

The Reflection of Cultural Transformation through Migration in the Poems from Emirdağ and the Diaspora in Belgium

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The Reflection of Cultural Transformation through Migration in the Poems from Emirdağ and the Diaspora in Belgium



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Introduction

Original:

"Atlar boğuştu ayıramadım, Çağırdım İhsan'ı duyuramadım, Düşmandan utandım bağıramadım, Gel artık gel İhsan gardaşım."

- Eminoğlu Şükrü Sayar

Translated by me in English:

"The horses struggled, I couldn't separate them, I called Ihsan, I couldn't make myself heard, I was ashamed of the enemy, I could not shout, Get back here, my brother İhsan, get back."

- Son of Emin, Şükrü Sayar

The above quatrain was written by my paternal grandfather, who always wrote down his feelings and experiences from his life in quatrains. There is a whole narrative behind four short lines of verse. In the quatrain you can read about his longing for his brother İhsan, with whom his relationship was bad at the time. You can read how he still needs his brother in an anxious situation with the struggling horses. You also read the shame of calling him, for fear that the enemy would hear him. Enemy is used here metaphorically to indicate that he does not want to make the family problems known to the community, especially with those with whom they have a bad relationship. Behind the lines of verse hide an entire narrative, from which information can also be obtained about the socio-cultural background, such as identity, family ties, the community, and worlds of thought. The quatrain is an example of typical style of poetry from Emirdağ.

Poetry from Emirdağ mainly consists of poems in the form of quatrains, elegies, and folk songs, in which the latter mostly originated from the texts of the poems. Like well-known Turkish folk songs in Turkey, with titles such as 'Emirdağı birbirine ulalı' and 'Harmana serdiler sarı samanı', or folk dances such as 'dabandan', henna ballads like 'Kınası karılır tasta' and further poetry as in numerous quatrains and elegies (Yaldızkaya 2003, 20-30). The first folk music compilation on Emirdağ was made by Osman Attilâ in 1957, with his work Afyonkarahisar Türküleri, which means folk songs of the province of Afyonkarahisar (Attilâ 1966). After this work, the poems from Emirdağ have become known to the Turkish Folk Music Repertoire of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT). The first poem in this case was the poem entitled Ben Giderim Oduna from the village of Pörnek, a poem written about heartbreak (Yaldızkaya 2003, 19).

Although a small district of Afyonkarahisar Province in the western part of Anatolia, Emirdağ is a district that has transnationally moved its borders from Turkey to Western Europe through migration, especially to the Benelux. In Turkey, Emirdağ is known for its *türküler* (translation: Turkish Folk Songs), which are often compiled from the poems

(Yaldızkaya 2003). From folk singers, folk poets, and professional mourners to anyone with a talent for writing or singing on their own: poetry in the form of quatrains, elegies, and folk songs is an important part of Emirdağ culture (Yaldızkaya 2018). Due to decades of migration and transnationalism in the economic and socio-cultural field, Emirdağ is a good example for perceiving the existence of a migration culture (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009). In Belgium, it is estimated that there are around 140,000 inhabitants whose descent lies in Emirdağ, while Emirdağ as a city has about 21,970 inhabitants, together with the 69 villages 42,327 inhabitants (Nufusune.com 2021). In this study, Emirdağ refers to the entire district.

Poetry in the style of Emirdağ is also continued in the diaspora, of which Hakiki Kabakçı is an example. He is a poet from Belgium, who comes originally from Emirdağ, and describes the life of the migrant in the diaspora in his poems in a satirical and compassionate tone (Kabakçı 2011). In Emirdağ, Ömer Faruk Yaldızkaya, as an independent researcher, has bundled all known and found elegies from the district and collected them in his poetry collection *Emirdağ Yöresi Türkmen Ağıtları* (translation: Emirdağ Region Turkmen Elegies), with the first edition in 1992 (Yaldızkaya 2018). In this collection we see dozens of elegies from the *Emirdağlı* (translation: people who are from Emirdağ), who wrote and sang intriguing poems with the emotions of mourning and love. The mentioned works of Kabakçı (2011) and Yaldızkaya (2018) will be the primary sources and case study of this research. A poem, like a quatrain, is quite universal. But the concept of an elegy is very broad and needs to be further explained in the context of this research.

In this research, an elegy refers to a melancholic poem, which is often sung as a lament during ceremonies such as funerals or in private spheres. Elegies are an important part of this research, because of its importance in the poetry of Emirdağ and because of the large number of elegies that will be analysed. Viewed in the Turkish context, elegies according to Boratav are the entirety of folk songs, which are about a tragic event and whose text and melody are suitable to remember this event and keep it alive. These are usually about mourning after a death, but there are also bridal elegies, which are sung by brides or their loved ones because of grief over leaving the parental home (Boratav 1982, 444). Like quatrains, elegies are also a subgenre within poetry and belongs to the lyric poems. Within Turkish literature, elegies are a form of verse in both Anonymous Folk Literature and Troubadour Folk Literature (Dilçin 1983, 342).

This research analyses cultural transformation through migration, especially economic and socio-cultural transnationalism, between Emirdağ and the diaspora in the Benelux, using the poems written in Emirdağ and the poems written in the diaspora as a case study. Through

the lenses of the poems, we will look at how cultural transformation is reflected. Since poetry is an important part of the regional culture of Emirdağ, it is interesting to analyse cultural transformations through the lenses of this cultural product as a research object. This will be realized by looking at the ground motifs and themes of the poems. It is also interesting to look at whether transformation has also taken place in the poetic devices of the poems, as the poems themselves are also part of Emirdağ's culture. That is why the poetic devices of the poems will also be examine. The outcomes of migration through transnationalism on topics such as culture, language, religion, and other customs can be analysed in many ways, but in this research the cultural product itself (poetry) is the mirror of cultural transformation. Now the question arises to what extent and in what ways Emirdağ appears in research until today.

Due to the magnitude of migration, Emirdağ has not gone unnoticed in research. Many studies on Emirdağ were conducted at universities in the Netherlands and Belgium, where most migrants from Emirdağ are centralized. The studies are mainly about migration and its outcomes in Europe. Like Penninx's article, in which he speaks about chain migration from Emirdağ to Haarlem, a Dutch city with a large flow of Turkish migrants from Emirdağ (Penninx 2013). Or Timmerman's research into marriages between migrants in Belgium and locals from Emirdağ since 1989, which has resulted in the development of a wedding industry among migrants and locals, with entire retail chains set up with wedding items in Belgian cities and Emirdağ (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009). The latter research is a good example of how social transnationalism creates a bridge between origin and destination through marriage. Timmerman also has an article about the 'zero generation', the elderly who were left behind in Emirdağ with at least one migrant child. Due to the high migration, certain Turkish traditions, such as care for the elderly, falls away, causing loneliness and shame among the elderly (Timmerman et al. 2018).

Also in popular science magazines, such as in the magazine AGORA, an article has been published about psychological transnationalism between Emirdağ and the city of Ghent. The article describes a case study which is in the research phase, but notes that the first research results show that interactive contact of migrants from Emirdağ with the Belgians is important for developing an emotional similarity between the two groups. De Leersnyder emphasizes from her expertise in psychology that the emotions reflect the world view, which is largely culturally determined (De Leersnyder 2010, 9-13). The emotion of shame in the opening quatrain can also be regarded as culturally determined from this psychological point of view.

To a certain extent, Emirdağ's cultural products have also been researched, as Cihan did for the *topakev* (translation: tiny house), the name the *Emirdağlı* gave to his nomadic Turkmen yurt (Cihan 2018, 40-63). As for the *topakev*, Andrews has an extensive article about it, in which he describes in detail how the *topakev* is anatomically constructed (Andrews 1984). Cultural products such as the poems from Emirdağ appears in Kumartaşlıoğlu's article, which discusses the geographical elements in Emirdağ's folk songs, that originated from the poems. The research finds that the geographical designations most common in Emirdağ's poems are Emirdağ itself, the surrounding plateaus and the villages belonging to the district (Kumartaşlıoğlu 2018, 99-113).

There are also works on Emirdağ by independent researchers and authors. In the context of anthropological doctoral research, Jak den Exter has published works and lectures about Emirdağ on platforms such as British Institute At Ankara (BIAA). His lectures provide a lot of insight information into the tribal structure of Emirdağ, such as in his lecture for the BIAA in which he mapped the various Turkmen tribes in the district after anthropological research (Exter 2015). In the non-academic world, Yaldızkaya has contributed a lot by compiling the culture of Emirdağ and recording it in books (Emirdag.gen.tr 2022). Some of his works are *Gönülden Sesler* (Kubat 1986), which he edited, *Emirdağ Yöresi Türkmen Ağıtları* (Yaldızkaya 2018), and *Emirdağ Türküleri* (Yaldızkaya 2003).

