Double Clause Conjunction in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents: The Case of *-Ub ve*

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Abstract

The Ottoman gerund in *-Ub* functions as a conjunctive and designates a unidirectional ‘and’ relation. Sometimes, a second conjunctive like *ve*, *ammâ*, *lâkin* is added after *-Ub*. Erich Prokosch (*Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmänisch-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 gerunds and <A> gerunds. <A> gerunds usually are modifying.¹

1 Johanson, Lars, “Some remarks on Turkic ‘hypotaxis’”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*, 47 (1975), p. 116.

However, gerunds in general, and the Ottoman gerund in *-Ub* in particular, are predominantly characterized by their coordinative function as conjunctions.² They are non-modifying (“‘E(vent)₁ occurs, E₂ occurs’ rather than ‘E₁ occurring E₂ occurs’”),³ plot-advancing and designate a unidirectional ‘and’ relation.⁴ This is shown by an example from modern Turkish:

Example 1: *Kalkıp çıktı.*
 “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 predicators”.⁵ In Ottoman texts of the so-called *inşâ* style or *dīvân neşri*, as it has come to be called more recently, periodic chain sentences were extremely abundant. Periodic chain sentences often only contain gerunds.⁶

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.⁷ 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

2 Johanson, Lars, “On the renewal and reinterpretation of ‘instrumental’ gerunds in Turkic”, *Oriens*, 31 (1988), p. 138.

3 Johanson, Lars, “On Turkic converb clauses”, in *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and Meaning of Adverbial Verb Forms – Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*, 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 gerunds”, in *Advances in Turkish Linguistics*, Semiramiş Yağcıoğlu et al. (eds) (Izmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2006), pp. 249–54.

5 Johanson, Lars, “Periodische Kettensätze im Türkischen”, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 82 (1992), p. 205.

6 In stylistically intricate Ottoman texts, however, periodic chain sentences can be made up of a combination of coordinating gerunds with subordinating <A> gerunds (cf. Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”; idem, “Aspectotemporal connectivity in Turkic: Text construction, text subdivision, discourse types and taxis”, in *Connectivity in Grammar and Discourse*, 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, “Muşafā ‘Āli of Gallipoli’s prose style”, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 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.

GS – ChBS

GS – BS

GS – BS

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

-*Ub* gerunds ‘duplicate’ the function of the BS. The GS is only formally subordinated to the BS, but it is “used on the same level of the sentence as the 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 gerunds as conveying the ‘and’ relation.

Example 2: *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

8 Ibid., pp. 197 and 187 respectively.

9 Csató, Éva Á., and Lars Johanson, “On gerundial syntax in Turkic”, *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 -*Ub* gerund could be described as modifying, even if there is no topicalization involved; cf. Römer, “Topicalization”.

Example 3: *Qaziniñ xâtini ölib u yâlghez qâldi.*

“The cadî’s wife died and thus he stayed alone”.¹³

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

Example 4: *Äfândimiz ikisine bile amân vermäyüb qatl olundular.*

“Our master pardoned none of the two, and they were killed”.¹⁴

“Since conveys no additional semantic idea (temporality, causality, instrumentality, conditionality, etc.) in a systematic way, it is often considered a conjunctive with rather ‘vague’ functions”.¹⁵ In addition to first actant shift -*Ub* can step in for practically any finite form.¹⁶

In some instances, however, the connection semantics can be stressed by adding a second conjunctive like *ve*, *ammâ*, *lâkin*, etc.¹⁷ 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,¹⁸ as is exemplified below:

Example 5: *Vä äfândimize gâlib buluşub vä dedilär ki...*

“And they came to our master, met him **and** said...”¹⁹

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.

13 Csátó and Johanson, “Gerundial syntax”, p. 137.

14 Prokosch, Erich, *Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Vulgärosmänisch-Türkischen* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), p. 146; cited by Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”, p. 204.

15 Johanson, “‘Instrumental’ gerunds”, p. 139.

16 Prokosch, *Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen*, pp. 146–47.

17 Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”, pp. 207–8.

18 Prokosch, *Studien zur Grammatik des Osmanisch-Türkischen*, pp. 145–46; Johanson, “Periodische Kettensätze”, pp. 202–3 and *passim*.

19 Prokosch, *Studien 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 Muştafâ 'Âlî's *Künhü l-Aḥbār*, for instance, there is only one occurrence.

Example 6: *lākin selāṭīn-i āl-i 'Osmāna 'arz-i 'ubūdiyyet édüb ve kıra'at-i ḥuṭbe-i rāfi'atü r-rütbede kendüler mülük-i 'osmāniden şoñra zıkr olunub*
 “that they have presented their respectful service to the sultans of the House of 'Osmān 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 Muştafâ 'Âlî may have to do with the author's highly refined *Dīvān nesri*.²³ Ta'likizāde, who was both criticized and praised for his style by Muştafâ 'Âlî,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 *seci'* 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 mi?”, 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, *Muştafâ 'Âlî's Künhü'l-aḥbār and Its Preface According to the Leiden Manuscript* ([Istanbul]: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, 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, *Muştafâ 'Âlî's Description of Cairo of 1599: Text, Transliteration, Translation, Notes* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975); idem, *Muştafâ 'Âlî's Counsel for Sultans of 1581: Edition, Translation, Notes*, 2 volumes (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979–82).

