā cânī içün ṭapu ėdeler
“Lady Despina, daughter of the Despot, brought these idols and left them at our monastery as a trust as long as they <the monks> pray for her life”.29

25 Woodhead, Taʾlîkizâde’s Şehnâme-i Hümâyûn, p. 128.
26 This author was probably born in 1732. On him, see Filan, Kerima, XVIII. Yüzyıl Günлük Hayatına Dair Saraybosnalı Molla Mustafa’nın Mecmuası (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2011). I am very much indebted to Kerima Filan of Sarajevo who kindly sent me a list of occurrences of -Ub ve from the mecmûa.
27 Nameetak, Fehim, Katalog arapskih, turskih, perzijskih i bosanskih rukopisa [Catalogue of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Bosnian manuscripts], vol. 4 (Sarajevo: Gazi Husrev Begova Biblioteka, 1998), p. 279, ms. no. 7340: fol. 126b, l. 12.
28 This is a mere supposition, as for the time being, it is not feasible to compare all the occurrences in documents and in other prose texts on a statistically relevant basis. See above footnote 23.
29 Demetriades, V., and E. A. Zachariadou, “Serbian ladies and Athonite monks”, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 84 (1994), pp. 43, 45. In the examples taken from this article, the transcriptions of the text printed in Arabic characters are by Claudia Römer, but the translations are cited from the article.
Interestingly, the subordinate clause beginning with the Persian conjunction tā is attached to the -Ub main clause. Though formally being in the adverb position itself, emānet koyub functions as a main clause for the subsequent adverbial clause. Thereby, the main characteristic of -Ub as a conjunctor of two events of equal level that happen one after the other, is not valid anymore.30

Example 10: irş-i şer'le Krālicsa Ḥatun bint Despot Lāzāriye münrik olub oldaḫu alub kabūl kildi
“They were transferred to the legal heiress Lady Kralicsa, daughter of the Despot Lazari, and she took and accepted them”.31

Here, daḫu, which often comes directly after -Ub in order to mark the double clause conjunction, is attached to the subject/first actant of the second main clause.

Example 11: ber múceb-i şer' teftiš u tefahhūs ēdīüb ve elinde olan ḥüccet naẓar ēdesiz
“you are to investigate and enquire according to the şeri'; you are to examine the ḥüccet in his hands”.32

Here two different steps of the same procedure are ordered to be carried out. However, let us again turn to the sixteenth century. In the following example, we witness, besides first actant shift, a total change of the topic addressed.

Example 12: eyle olsa bu ne aşl 'ahd u amândur ki bu maqūle fesād ve işler ola böyle olmaq bizüm dünümüze hiç bir vech-ile múvāfiq olmayub ve sizün daḫu bundan aqdem yüce āsitiolu olub gönderilen ēlçiñüze se'ādetlü pādişāh ḥazretleri üç ay va'de vėrüb maşlaḥat ne ise tedārük oluna
“Now then, what sort of peace is this when there is this kind of evildoing going on? It is not at all compatible with our religion. His majesty the glorious Padishah has granted your ambassador, who was previously at the Porte and who was sent back, a period of three months to take measures concerning all matters”.33

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I wonder if the meaning of the subordinate clause could not perhaps be “in order for them <the monks> to worship them for her soul”. The term ‘idols’ refers to icons; see ibid., p. 45 n. 27.
31 Ibid., pp. 43, 45.
32 Ibid., pp. 50, 51.
33 Procházka-Eisl, Gisela, and Claudia Römer, Osmanische Beamtenschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen aus dem Haus, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), document no. 44.
We must bear in mind that the subdivisions of periodic chain sentences may either be closer (<B>) or form a hiatus (<A>)\(^{34}\) and that they represent minor (-\textit{Ub}) or major incisions (-\textit{dUKdA}, -\textit{IncA}, etc.) respectively.\(^{35}\) Here, however, a major incision occurs precisely after the gerund in -\textit{Ub}, an incision which is stressed by adding the conjunction \textit{ve}, thus marking the ‘and’ relation twice.

The switching of the topic can be stressed by even more than one indicator, especially by adding \textit{andan gayrı}, ‘moreover’:

Example 13: \textit{bi}-l-cümle memleket ve re‘âyânûnī tefrīḳasına bā‘īs olan ḥüsūsîlara mübāsırêtde olub ve \textit{andan gayrî} ol cânîbe mektûb ile varan âdemleri ḥabs olnub

“They [i.e. the wrongdoers] showed some activity concerning the country and the process that caused the subjects' dispersion, \textit{and moreover}, his [i.e. the plaintiff’s] men who were going there with a letter were imprisoned”\(^{36}\)

Here, two completely different kinds of criminal action are being addressed and as a consequence, first actant shift occurs. In example 14 we see that the switch concerns not so much the topic, which is the same, i.e. the sending of ambassadors, but rather the time sequence: only after permission had been given, envoys were sent and thus could fulfill their mission:

Example 14: \textit{elçisi gelmege icâzet tâleb eyleyüb ve gelen âdemleri [i]blâğ-ı risâlet ėtdûkden şoñra}

“He asked for the permission for an envoy of his to come. \textit{And} when his men who (eventually) came had fulfilled their embassy...”\(^{37}\)

\(^{34}\) Johanson, “Turkic converb clauses”, pp. 330–31.