The state-of-the-art shows that Emirdağ certainly appears in research, especially from the perspective of migration. But it has been noted that the role of migration in socio-cultural transformation within the Emirdağ community has not been researched before, from the perspective of poetry. There is a lot of information in the poems, ready to be studied. There are several reasons to go for this research. Since my ancestors are originally from Emirdağ, I experienced the regional culture from home during my upbringing in the Netherlands as second generation. I have observed that being an *Emirdağlı*, alongside the general Turkish-Dutch identity, is a micro-identity that has shaped the family into what it is today. This observation and the admiration for the quatrains and elegies of my grandparents sparked a curiosity about how the poems of Emirdağ reflect cultural identity and traditions. In the end, I want to contribute to research about Emirdağ, because research about Emirdağ can also say a lot about the Turkmen culture in western Anatolia. It's also a good example to get a picture of how Anatolian Turks in the European Turkish diaspora identify themselves at micro level, so that it can also contribute within Humanities to the field of academic research on Turkish Studies, Migration Studies, and Culture Studies.

The theoretical framework is based on examining cultural transformation, transnationalism, migration, and micro-identity. Cultural identity plays a role in cultural transformation. For the research on cultural identity, the work of Stuart Hall will be used, namely *Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation* (Hall 1989). In addition, Vertovec's theory and critiques on social, economic, and cultural transnationalism regarding identity formation in migration studies will serve as a pillar in this research (Vertovec 2001). For the concept of micro-identity, we will refer to the work of Wachter, Ventriglio and Bhugra (2015). Also, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* will be discussed (Bourdieu 1977). The Dutch work *Literair Mechaniek* (translation: Literary Mechanics) by Van Boven and Dorleijn will serve as a methodology to research the elegies and poems through narrative theory, using motif structure analysis (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013). The Turkish poems should also be analysed in the context of Turkish literature, for this, the work *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi* (translation: Turkish Poetry with Examples) by Dilçin will be used (Dilçin 1983). For insights into the theories of comparison, Damrosch's work *Comparing the Literatures* will serve as inspiration (Damrosch 2020).

The aim of this research is to examine to what extent cultural transformation through migration has been reflected in Emirdağ's elegies and in the poems of the diaspora, from the 1960s, when the migration started, to the year 2011, when the Turkish-Belgian poet Kabakçı wrote his book. The following research question was formulated: "How do Turkish poems, written by poets from Emirdağ and the diaspora in Belgium, between the 1960s and 2011, reflect on cultural transformation through migration?". In the second chapter, the following sub-question is formulated: "How did the migration culture originate in Emirdağ?". In the third chapter, in which the analysis will take place, the following sub-question is formulated: "How are the poems from Emirdağ and the diaspora in Belgium arranged in terms of poetic devices and themes?". In the fourth chapter the following sub-question is formulated: "What are the similarities and differences of the poems written in Emirdağ and the diaspora in Belgium?". In this research all translations were done by me.

In terms of content, this research consists of the present introduction, followed by the first chapter, which consists of the theoretical framework and methodology. The second chapter discusses the history and migration of Emirdağ. In the third chapter the poems are analysed and discussed in the fourth chapter. Finally, the study ends with the conclusion.

1. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In summary, this research is about the reflection of cultural transformation through migration and transnationalism, in the poems from Emirdağ and the diaspora in Belgium. The theoretic pillars on which this research is based are cultural identity, transnationalism, transformation trough migration, and micro-identity. In the first part this chapter will discuss the theoretical concepts and in the second part the methodology will be explained.

1.1 Theories

To understand transnationalism and transformation among migrants, we will look at the work of Vertovec, who has made several scholarly contributions on migrant transnationalism and transformation. Works like *Transnationalism and identity* (Vertovec 2001), *Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation* (Vertovec 2004), and *Transnationalism* (Vertovec 2009). In the latter work he deals with different themes within transnationalism and transformation. These are socio-cultural transformations, political transformations, economic transformations, and religious transformations (Vertovec 2009). In the context of this study, socio-cultural and to a certain extent economic transformations are applicable. Especially subjects related to socio-cultural and economic transnationalism appear the most in the poems, such as the manner of a funeral, social relations between family members and buying a house in the city of origin.

According to Vertovec, many people's transnational networks are based on the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based on a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic characteristics associated with it. Such networks are characterized by patterns of communication or exchange of resources and information, along with participation in socio-cultural and political activities (Vertovec 2001, 573). Vertovec argues that past migration-sociology in migration research has generally focused more on the ways in which migrants adapt to, or are socially excluded from, their place of immigration. Vertovec continues that the past decade has witnessed the emergence of an approach to migration that emphasizes the attachments migrants retain to families, communities, traditions and causes beyond the borders of the country they have moved to (Vertovec 2001, 574). This approach also fits the content of this research, as this research also explores and portrays the socio-cultural connection between Emirdağ and the diaspora.

According to Vertovec there are several features of 'old' migrant transnationalism. Such as that there are still strong emotional ties with family in the country of origin, migrants returning regularly to their home country, the creation of long distance networks such as letters sent to keep in touch, migrants sending money to the home front, migrant associations set up to raise money for projects for the home front, or migrants who represent political interests in their home countries and some countries of origin who were formally concerned about the well-being of their nationals abroad (Vertovec 2009, 14). In 'new' migrant transnationalism, Vertovec says that we see the aspect of contemporary developments, such as technological and communicative advances. Speed of communication, the expansion of the size of remittances to and from the home front, government programs for migrants and identity politics in the West have made transnationalism much more active. Due to the fast and cheaper way of communicating, migrants can interact more quickly within the migrant network. According to Vertovec, this has led to normative transnationalism. Even children of migrants who have never been to their country of origin are able to inherit religious, political, and socio-cultural influences (Vertovec 2009, 15).

About transformation, Vertovec says that the broadening of networks through activities and accelerated communication are important forms of transnationalism, but they do not necessarily lead to structural changes (Vertovec 2009, 23). Vertovec says it's a matter of degree. He says in his words that the extent, intensity, and speed of networked flows of information and resources can indeed together fundamentally change the way people do things. Vertovec hereby cites Portes' description of transformation: "As portrayed by Portes (2003): Despite its limited numerical character, the combination of a cadre of regular transnational activists with the occasional activities of other migrants adds up to a social process of significant economic and social impact for communities and even nations. While from an individual perspective, the act of sending a remittance, buying a house in the migrant's hometown, or travelling there on occasion have purely personal consequences, in the aggregate they can modify the fortunes and the culture of these towns and even of the countries of which they are part" (Vertovec 2009, 24). The description also relates to this research, because the activities described in the citation appear frequently in the poems that are going to be analysed.

In the case of this study, we see migrants from Emirdağ sharing a common identity with the place of origin, which is characterized by common cultural activities that are characteristic and typical of Emirdağ, such as the numerous customs during weddings, where folk dances from Emirdağ are played, such as *dabandan* and *gaydalama*. And the

continuation of the writing of poems, from which folk song come, sung in the style of Emirdağ. Such as Fakı Edeer does, folk singer in Emirdağ as well as in Belgium, and Kubat, born in Antwerp as a second generation and originally from Emirdağ, but who became nationally famous as a singer in Turkey (Sels 2014). Here we also see musical transnational networks in the community. In addition, there are numerous associations and foundations in Belgium regarding Emirdağ, such as the *Emirdağ Yöresi Yardımlaşma Derneği* (Emirdağ Region Charity Association), *Belçika Emirdağlılar Birliği* (Belgian Association for Inhabitants of Emirdağ), including even associations of people from the same village from Emirdağ, such as the *Pörnek Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği* (Pörnek Culture and Solidarity Association) and *Tez Köyü Güzelleştirme*, *Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (Tez Village Beautification, Solidarity and Solidarity Association); a variety of organizations related to place of origin (Yenivatan.be 2018).

Here we see that sharing a common identity can extend beyond the city centre of Emirdağ, but also far into the district, which is made up of dozens of villages and people from the same village also share a common village identity. Based on this information, there seems to be a micro-identity based on the city or district in general and the village to a lesser extent, which survives juxtaposed with the overarching macro-identity of being Turkish or Turkish migrant in Europe. Micro-identity is not an unknown phenomenon in Cultural and Nationalism Studies, but it is a concept about which less is written. Wachter, Ventriglio and Bhugra says in their article on micro-identities: "Micro-identities may also be a part of locality living. Thus, a particular street or small geographical area may have an impact on individual facets of social identity. Identity is not static and can change in response to a number of factors, varying from education, growing up to migration" (Wachter, Ventriglio and Bhugra 2015, 437).

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* is relevant regarding the living environment of the migrants from Emirdağ. To understand Bourdieu's concept, we first looked at his own work *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), in which he elaborated on this concept. Bourdieu says of *habitus*: "...the habitus could be considered as a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class and constituting the precondition for all objectification and apperception: and the objective coordination of practices and the sharing of a world-view could be founded on the perfect impersonality and interchangeability of singular practices and views" (Bourdieu 1977, 86). This is still an abstract definition and to see how this concept can

be related to this research, we look at Vertovec's understanding of habitus in transnationalism.