24 Schmidt, *Muştafâ 'Âlî's Künhü'l-aḥbār*, pp. 13–14, 38–42, 62–67. On this *şehnâme* and his work, see Woodhead, Christine, *Ta'likizāde's Şehnâme-i Hümayûn: A History of the Ottoman Campaign into Hungary, 1593–94* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983).

Example 7: *harâret-i sevdâsından gözi kararub ve merâret-i şafrâsından beñzi şararub*

"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 Mollâ Muşţafâ Başeski, a Bosnian eighteenth-century writer.²⁶ The register of his *mecmû'a* 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: *ba'z-ı kimesne andan fetvâ alup ve fetvâda üstâd 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 *hüccet* of 1491 and a firman of 1492) we may cite three instances to be found in one of Zachariadou's publications:

Example 9: *işbu iki but Desbina Hatun bint Desbot getürüb manâsturumuz-da emânet koyub tâ cânı için tapu edeler*

"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, *Ta'likizâde's Şehnâme-i Hümayûn*, p. 128.

26 This author was probably born in 1732. On him, see Filan, Kerima, XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük 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 *mecmû'a*.

27 Nametak, 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 conjunct of two events of equal level that happen one after the other, is not valid anymore.³⁰

Example 10: *irs-i şer'le Kralıcsa Hatun bint Despot Lāzārīye müntaķil olub oldaķı alub kabūl kıldı*

"They were transferred to the legal heiress Lady Kralıcsa, daughter of the Despot Lazari, **and** she took and accepted them".³¹

Here, *daķı*, 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 mūceb-i şer' teftiş u tefahķuķ ēdūb ve elinde olan ķūccete naķar ēdesiz*

"you are to investigate and enquire according to the *şeri'*; you are to examine the *ķūccet* 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 aķl 'ahd u amāndur ki bu maķūle fesād ve işler ola bōyle olmaq bizūm dīnūmūze hīķ bir vech-ile mīvāfīq olmayub ve sizūñ daķı bundan aqdem yūce āsitānede olub gönderilen elķiñūze se'ādetlū pādīşāh ķazretleri üç ay va'de vērūb maķlahat ne ise tedārūk 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

30 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 Prāchtigen 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 () or form a hiatus (<A>)³⁴ and that they represent minor (-*Ub*) or major incisions (-*duKdA*, -*IncA*, etc.) respectively.³⁵ Here, however, a major incision occurs precisely after the gerund in -*Ub*, an incision which is stressed by adding the conjunction *ve*, thus marking the 'and' relation twice.

The switching of the topic can be stressed by even more than one indicator, especially by adding *andan gayrı*, 'moreover':

Example 13: *bi-l-cümle memleket ve re'âyānuñ tefrîkasına bâ'îş olan huşûşlara mübāşeretde olub ve andan gayrı ol cānibe mektûb ile varan âdemleri habs olunub*

"They [i.e. the wrongdoers] showed some activity concerning the country and the process that caused the subjects' dispersion, **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 fulfil their mission:

Example 14: *êlçisi gelmege icâzet taleb eyleyüb ve gelen âdemleri [i]blâğ-ı risâlet êtdükden şoñra*

"He asked for the permission for an envoy of his to come. **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 *Seyâhatnâme*, see also Bulut, Christiane, *Evliya Çelebis 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 *Mühimme 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 mühimme 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", *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 *dağı* instead of *ve*:

Example 15: *voyvoda kulumuñ maşlahati itmāma erişince bir kaç gün te-vaqquf edüb dağı āsītāne-i sa'ādetiime gelüb hıdmetiñde 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 Këköyden dutılan iki kimesneye niçün epsem oturmayub ve kimüñ ma'rifetiyle geldiñüz dëyü sorıldıqda*

"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: *barışıklığı qullar bozmağa qādir degüldür eger sizden ve eger bizden rencber t̄āyifesi kār u kesb içün varub gelmek üzre olub ve hem barışıklıqdan dağı ğaraž budur ki fuqarā rencide 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

³⁸ Ibid., 19r.

³⁹ Procházka-Eisl and Römer, *Osmanische Beamtenschriften*, 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 serhadda qışlatmaq için ba’zını mezbûr Rimāşon-bot nām vāroşa ve ba’zını dağı etrâfında olan qılâ’uñ altlarında palânqalar yapıdurub balânqalara sepişdürüb ve gendü begleriyle Požine varub*
 “For the winter, he distributed some of the troops into the castle of Rimāşonbot (Rimavská Sobota, Slovakia) and for some he had *palankas* made at the foot of the surrounding fortresses, **and he himself** went to Požin (Bratislava, Slovakia) together with his begs”.⁴¹

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: *gerekli olmayanlar yıqdurılıb ve Tebrîz şehrinüñ halkı sürgün qılınub dağı şāhib-qırān-i rüy-i zemīn hāzretleri se’adet (u) iqbāl ile muẓaffer u manşūr maqarr-i saltānetleri cānibine ‘avdet-i hümayūn edüb*
 “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”.⁴²

To sum up, we can say that double clause conjunction with the help of *-Ub ve* and *-Ub* with other conjunctors 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 *qılâ’uñ altlarında palânqalar yapıdurub*, 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 Beamtenschriften*, document no. 2.

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