\(^{35}\) Johanson, “Aspectotemporal connectivity”, pp. 194–97, where this is demonstrated with an example from Evliyâ Çelebi. On periodic chain sentences in the \textit{Seyâhatnâme}, see also Bulut, Christiane, Evliya Çelebi Reise von Bitlis nach Van: ein Auszug aus dem Seyahatname, interpretierende Transliteration, kommentierte Übersetzung und sprachwissenschaftliche Bemerkungen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), pp. 67–83.

\(^{36}\) ÖNB (Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria) cod. Mxt. 270, 16r. This manuscript is a \textit{Mühûmme Defteri} of 1563–64, which was severely damaged by water and is therefore almost illegible in places. This defect could be reduced by using multi-spectral images provided by the Computer Vision Lab at the Technical University of Vienna. Together with Nicolas Vatin and the late Gilles Veinstein, we have embarked on the adventure of editing this source; see, for instance, Römer, Claudia, Nicolas Vatin, and Gilles Veinstein, “Un mühûmme defteri de 1563–1564: le manuscrit Mxt. 270 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne. Étude préliminaire accompagnée d’un dossier de six documents concernant les relations entre Soliman le Magnifique et Ferdinand de Habsbourg”, \textit{Archivum Ottomanicum}, 28 (2011), 5–48.

\(^{37}\) ÖNB Mxt. 270, 49v.
First actant shift is frequent, but not vital to constructions with -Ub ve. There are also numerous examples without first actant shift, expressing a string of events subsequent to each other. In example 15, the different time levels are more emphatically expressed by the use of daḫı instead of ve:

Example 15: voyvoda kulunuñ maslaḥati itmama erişince bir kaç gün tevakkufta edüb daḫı asıtabe-i saʿādetüme gelüb hıdımetününde olasın
“When the affair of my servant the voyvoda will be finished you shall wait a few days and then come to my threshold of felicity and resume your service”.38

In the following example, two events are told, the second being direct speech during an investigation. Both inside and outside the direct speech, the connective element is -Ub ve. Within the direct speech, another two independent questions are asked:

Example 16: muhkem haqqlarından gelinüb ve Kėköyden dutılan iki kimesneye niçin epsem oturmayub ve kimüñ maʿrifetiyle geldiñüz dėyü sorılduğa
“They were severely punished. And when the two persons arrested in Keköy were asked, ‘Why did you not sit still and with whose knowledge did you come?’...”39

-Ub ve can indicate an emphatic conclusion of an idea expressed before:

Example 17: barışiqliği qullar bozmağa qadir deyildür eger sizden ve eger bizden rençber tayfisesi kär u ksb içün varub gelmek üzre olub ve hem barışiqlidandan daḫı garaz budur ki fugarar rençide olunmaya
“Servants are not able to destroy the truce. Peasants from your [side] as well as from ours come and go in order to work and gain [money]. And the idea of the truce is [precisely] that the poor should not be molested”.40

One of the impressive characteristics of -Ub ve and -Ub with similar connectors is that, as we have seen in example 12, we witness a complete change of

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38 Ibid., 19r.
39 Prochážka-Eisl and Römer, Osmanische Beamtenabgaben, document no. 29.
40 Ibid., document no. 30.
perspective, like when in a film the camera switches to the other side or to another person, place, time, etc.

Example 18: ‘askerini serţadda qişlatmaq içün ba’zını mezbûr Rimâson-bot nâm vârûşa ve ba’zını daň hûrûsûnda olan qîlâ’uñ altlarında palânqalar yapdurub balânqalar sepiştürüb ve gendü begleriyle Poţîne varub “For the winter, he distributed some of the troops into the castle of Rimâsonbot (Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia) and for some he had palankas made at the foot of the surrounding fortresses, and he himself went to Poţîn (Bratislava, Slovakia) together with his begs”.

In the following example, three different events are enumerated, proceeding from the more general to the very special one of the sultan’s return journey. Each time, the ‘camera’ switches:

Example 19: gereklü olmayanlar yıqdurüb ve Tebrîz şehrinüñ halkı sürüq qilûnub dana şâhib-qûrân-i rêy-i zemîn hareçetleri se’ûdet (u) iqball ile muzaffer u mansûr maqarr-i saltanetleri cânîbine ‘avdet-i hûmâyûn edûb “Those [castles of the Kızılbaş] that were not needed were destroyed, and then the population of the city of Tebrîz was deported, and ultimately His majesty the Lord of the happy conjunction of the world returned as a victor and with glory and fortune to the seat of his sultanate”.

To sum up, we can say that double clause conjunction with the help of -Ub ve and -Ub with other conjunctions is a frequent feature of Middle Ottoman prose texts, especially of documents. These often contain a string of events in their narration parts, sometimes also in their dispositions. In such cases, -Ub ve and its variants can be understood as ‘moreover’, ‘and then’, ‘subsequently’, ‘thus’, ‘however’ and similar expressions. Thereby the first actant can change or not. The second distinct function is a total shift of topic, like a turning away (the camera) from one place, time, side, event and looking at a different one.

41 Ibid., document no. 11. For the topicalization expressed by the insertion of qîlâ’uñ altlarında palânqalar yapdurub, see Römer, “Topicalization”. Literally the sentence means, “and some, having palankas built at the foot of the fortresses, into [these] palankas”. In such cases, the -Ub gerund functions more like a subordinating <A> gerund.

42 Procházka-Eisl and Römer, Osmanische Beamtenbriefe, document no. 2.
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