For this Vertovec uses Smith and Guarnizo in his work, who in turn uses Bourdieu's ideas of habitus to relate with migration. Vertovec says: "Rob Smith (2001), for example, invokes such a meaning when he describes the practices and relationships linking home and abroad as a 'transnational life' among immigrants and their descendants" and about the explanation of Guarnizo, Vertovec quotes Guarnizo: "The transnational habitus incorporates the social position of the migrant and the context in which transmigration occurs. This accounts for the similarity in the transnational habitus of migrants from the same social grouping (class, gender, generation) and the generation of transnational practices adjusted to specific situations" (Vertovec 2004, 974).

Vertovec says after the quote: "Guarnizo (1997:311) further describes how Dominicans retain 'a dual frame of reference' through which they constantly compare their situation in their 'home' society to their situation in the 'host' society abroad. Roger Rouse (1992), too, has described the 'bifocaliry' of people's daily rhythms and routines of life joining localities in Michoacin and California. "Their bifocalism," suggests Rouse (1992:46), "stemmed not from transitional adjustments to a new locale, but from a chronic, contradictory transnationalism." Sarah Mahler (1998) takes up Rouse's notion, emphasizing ways in which researchers need to look at the nature of transnational migrants' 'lived reality' to determine whether or how they might be bifocal with regard to their social ties and personal outlooks" (Vertovec 2004, 974).

These concepts are also recognizable for our case, migrants from Emirdağ who, with their large numbers, have formed a diaspora in Western Europe. Vertovec gives in his work an example of a scholar who gives the Bangladeshi migrants as an example about life 'here' and 'there'. Vertovec: "Such a simultaneous and inextricable relationship between here and there is also conveyed in Katy Gardner's (1993, 1995) accounts of the interplay between notions of *desb* (home) and *bidesh* (foreign contexts) among Sylhetis in Britain and Bangladesh. In everyday discourse among Sylhetis, *desb* is associated with the locus of personal and social identity and religiosity, while *bidesb* conveys material bounty and economic opportunity" (Vertovec 2004, 975).

The example of *desb* and *bidesh* among Bangladeshi is very related to the concept of *memleket* (Turkish for homeland) and *gavur* (Turkish metaphor for non-Muslim foreign countries) among the migrants from Emirdağ. *Memleket* is associated with the home front, where the cultural identity comes from and the term *gavur* is associated with the place where

economic prosperity is to be earned and successes are to be achieved. For many Turks, the concept of *gavur* is associated with the West or non-Muslim persons and cultures in a negative sense (Van Kerckem, Putte and Stevens 2013, 342). On the contrary, the term *gavur* in Emirdağ's idiom has a more neutral connotation, in which the term *gavur* is not necessarily associated with non-Turkish or non-Islamic but is seen as the foreign destination to eventually migrate, work and for economic prosperity. The migrants from Emirdağ are even called *gavurcu* (meaning: migrant of the West) in Emirdağ (Kaya 2009, 141-167). The origin of a "here" and "there" can already be seen from the vernacular.

To understand the concept of cultural identity, we will analyse what Cultural Studies means in relation to our subject, using Hall. Hall has applied the theory and concept of cultural identity in the context of Caribbean cinema and the Afro-Caribbean minority living in diaspora in the West (Hall 1989). Hall says there are at least two different ways to define cultural identity. Hall: "The first position defines 'cultural identity' in term of the ideas of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial, or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" (Hall 1989, 69). Here he defines the most well-known and obvious definition of a cultural identity, where the cultural identity of a group with common characteristics and values is individually experienced as roughly the same, with clear structures and accepted rules. Hall says this shape has been important in creating national identities and shaping our world after the post-colonial era (69).

Hall describes the second definition as follows: "Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall 1989, 70). If we look at the second definition of cultural identity, cultural is not something fixed, but transforming and subject to the view of history, culture, and politics. Here we see a pattern with the concepts of socio-cultural transnationalism, in which the transformation of culture can take different forms during the transnational exchanges between migrants and the place of origin. If we use Hall's explanation to look at the situation so far

explained through secondary sources, we can observe that in addition to the established common cultural identity from the place of origin, the cultural identity is subject to change through transition between the diaspora and the place of origin, with bifocalization as a view on the dual culture and dual orientation as a daily reality.

In *Comparing the Literatures* (2020), Damrosch discusses how the discipline of comparative literature is facing the rapid globalization of recent decades, which has increased access to world literature thanks to modern means of communication. In a field in which many discussions are going on and countless academic redefinitions have been made in the past by comparatists about literary analysis, Damrosch's work provides new insights into the research field. Damrosch concludes that, thanks to globalization, Comparative Literature must make more use of intertwined disciplines, must look beyond the borders of the Anglophone world, and must not stick to its own perspectives and methods (Damrosch 2020, 334-347).

The same progress has also been made in this study. Not only because Turkish is a non-hegemonic language in this academic field (Damrosch 2020, 228), but also offers a new insight into the development of migration cultures through studying the poetry from the bottom of the culture. Whereas previously the intellectual literary works of the high culture of the Turkish world were preferred to be studied, such as the Divan poetry of the Ottomans, thanks to globalization, Turkish poetry is now also available as material from all layers of Turkish culture. In this way, national traditions, such as Emirdağ's poetry culture, can be seen in transnational terms.

1.2 Methodology

To analyse the reflection of cultural transformation through migration in the poems of Emirdağ when the migration starts after 1960's and the poems from Belgium until 2011, the analysis consists of qualitative literature research, in which poems are analysed by means of the structural analysis of motifs within the story analysis, described by Van Boven and Dorleijn in *Literair Mechaniek* (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013). For the poetic devices the work *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi* of Dilçin will be used (Dilçin 1983). Poetic devices as in meter, verse, rhyme and to which poetic form the elegies and quatrains from Emirdağ and Belgium belong in Turkish poetry. Placing the poems in the context of Turkish literature is important, because the meter of poems in Turkish literature, within the category of folk literature, is determined by the amount of syllables (Dilçin 1983). Due to the limited scope of

this research, we limit ourselves to the most important poetic devices and themes within the structural analysis of motifs.

Van Boven and Dorleijn indicate that *Literair Mechaniek* provides insight into the ways in which literary texts achieve certain effects through their design and the vision conveyed. This book consists of three parts. In the first part, the author deals with two main types: lyrical and narrative texts. The linguistic aspects of poetry and poetry analysis are the focus of the second part. In the third part, the authors discuss conceptual frameworks that can be used in the analysis of narrative texts (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013). Dilcin's *Örneklerle Türk Şiir Bilgisi* explains in detail how Turkish poetry is divided into categories, such as folk poetry and Ottoman divan poetry, what poetic forms these poems consist of, how the meter of these poetic forms works and how the rhyme scheme works. The first part of the book consists of the description of meter and rhyme, the second part describes verse forms and types, and the third part describes the rhetoric in poetry (Dilçin 1983). Together, these works provide a comprehensive and complete picture of the poems that will be analysed, which will support this research in understanding the poetry in Emirdağ. But to understand what structural analysis in motives means, it needs to be explained in more detail.

Story analysis, also called narratology, is the analysis of the structure of stories in literary texts. It is mainly used in narrative texts such as in the epic, which can consist of both prose and poetry. The story analysis can also be applied in lyrical texts, but then the structure is looked at on a more abstract level and the focus is mainly on the imagery and style of the text. The structure of a text is also called coherence of the text. There are several elements in the structure of a story that can be analysed. The book explains the elements of time, storytelling, motives, space, and characters. In this analysis, we will look at the motives regarding elements in the structural analysis. Analysing motifs as a structural element is most appropriate in this research. The reason is that the motifs in the structural analysis are comprehensive and because all possible story elements, such as characters and time, can also be given meaning. As Van Boven and Dorleijn themselves describe it, the term motif is used to indicate meaning-bearing units in the story and motifs can manifest themselves in all story categories, at all levels, both in the narrative situation and in the lyrical situation (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013, 303).

For this analysis, two collections of poetry will be used as primary source. For the poems written in Emirdağ, a collection of poems by Yaldızkaya will serve as the primary source. Yaldızkaya is a researcher, with roots in Emirdağ, who, as one of the few independent researchers, has compiled several works on Emirdağ. His collection of poetry *Emirdağ Yöresi*

Türkmen Ağıtları will be analysed for this analysis. Emirdağ Yöresi Türkmen Ağıtları (2018) is a collection of poetry consisting of elegies that are sung and/or written by inhabitants of Emirdağ and the villages, in the tradition of the regional culture, by anonymous people or people whose name is known (Yaldızkaya 2018). As a primary source of first-hand and tribute to my poetic grandfather Şükrü Sayar (1938-2022) and his brother İhsan Sayar (1944-2016), one of their quatrains will also be included in the analysis as poems written in Emirdağ.

For the poems written in Belgium, 1 of the 3 poetry collections of the poet Hakiki Kabakçı will be analysed. His poetry collections are *Gavurcuya Mektup* (2011), *Zıkkımın Kökü* (2014), and *Kabak Tadı* (2018). *Gavurcuya Mektup* (translation: A Letter to the Migrant) will be the one as primary source, because this collection of poetry focuses more on the migrant and the influence of migration on many aspects of life. The writer was born in 1971 in the Turkish town of Kırklareli but comes from a family originally from Emirdağ. He grew up in an Emirdağ environment and, like many from Emirdağ, he emigrated to Belgium in 1992. With his talent for poetry, he has continued the traditional way of poetry from Emirdağ in Belgium and besides many poems about Turkish politics and everyday subjects concerning Turkish culture, he has also written about the life of the immigrant from Emirdağ and about the culture from the Emirdağ community in Belgium. Often in a satirical and mocking way. He's poems are an impressive primary source, because through his pen we can read how the migrant stands in the Emirdağ community and how cultural identity, and habits have been transformed and acquired an identity of its own.

The analysis will first look at the poetic devices of the elegies of Yaldızkaya's poetry collection. Of the 101 elegies, the poems related to migration will be selected. The elegies that relate to migration or have migration as part of the elegy are specifically chosen so that it is more comparable to the poems of Kabakçı. After this, the themes within the elegies will be examined via the structural analysis of motifs. After that, Kabakçı's poems will be analysed by looking at the poetic devices and the structure analysis in motifs. The selection is made for poems that specifically deal with the social and cultural differences between the migrants and the locals. As a result, both the outcome of migration and the cultural transformation can be observed. Having looked at the theoretical concepts to understand the academic thinking behind concepts such as transnationalism and cultural identity, it is important to place Emirdağ in a cultural and historical context related to migration, so that the background of the poems can be better understood and interpreted in the analysis. This will be covered in the next chapter.

2. Emirdağ

In this chapter the history, ethnographic structure, and the cultural products of Emirdağ related to migration will be discussed. Subsequently, the developed migration culture, multilevel transnationalism and the changes this has brought in the traditions of Emirdağ will be discussed.

2.1 The History

Since the Seljuk victory against the Byzantine Empire at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the doors of Anatolia have been opened to an extensive migration of Turkic nomadic tribes from the steppes of Central Asia (Golden 1992, 383). These tribes belonged to the Oghuz Turks, the westerly branch of the Turkic peoples, almost all of whom were referred to as Turkmen as an ethnonym (Golden 1992, 212-213). In Anatolia a difference has arisen between the term Turkmen and Yörük (also called Yuruks) and in Ottoman archives both terms were also used for the same nomads. Although both groups are of the same ethnicity, especially that the Yörüks are a Turkmen subgroup, the difference is mainly in the way they organized their nomadic lifestyle after entering Anatolia and differences in traditions that arose from that. The Yörüks were mainly nomads who travelled short distances and settled in the mountain ranges of the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal areas of Anatolia. The Turkmen were mainly nomads who travelled longer distances on the plains of the Anatolian and Mesopotamian mainland (Gelekçi 2004, 9-18). Today, both terms and groups are a symbiosis, often referring to the *Yörük-Türkmen* culture as a whole (Inalcık 2014, 467-495).

Midwestern Anatolia was an area that included the kingdom of Phrygia before Christ. After that, the Byzantine city of Amorium was an important settlement on the site where Emirdağ is now located. Amorium lost its glory after Arab groups repeatedly looted the city on the way to attempts to conquer Constantinople. After the Battle of Bolybotum (nowadays Bolvadin) in the 12th century, in which the Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantines, the first wave of Turkmen migration began to move to the area. The mountains behind the city of Emirdağ, the Emir Mountains, are named after the Seljuk commander of that battle, Emir Mengüjek. The city of Emirdağ was previously called Cırgın and Aziziye, but eventually became named after these mountains, hence the name Emirdağ (what translated means Emirmountain). Despite the first wave of migration, the area remained sparsely populated for six centuries. Until in the 18th century the Musulcalı Turkmens from the Mosul vilayet and

the Karabağlı Turkmens from Karabakh emigrated to the area. The names of these tribal groups are therefore derived from where they came from. *Musulcalı* means 'from Mosul' and *Karabağlı* means 'from Karabakh'. This last major wave of migration to the district marked the development of the current demographics (Şahbaz 2021, 854-858).

Jak Den Exter created an ethnic map of Emirdağ, in which he emphasizes how the tribal structure of Emirdağ is still alive. The district is predominantly Sunni Muslim, with a small Alevi minority, the latter mainly in the village of Karacalar. The district mainly consists of the three Turkmen groups known as Musulcalı, Karabağlı, and Boynuyoğunlu. Then the district consists of the Yörük villages and then the *Muhacir* villages, the latter being the name for Ottoman immigrants (mostly ethnic Turks) from the Balkans in the early 20th century. However, the dominant culture in Emirdağ is that of the Musulcalı Turkmen, as the center of Emirdağ and the nearest surrounding villages are Musulcalı. The Musulcalı also dominate the migration to the Benelux (Exter 2015).

There are several important elements that make up the regional culture of Emirdağ. They are also the cultural pillars with which the district presents itself. This is the poetic culture, the folk dances, the *kilim* (rug) and the nomadic yurt, called *topakev* in Emirdağ (Cihan 2018, 40-63). In this chapter, the *topakev* (translation: tiny house) will be discussed. The earlier nomadic existence, of which the *topakev* is a symbol, could play a role in the relatively high migration rate of Emirdağ. Şahbaz also notes that besides the reasons such as poor economic prospects and high unemployment rate in the previous century, the recent nomadic lifestyle of the Turkmens and the late formation of Emirdağ may also be one of the reasons for a relatively high migration (Şahbaz 2021, 9).

The nomadic yurt was used by Turkmen tribes during the migration to Anatolia and (semi-)nomadic way of life in Anatolia. The layout of the nomadic yurt can be seen today in the internal division of traditional Turkish houses, such as the traditional houses in Safranbolu, but in Turkey the yurt has almost completely disappeared under Turks who have been sedentary for centuries (Demirarslan 2017, 987-997). Except for a very small group of Yörüks who are still completely nomadic. Their nomad tents called the *kara çadır* (translation: black tent). These are tents that are quick and practical to set up and intended for short distances (Cihan 2018, 45-47). But the *topakev* is a product of the Musulcalı and thus a typical Turkmen phenomenon, with the nomadic yurt most similar in structure to its Central Asian equivalent (Andrews 1984, 27-40).

The *topakev* is so essential to the city's cultural identity that it can also be found in the district's official logo. *Topakevs* are set up in the city for public display, such as in the garden

of the town hall (Emirdag.gen.tr 2015). The *topakev* is no longer used in sedentary Emirdağ and now functions as a cultural symbol of the city. The critical question arises as to whether this nomads' tent has been retrieved from general national Turkish history, or whether the nomads' tent is part of the regional culture and has really been used in Emirdağ lately. Ottoman archives show that the Musulcalı, as semi-nomads, still lay long distances between Emirdağ and the area of Çankırı in the 18th century. Because of the nuisance they caused in Çankırı among the sedentary population, the Ottomans' settlement policy forced them back to the Emirdağ area around 1750 to establish a sedentary settlement (Türkmen 2021).

In 1967 Andrews described the construction of a *topakev*, based on observation in Emirdağ itself (Andrews 1984). Exter notes that he still saw *topakevs* in use in the valleys of Emirdağ in the 1970s (Exter 2015). This is very recent for Turkmen standards, as only a few thousand Yörüks still set up their tents in the coastal areas today. It can be deduced from the recent formation of Emirdağ and the notes of Andrews and Exter that long distances were still laid by the Musulcalı in the 18th century and that a semi-nomadic way of life was still present in their own district in the 20th century. This explains why Emirdağ not only embraces the Turkmen identity because of the national Turkish history, but recently also used the nomadic way of life itself. Migration, in the form of a semi-nomadic lifestyle within Anatolia, was recently still active and is present in the cultural DNA of Emirdağ, so that migration-related cultural products such as the *topakev* are still present in the collective memory.

2.2 The Migration

The migration of the inhabitants of Emirdağ first started to Eskişehir, the largest industrial city nearby Emirdağ. But as soon as possible, residents of Emirdağ migrated massively to Western Europe since the 1960's, mainly to Belgium and the Netherlands. Labor migration from Turkey to Belgium started in 1962 and quickly evolved into chain migration (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 233). In Belgium alone there are an estimated 140,000 inhabitants from Emirdağ and one-third of the Turkish immigrants from Belgium come from Emirdağ (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 235). Migration to the Benelux is so extensive that today more descendants from Emirdağ live in Belgium and the Netherlands than in Emirdağ itself. To illustrate the magnitude of this migration: in the summer months the migrants return to Emirdağ during the summer holidays, which means that the city center of about 22,000 inhabitants, often receives around 140,000 visitors. As a

result, in the summer you hear more Flemish and Walloon in the streets of Emirdağ than Turkish (nieuwsblad.be 2004).

This mass migration has led to a migrant culture, in which transnationalism brought about various changes and consequences. While the population in other districts has increased in recent decades, in Emirdağ there is a decline in the number of inhabitants. The demographics of the city and surrounding villages have changed after the mass migration and there is an aging population. Timmerman calls these elderly the 'zero generation'. These are elderly people left behind of whom at least one child is a migrant, which has caused a change in family relationships in Turkish traditions, such as caring for the elderly. The elderly could no longer rely on their migrant children and became more independent, but this process has also caused fear and loneliness (Timmerman et al. 2018, 260–269). This phenomenon, such as the family ties, expectations and rituals surrounding care and death, is also reflected in the poems that have been analysed, which will be read in the following chapter.

Economically, the migration has ensured that the wealth amassed in the West is reflected in Emirdağ and its villages. Villages with many migrants are full of well-maintained houses that were recently built (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 236-237). Migrants also buy a lot of real estate in the nearby industrial city of Eskişehir. The entrepreneurs in the center of Emirdağ prepare in the summer months for the arrival of the migrants, often charging extortionate prices. The transport sector also shows that the migration is being anticipated. Bus companies and taxi services have been set up to bring migrants back and forth to airports in the summer and the nearest airport at Eskişehir mainly serves to transport migrants to and from Brussels Airport. The street scene in terms of shops is also very migration oriented in Emirdağ, such as the countless jewellers and bridal shops due to the wedding industry that has arisen, more on that later. Timmerman says: "This phenomenon of transnational communities enables vibrant relations to be kept between the migrant society and the country of origin" (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 236).

Economic transnationalism is often a one-way street, from Europe to Emirdağ. But the economic integration in Belgium has also ensured that the migrant from Emirdağ has managed to claim its place in the society of Belgian cities. Making a fortune is most often done through buying real estate and opening own businesses in busy streets, such as bakeries, greengrocers, and restaurants. Entire neighbourhoods and streets in Belgium are known as the Emirdağ neighbourhoods, such as the Schaerbeek neighbourhood in Brussels and the street Sleepstraat in Ghent. They are also active in the local politics of Ghent with migrant parties (Coninck 2017). These economic advances have also made young people in Emirdağ see

migrating to Europe as a future. The annual summer return of wealthy migrants paints the image of Europe as a utopia among local young people in Emirdağ. Timmermans says that migration to the West has become a 'habit' in Emirdağ (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 237).

One of the consequences is the marriage industry that has developed between migrants and locals from Emirdağ, resulting in marriage migration. That is the reason of the many jewellers and bridal shops in Emirdağ, which are crowded in the summer months, because of the weddings that are organized in a short time (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 239). While the migrants want a marriage partner from Emirdağ for socio-cultural reasons, such as a marriage partner who is still culturally 'authentic', the local candidate and his family more often see a European marriage partner as an opportunity to improve his or her economic position. Marriage migration is the fastest way for local young adults to realize the European utopia. But according to Timmerman, better economic prospects are no longer the only reason to marry a migrant. The economic status of many Turks has improved considerably compared to the previous century in Turkey (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 236). The connection through transnational modern communication networks also ensure that young migrants and locals find each other in an unarranged setting.

Timmerman's quantitative research shows that there is hardly any difference in percentage between the number of brides and grooms who are marriage migrants. However, a significant difference can be seen in the second generation of migrants, who less often marry a marriage migrant, in contrast to the in-between generation. The latter is the generation that was brought to the West by the first generation at a young age because of family reunification. Figures in the article shows that around 75% of the in-between generation has married a bride or groom from Turkey, compared to 60% of the second generation (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 234). However, these figures in the article are from 2006. The late second generation and third generation has also grown up. If the same research were done today, different percentages might come out.

As for the consequences of this social and cultural transnationalism, marriage migration also entails changes in traditional Turkish patterns, such as a change in patrilocality. It is traditionally expected that the bride will move in with the in-laws. Marriage migration shows an increase in grooms moving in with the in-laws, due to the distance from the groom's family that remains in Turkey. Between the years 2000 and 2003, this concerns 16% of the grooms who move in with their in-laws, compared to 3% of the grooms in which both marriage partners are second generation (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 240).

Timmerman ultimately concludes that the existence of migration culture provides the connection between the place of origin and destination through the family as an 'institution', so that the popularity of marriage migration remains popular (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 243). It seems that the strong migration culture of the *Emirdağlı* serves as a bridge in socio-cultural and economic transnationalism, between Europe and Emirdağ.

In this chapter it was noted that Emirdağ still had a Turkmen tribal structure, although we don't know how much impact the latter has in the community, and relatively speaking, recently had a semi-nomadic lifestyle. From this history, the link has been made to one of the reasons for the urge to migrate, in addition to the economic motivation. In addition, this chapter considers the impact of migration on traditions such as care for the elderly and patrilocality, the consequences of migration such as declining population numbers and new developments due to migration, such as a migration culture with many transnational levels and a marriage industry.

Emirdağ is not unique in migration, but for a small district, Emirdağ is unique in size of migration. This makes Emirdağ attractive to study certain concepts within Migration Studies, such as transnationalism and marriages. However, the next chapter will analyse for the first time how migration is reflected in the poetry of Emirdağ and the diaspora.

3. The Analysis

This chapter is structured systematically as follows. First, the elegies from Emirdağ are analysed for poetic devices and motifs in subchapters 3.1 and 3.2, then the same for poems of Kabakçı in subchapters 3.3 and 3.4. For each stanza from a poem that is used as an example, a translation into English will also be displayed. For better readability, a direct translation has been chosen instead of an appendix. All translations in this analysis are realized by me. The analysed poems are numbered from beginning to end, from 1 to 17. This is the numbering of this research, not of the author. If only one or more stanzas from the poem have been used, it is stated in the numbering. The poems have their own title and number in the books, these are also mentioned above the poems and stanzas. A reference to the page number in the book will be given under each poem and stanza. If additional explanation is required or translation to the original text, this is noted as a footnote.

3.1 Poetic Devices of the Poems from Emirdağ

The poetry collection *Emirdağ Yöresi Türkmen Ağıtları* (2018) from Yaldızkaya consists of bundled elegies, sung and written in the tradition of Emirdağ. The Turkish word *ağıt* stands alone, just like the Portuguese word *saudade* or the Italian word *lamento*. When we want to translate it to Western standards in literature, the word elegy comes closest. Elegies are lamentations in which, through lyricism and poetic form, the pain of the singer is expressed, usually through a plaintive melancholic song (Dilçin 1983, 342). According to Boratav, *ağıt* is one of the types of sentimental poetry (Boratav 1969, 28). Unlike the English word lament, which refers to an expression of sadness, which does not necessarily have to be in poetic form. To be able to place the elegies in the context of literature, the description of lyricism is important to understand the elegy.

According to Van Boven and Dorleijn, lyricism can be defined by starting from the language situation of the text. In lyricism this is a monological language situation, with a spokesperson, the lyrical 'I', or the lyrical subject. A lyrical subject expresses a momentary experience, without any history or narrative, as in epic. The lyrical I invoke a person or instance (apostrophe) or produces exclamations (*exclamatio*). Lyricism is not tied to poetry, because lyrical prose also exists. Conversely, poetry does not necessarily have to be lyrical, because narrative poetry (epic and dramatic) also exists. In short, lyricism occurs in both

poetry and prose, and poetry can again consist of lyricism, epic, and drama (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 31).

In this case, the elegy itself belongs to the lyric. The elegies in the book are all written and sung in poetic form, making the elegies of this study part of lyrical poetry. A distinction can be made between subjective lyricism and objective lyricism. In subjective lyricism, a lyrical I, or a lyrical subject, is clearly present in the text, literally indicated by the words 'I'. The subjective lyricism also clearly speaks to a 'you' figure. In objective lyricism the lyrical subject is not clearly present, but rather observant and the poem is described in a more registering manner (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 21). Both forms occur in the elegies from Emirdağ, although the subjective lyricism is clearly more prominent.

To demonstrate this, two examples are taken from stanzas of elegies, with the original and the translation into English by myself, to show the lyrical self. Here we see an example of a subjective lyrical elegy, in which the lyrical subject and the second person to whom the lyrical subject speaks are indicated literally, which is bold in the translation.

In the village of Çaykışla, Hacı died of a tractor accident. His sister Medine Üçkuyulu sings an elegy:

Poem 1 (stanza 1 out of 5)

64. Hacı'nın ağıdı

"Şosenin üstünden bir duman kalktı, Kimseyi yakmadı o beni yaktı, Senin ılgıt ılgıt kanların aktı, Toplandı köylü de hep sana baktı."

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 292)

Translation 1

64. The elegy of Hacı

Smoke rises from the highway, It didn't burn anyone, only but **me**. Your blood flows in abundance,
While the villagers gathered around **you**.

In the following example we see a verse from an objective lyrical elegy. In the village of Karacalar, Kadir Ağa was a respectable person. This elegy is sung during the funeral:

Poem 2 (stanza 1 out of 15)

43. Kadir Ağa'nın ağıdı

"Bayram gününde merasimi vardı, Arefe gününde Hakk'a yürüdü. Sanki onbinlerce insan varıdı, Cümle muhipleri geldi ağladı."

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 244-247)

Translation 2

43. The elegy of Kadir Ağa

There was a ceremony during the feast,

He walked to God on the Day of Arafa,

As if there were tens of thousands of people,
All his believers came and wept.

The author does not refer to himself literally as a lyrical subject, like the word "I", but we read that the poem is observed from the lyrical subject, but over the second and third person, giving the poem a recording character.

Now that the elegies from the book have been placed in a literary framework, namely subjective and objective lyrical poetic elegies, it is important to look at the poetic devices of the poems. *Örneklerle Türk şiir bilgisi* by Dilçin (1983) will be used, because of the Turkish character and origin of the elegies. Within Turkish literature they fall under a certain Turkish category and the meter of the poems have its own Turkish rules (more on that below), therefore it is more appropriate to position them in the context of Turkish literature. We will

look at the category within Turkish literature, the type of poem (*nazım türü*), the poetic form (*nazım biçimi*), the meter (*ölçü*), rhyme (*kafiye*) and the rhyme scheme (*kafiye düzeni*).

Yaldızkaya's book is composed of four parts, the first of which is an introduction to the history of Emirdağ. In the first part, the book is about the place of *ağıtlar* (plural of elegies) within Turkish culture and in the Turkic speaking world. Examples are given of elegies within the different regions of Turkey and within the Turkic world, such as elegies of the Uzbeks, the Nogai, the Gagauz, Tatars, Azerbaijanis, Turkmen in Turkmenistan, Turkmen in Iraq, the Kazakhs and so on. In the second part, the elegies in Emirdağ, as part of the Turkmen culture in Turkey, are discussed. The third part presents the bundled elegies from Emirdağ, which are divided into themes. Theme here refers to the reason for the elegy, such as the death of a loved one or the death of a pet. A total of 101 elegies in lyrical poetry have been collected (Yaldızkaya 2018).

All poems collected in the book fall within the category of Turkish Folk Literature (*Halk edebiyatı*) within Turkish Literature. In addition, you have the Pre-Islamic Turk Literature (*İslamiyet öncesi Türk edebiyatı*), Ottoman Divan Poetry (*Divan edebiyatı*), Modern Turkish Poetry (*Yeni Türk şiiri*). Within the Folk Literature, there are three subcategories, including Anonymous Folk Poetry (*Anonim halk edebiyatı*), Troubadour Folk Literature (*Âşık halk edebiyatı*), and Lodge Literature (*Tekke edebiyatı*). According to Boratav, Anonymous Folk Poetry is a category of poems in which after a while it is no longer known who the poet is, so that the poem has become a common good (Boratav 1969, 32). In our case it is known who the poets of the elegies are, but since they are not famous poets or have not written the elegies with the intention as a troubadour, it falls under Anonymous Folk Poetry. Dilçin also puts the elegy under the Troubadour Folk Literature, but also under the Anonymous Folk Poetry (Dilçin 1983, 342).

The category in which the poem itself falls is called the *nazım türü* (translation: types of poetic forms). The type of the poem, such as an elegy or folk song, does not necessarily have to be written in a particular poetic form, called *nazım biçimi* (translation: poetic form), it is independent of each other (Dilçin 1983, 98). The *nazim türü* (translation: types of poems) of these poems fall within the Anonymous Folk Poetry, under the elegies and folk songs. When an elegy is turned into a *türkü* (translation: Turkish Folk song), Dilçin calls it *ölüm türküleri*, which means folk songs about the dead (Dilçin 1983, 295).

The *nazīm biçimi* is the poetic form of the poetic text. Dilçin says about this: "verse forms consist of the combination of verse and rhyme in an order. Strings are clustered in a poem, at least in pairs, with three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten" (Dilçin 1983,

95).¹ Just as it often occurs in folk poetry in Turkey, most of the poems from Emirdağ in the book are written and sung in *dörtlükler* (translation: quatrains). In the original poem below you can already see the count of the syllables and the rhyme scheme in parentheses, these will be explained later when studying the poetic devices. The following example is intended to show the quatrains:

In the village of Davulga, Gülizar Keklik mourns the death of her husband.

Poem 3 (the whole poem) 15. Ağıt "Bir haber salayım gevur eline, (11) (a) Beş bacısı girsin yiğidimin sal'ına, (13) (a) Siz ne dersiniz benim gibi geline, (12) (a) Hadi Ümmühan bacım hadi. (9) (b) Senin ile ikimiz ikimiz, (10) (a) Tuz yükünden ağır oldu yükümüz, (11) (a) Ne de çürüğümüş bizim kökümüz, (11) (a) Kurbanlar olurum yiğidime. (10) (b) Ankara'yla Belçika'nın arası, (11) (a) Hem kolunda, hem başında yarası, (11) (a) Gurbanlar olurum git güle güle, (11) (b) Gitte bizden selamlar söyle." (9) (b) (Yaldızkaya 2018, 201) **Translation 3**

15. Elegy

¹ Dilçin: "Nazım biçimleri (*nazım şekilleri, eşkal-i nazm*), dize ve uyağın bir düzen içinde birleşmesinden oluşur. Dizeler bir şiirde en az ikili olmak üzere, üçlü, dörtlü, beşli, altılı, yedili, sekizli, dokuzlu ve onlu olarak kümelenirler."

I'm going to bring some news abroad, Let his five sisters enter my hero's grave, What do you say to a bride like me, Come on, Ümmühan sister, come on.

You and me, the two of us, the two of us,
Our load was heavier than the salt load,
How rotten our roots were,
I would sacrifice myself for you, my hero.

Between Ankara and Belgium,
Wounds on both his arm and head,
I sacrifice myself for you, go with peace,
Go and give the greetings from us.

However, there are also many elegies written with three lines of verse and two lines of verse at the conjunction, so verses of three and two alternate. Or elegies with quatrains that alternate with two lines of verse, called *beyit* in Turkish. In addition, there are also many elegies written in more than four lines of verse. This is called a *bent*. With a *beyit* (two lines of verse) and a *dörtlük* (quatrain), the verse lines are decisive, with a *bent* you are not. Initially, in this research it was expected that almost all verses in the elegies would be written in quatrains, but this turned out not to be. In addition to quatrains, we mainly see stanzas with three lines of verse that alternate with stanzas with two lines of verse. An example of the part an elegy alternating between a three-line stanza followed by a two-line stanza.

Zehra makes a long elegy about the martyrdom of her brother Eyüp, who was sent as a soldier to the Korean War. The first two stanzas of the poem as an example:

Poem 4 (first 2 stanzas of the 5)

11. Kore Ağıdı (II)

"Kore'ye gidiyor bir uzun çığra, (11) (a)

Allah'ın aşkına Eyüb'e uğra, (11) (a)

Kendini bulamazsan künyesin ara, (12) (a)

Kore senin vatanın mı, yurdun mu? (10) (b)

Gelemedin gadın edem öldün mü?" (11) (b)

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 194-195)

Translation 4

11. Korea Elegy (II)

A long path goes to Korea,
For God's sake, also pass Eyüp.
If you can't find him, look for his tag,

Is Korea your country, your homeland?
You didn't come, my beautiful brother, are you dead?²

Of the 101 poems, 42 are written in quatrains, where the stanzas only consist of 4 lines of verse. 29 poems written in 3 lines of verse, alternating with 2 lines of verse (3+2). 2 poems written in stanzas alternating between 4 and 3 lines (4+3). 3 poems written in stanzas of 3 verses (3). 1 poem alternately written in stanzas of 7, 5 and 6 lines (7+5+6). 2 poems written in quatrains, alternating with stanzas of 2 lines (4+2). 1 poem alternately written in stanzas of 3, 4 and 2 lines (3+4+2). 1 poem alternately written in stanzas of 4, 2 and 5 lines (4+2+5). 11 poems written only in 5-line stanzas. 8 poems alternately written in stanzas of 5 and 4 verses (5+4) and 1 poem alternately written in stanzas of 6, 5 and 4 verses (6+5+4). What we mainly see is that most poems are mainly written in stanzas of quatrains and poems in stanzas of three lines alternating with stanzas of two lines (Yaldızkaya 2018).

The meter of the elegies is partly written in the *hece ölçüsü* (translation: syllable meter), which means that the poems consist of a fixed number of syllables per line of verse.

This is the meter that is suitable for the Turkish language and is therefore the meter of Turkish

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² Explanation about poem 4: In the colloquial language of Emirdağ, the word *edem* means 'my brother'. In Turkish, the word *kadın* (or *gadın* in dialect) means women. The word woman is an adjective of beauty. In Emirdağ the word is often used as an expression when a beloved family member is mentioned. Word arrangements such as *gadın edem*, *gadın babam*, *gadın kızım* are common in Emirdağ, which literally means 'my feminine brother', 'my feminine father', 'my feminine daughter'. I based this on my own observation and experience.

Folk poetry. You can also see the number of syllables by counting the vowels in the verse. This is called *parmak hesabi* (translation: finger count) in Turkish Folk Literature because they counted the vowels with their fingers (Dilçin 1983, 39-40). Unlike the *aruz ölçüsü* (translation: prosody-meter), where poems are based on the length of the syllables and not on the numbers. It comes from Arabic and Persian poetry and is used in Ottoman Divan Poetry. (Dilçin 1983, 3-4).

But there are also many elegies written in the *serbest ölçü* (translation: free meter), without considering the number of syllables (Dilçin 1983, 375). Poem 3 and poem 4 is an example of this, the numbers after the lines of verse in the example are the number of syllables per line and the bold are the vowels (based on the finger count). In the syllable meter you also have the *durak* (translation: caesura), which divides the lines of verse in two, with a fixed number of syllables, such as the 4+4 (8), 5+6 and/or 6+5 (11) syllable meter (Dilçin 1983, 40). Poem 5 is an elegy that is written in a syllable meter, in this case with 11 syllables, with the caesura of 6+5 (except for the first line).

A mother's elegy about her son, a soldier in the First World War (Gallipoli campaign) who never returned home.

Poem 5 (first 4 stanzas of the 12)

3. Çanakkale Ağıdı (I)

"Hüçüm demiş Alaman'ın zabıtı, (4+7) (11) (a)

Yavrumun kefeni asker kabutu, (6+5) (11) (a)

Sal'ına girmeye yoktur tabutu, (6+5) (11) (a)

Yoksa yavrum seni vurdular m'ola? (6+5) (11) (b)

Kefensiz gabire goydular m'ola? (6+5) (11) (b)

Topun dumanı da ağmış havaya, (6+5) (11) (a)

Gözlerim yavrumu dönmez sılaya, (6+5) (11) (a)

Goltuğuma girmiş çifte sıhlıya, (6+5) (11) (a)

Yoksa yavrum seni vurdular m'ola? (6+5) (11) (b)

Kefensiz gabire goydular m'ola? (6+5) (11) (b)

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 183-185)

Translation 5

3. Elegy of Çanakkale (I)

Attack, said the German officer,

My child's shroud is the soldier's beret,

There is no coffin that can go into his grave,

Did they shoot you my child, did they?

Did they put you to the grave without a shroud, did they?

The smoke from the cannon blew into the air,
I look forward to my child, he isn't coming home,
Two medics holding me under both arms,

Did they shoot you my child, did they?

Did they put you to the grave without a shroud, did they?

There is rhyme in all the elegy, although it has been found that many poems do not follow a strict rhyme scheme, called *kafiye düzeni* in Turkish. It is noticeable that, just as with the number of syllables in the meter, there is sometimes a deviation from the rhyme scheme. But in the elegies written only in quatrains, the following types of rhyme schemes mainly occur: aaaa, aaab, aaba and aabb. See poem 3, in which we see the rhyme scheme aaab and aabb. In poems of stanzas of three lines, alternating with two lines, we often see the rhyme scheme aaabb. See the example of the poem 4 and poem 5, in which we see the rhyme scheme aaabb.

The next quatrains that will be discussed are from my grandfather Şükrü Sayar (1938-2022), from the village of Adayazı (former name: Firikli) of Emirdağ. He wrote a quatrain (poem 6) about his brother İhsan Sayar (1944-2016), at a time when he was not talking to his brother. His brother İhsan wrote a quatrain (poem 7) on his deathbed, to have it placed on his tombstone. These are quatrains that the poet has written from the point of view of the lyrical subject, to express his experience of that moment. In both poems we see the importance of the

family, the relations between relatives and the place of the individual in the community. At poem 6 we see no syllables of the same number in the meter, but we do see a rhyme scheme aaab, which is common for Turkish quatrains. In poem 7, the same number of syllables in the meter are correct, as are the caesura, as well as the rhyme scheme aaaa.

Poem 6 (whole poem)

"Atlar boğuştu ayıramadım, (10) (a) Çağırdım İhsan'ı duyuramadım, (11) (a) Düşmandan utandım bağıramadım, (11) (a) Gel artık gel İhsan gardaşım." (9) (b)

Eminoğlu Şükrü Sayar

Translation 6

The horses struggled, I couldn't separate them, I called Ihsan, I couldn't make myself heard, I was ashamed of the enemy, I could not shout, Get back here, my brother İhsan, get back.

Poem 7 (whole poem)

"Dolapta silahım basılı kaldı, (6+5) (11) (a) Elbisem dolapta asılı kaldı, (6+5) (11) (a) Sevdiğim arkamda yasılı kaldı, (6+5) (11) (a) Kardeşlerim bana küsülü kaldı." (6+5) (11) (a)

- Eminoğlu İhsan Sayar

Translation 7

My gun has remained pressed in the closet, My suit has remained hung in the closet, My beloved is left behind in mourning, My brothers have remained angry with me.

- Son of Emin, İhsan Sayar

3.2 Themes of the Poems from Emirdağ

The themes of the elegies are organized as follows by Yaldızkaya, in the index of the book: elegies for those who died in war (11), elegies for historical heroes (3), elegies for those who died of their own natural causes (37), elegies for those killed by their enemies (9), elegies for those who died as a result of accident (19), elegies for those who died while doing their military service (7), elegies for those who were married to someone else but later died (as a result of illness or suicide) in various ways (3), elegies for those who were shot or caught and killed while wanted for various crimes (2), elegies for those who died (especially abroad) in the diaspora (7), elegies of those who went abroad (1), elegies about the death of loved animals (1) and henna ballads (1). In the fourth part there is room for elegies from which Turkish Folk songs is made (Yaldızkaya 2018).

Elegies are almost always about grief and mourning, which makes it no surprise that the themes divided in the book by Yaldızkaya are about death and grief. However, the poems of Kabakçı are not elegies and therefore do not have similar mourning themes as in Yaldızkaya's collection. To make a good comparison in the next chapter between the poems from this book and the poems written by Kabakçı, we will look for themes as *Literair Mechaniek* intended. But to understand motives and themes, we must first look at Van Boven and Dorleijn's description.

Motifs and themes are studied in literature in narrative texts (epic), such as prose and narrative poems. But Van Boven and Dorleijn emphasize that motifs and themes can also appear in lyrical texts (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013, 305). The elegies from Yaldızkaya's collection of poems are lyrical poems because of their size, lyrical subject, and emotional expressions. But in the elegies, in addition to expressions of feeling, there is also a matter of wanting to convey a story, such as telling events, memories and moments from life. In all the elegies we have seen, a certain emotional state is sketched in a narrative frame in which the lyrical subject has ended up. Therefore, these elegies are more than just emotional laments. Time, characters, space, and motifs are often involved.

Van Boven and Dorleijn say about applying a structure analysis in lyrical texts: "With shorter lyrical texts, an analysis of the motif structure is less useful. Nevertheless, the process of giving meaning works in principle in the same way. Here again the reader tries to make connections according to the process of identification and differentiation, and to group text elements based on common notions. One difference is that people will generally be more focused on poetic means such as imagery, style, and word meanings..." (Van Boven and

Dorleijn 2013, 315).³ Van Boven and Dorleijn also say that in poems the structural analysis of motifs takes place on a more abstract level, whereby looking at main and ground motifs (the most abstract level of motifs) is more appropriate (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013, 305).

In summary, Van Boven en Dorleijn distinguishes within the literature various types of motifs. According to Van Boven en Dorleijn, the term motif is used to indicate meaning-bearing units in the story, both at the level of the narrative situation and at the level of language expression, such as style and imagery. Meaningful units can be found through repetition in the text. Giving meaning to the text is done by making connections through identification and differentiation as a reader (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 303). There is a distinction between text-internal (structural) motif and text-external (literary-historical) motif. Story analysis, also in this study, is only concerned with text-internal, or structural motives (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 304).

Regarding the types of text-internal motives, there is a distinction between concrete motives and abstract motives. Within concrete motifs, we distinguish between narrative motifs, free motifs, and leitmotifs. Narrative motifs are part of the fable, free motifs are part of the object and leitmotifs are the identifiable repetitions in the text (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 305). All these elements from the concrete motifs come together and form an abstract motif. The reader makes the connection between different concrete motives, whereby these common motives come under a denominator (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 309).

The abstract motifs consist of main motifs and ground motifs. The main motif is what the story revolves around (the idea, the vision) and there can be multiple main motifs. These are all together the ground motif, the very highest abstract level of the narrative. The term theme is also used synonymously with the main and ground motif but is more applicable to poems (Van Boven en Dorleijn 2013, 306-310). In the context of this analysis, the direct search for a main motive and ground motive (theme) is more applicable than the concrete motive and imagery and style will certainly be part of the analysis. The corpus of both primary sources has been searched to create a picture of the motifs and themes. In this section we will deal with those from Emirdağ.

Yaldızkaya himself has grouped 8 elegies under the theme that has a direct link with migration, such as elegy about people who died abroad, and 1 elegy written by a migrant in

zal zijn op poëtische middelen als beeldspraak, stijl en woordbetekenissen..." (315).

33

³ Van Boven and Dorleijn: "Bij kortere lyrische teksten is een analyse van de motiefstructuur minder zinvol. Toch verloopt het proces van betekenisgeving daar in principe op dezelfde manier. Ook daar probeert de lezer verbanden te leggen volgens het procedé van identificeren en differentiëren, en tekstelementen op grond van gemeenschappelijke noties onder een noemer te brengen. Een verschil is dat men in het algemeen meer gericht

the plane while leaving abroad. For the structural analysis, a selection was made of elegies based on the criterion that the elegies should not have been written before the migration flow to the Benelux, that means not the elegies that deal with wars such as the First World War or Korea, such as poems 4 and 5, or religious elegies, such as poem 2. These have been analysed for the poetic devices, not for the content. For the structural analysis, 6 elegies have been chosen that are indirectly related to migration, but where the narrative can provide an indication of socio-cultural and economic aspects within transnationalism. It will look at which narrative the author chose to tell, beyond the fact that the author wrote the elegy because of grief or loss.

The author of the elegy can choose from all kinds of subjects and stories about the deceased or the lost person, such as memories, describing the character, the love in the relationship, desires, etc. The analysis revealed that there are several themes that immediately stand out when reading the elegies. These themes always concern the social environment, like the family members, family life, enemies, friends, neighbours, reputation, and the accumulation of wealth. These motifs also recur in the elegies that have been analysed. It is clear how important the family ties and the reactions of the social environment, such as neighbours, friends, and enemies, are for the people of Emirdağ. The analyses follow.

The 15th elegy from the book (poem 3) is about the deceased husband of Gülizar Keklik, from the village of Davulga. Gülizar names her sisters-in-law from abroad, whom she feels should come to bury her husband. She explicitly talks about how the environment feels about her as a bride. You are given the title bride in Turkish culture when you are married. Her role as a bride is an important one within the family. She mentions how they carried a heavy burden of life side by side with her husband and she uses the sentence "çürükmüş kökümüz", which can be translated as "our roots are rotten", but which is used here as a metaphor and means that their family is no good. She basically says that with her late husband in life they were able to cope with the family side by side, but now that he is gone, she is condemned as a bride. The reasons for this are not clear from the poem. She also talks about distances between Ankara and Belgium. Ankara as the capital is the metaphor for Turkey. Here we see that Belgium also plays a role in their lives. The ground motives in this elegy are family problems, the social environment, and her role as a bride in this and abroad (Yaldızkaya 2018, 201)

The 27th elegy from the book is about Memnune, who from Belgium visits her sick father in Emirdağ to be with him in his last days. When her father dies, she herself dies ten days after his funeral. In this elegy we see her husband, Mevlüt Denizli, mourning his wife

Memnune, of whom he has five children. Mevlüt often talks about holidays and certain important events to come, such as sending a son to military service, the holiday after Ramadan, organizing a wedding, and going on an annual vacation to Emirdağ in the seventh month, July. In Emirdağ, the month of July has become a household name, called *yedinci ay* (translation: the seventh month), because July is the start of the summer vacation, when the migrants start to come to Emirdağ on the annual vacation. He is speaking about the children who have been left behind. In one of the stanzas, he says "my family routine is broken". But he also describes those who grieve for her, such as the neighbours, but he also describes the enemies who rejoice. Like the Gacerli family that has become an enemy. The reasons for this enmity are not mentioned. Here comes the social environment back again. Ground motives are the routine in life that gets disrupted and the place of the family in the social environment (Yaldızkaya 2018, 215).

The 41st elegy from the book was written by Şükran Uyar, after her brother Ceylan Demiral died and her father Raşit Demiral is in a coma because of cancer. It is a long elegy of 21 stanzas (4+3+5), in which various themes recur. She mentioned a lot about the relationships of the brother, such as their children and how they grieve. She talks about her own children and her own role within the family. Emphasizing the role of the deceased man in the community, she says in one of the stanzas "Cover my brother with his coat, he is cold. Also, in Demirciler [a village of Emirdağ] my brother was the head." The social environment is also strongly reflected in this elegy, especially the role of her brother in the community as a man. This is evident in the following stanza:

Poem 8 (stanza 7 out of 21)

41. Ceylan Demiral'ın ağıdı

"Susuz derelerde kavak biter mi? Oğlansız ocakta duman tüter mi? Üç dene dağmat yerini tutar mı? Gurbanlar olurum anamın oğlu, Ben senin yerine öleyim bari."

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 239-243)

Translation 8

41. The elegy about Ceylan Demiral

Do poplars grow in thirsty streams?
Will smoke rise from houses where there are no boys?
Will the three sons-in-law be able to take your place?
I sacrifice myself for you, my mother's son,
Let me die instead of you.

Boy is metaphor for the word man/male in vernacular of Emirdağ. In the second line she means that in a house where there is no male, there will be no family life. She emphasizes that sons-in-law cannot take the place of the deceased brother in the family. This elegy emphasizes that blood is thicker than water and that family ties are very important to the routine in the author's life. Themes are family ties, the role of the male in the family and in the social environment (Yaldızkaya 2018, 240-41).

The 93rd elegy tells the narrative of a man who is a migrant and is believed to have died because of an incorrect medical procedure. The author of the elegy is his wife, Nezahat Yenilmez. In addition to the disbelief that her husband has died because of a medical injection, the author writes that she wants the children to end up well in life, such as letting their marriage take place. She also writes about migration life. Like that they had a house built in Turkey, but that the money they earned in Europe has not done them any good. That they had to work for money between the foreigners and Greeks (as in strangers and enemies), but that all was of no use because of this early death. By this she means metaphorically that they have left their safe known harbour for the unknown and even had to defy the enemy, but it has all been for nothing. In this elegy, family life returns, such as taking care of the children, and the difficulties of migration, especially its disappointment (Yaldızkaya 2018, 343-345).

Poem 9 (stanza 9 out of 9)

93. Gurbetçi eşe ağıt

"Saatinen gurbet elde çalıştık, Yunanlara, gavurlara garıştık, Para için her yerlerde uğraştık, Hiç düşmedi şu gavurun parası, Neredeymiş gül beyimin yarası?"

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 343-345)

Translation 9

93. Elegy for the migrant spouse

We worked abroad in times and late,
We got entangled with the Greeks and the foreigners,
We struggled all over for the money,
The foreigners' money never fell,
Where is the wound of my lord?

The 95th elegy is about the migrant Seydi Tapmaz from Belgium, who has died, to which his sister Gökkız writes an elegy. The month of July is the month in which the migrants return on vacation to Emirdağ. This is not just a holiday, but a return in which the migrants do something for the local population, usually with and to their local relatives. This can consist of organizing a wedding, organizing a circumcision party, buying a plot, donating money, or building a house. Since almost every local in Emirdağ has a migrant in the family, July is an important month to look forward to. It also happened that a local (friend or family member) was taken to Europe by the migrant on the way back, legally because of a marriage, but sometimes also illegally. This is not clear from the poem, but there is talk of taking someone to Europe. The author talks about the deceased who would organize a wedding row and take someone back to the Netherlands (many Belgian-Turks from Emirdağ also have relatives in the Netherlands, vice versa). In this elegy we read the importance for the relative who was looking forward to the return of her brother. We read the important role of the migrant for the locals and what his deaths leave behind in this role. This aspect has also been observed in the other elegies. The themes of social interactions and family ties are also recurring. See the following stanzas:

Poem 10 (last 3 stanzas of the 8)

95. Seydi Tapmaz'ın ağıdı

"Yazma aldı düğün yapacağıdı, O da Hollanda'ya gideceğidi, Kurtul'un düğünü edeceğidi, Gurbanlar olurum garip gardaşım.

"Başını yesin de gavurun eli", Bekledim gelmedi Turan'ın teli, Anamın uşağı şehirin gülü, Gurbanlar olurum garip gardaşım.

Dönüp de bakmadı yeşil evine, Gayrı gidemezsin gavur köyüne, Anamoğlu gelememiş izine, Gurbanlar olurum anamın oğlu".

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 350-351)

Translation 10

95. The elegy about Seydi Tapmaz

He had got a headscarf, he was going to arrange a wedding,
He too would come to the Netherlands,
He would give Kurtul's wedding,
I would sacrifice myself for you, my humble brother.

"Let those foreign lands eat themselves!"

I've waited, but Turan's call never came,

My mother's child, the city's rose,

I would sacrifice myself for you, my humble brother.

He no longer looked back at his green house,

Now you can't go back to your village abroad,

My mother's son could not return on leave,

I would sacrifice myself for you, my mother's son.

The 97th elegy is about Ceylan Çelikler from Belgium who dies, after which his wife, Zülbüye, sings an elegy of two quatrains.⁴ She talks about the money they earned in Belgium but were unable to use it because of his death. She talks about the bad relationship between her and her daughters-in-law. But what is especially striking about this elegy is that the author emphasizes the importance of leaving behind a relative, who is related by blood (not by marriage), who can sing an elegy about you. While she herself sings the elegy as his wife, she does not consider it the same as a sister would do it. She says: "He has no sister who can say: son of my father". References such as "son of my father" or "sister of my brother" appear in many of the elegies. Again, the importance of family ties comes to the fore and that consanguinity is very important if not more important than an in-law to sing an elegy behind the deceased. In these quatrains we see the importance of chanting an elegy in the culture of Emirdağ and that it says something about the status of the deceased.

Poem 11 (whole poem)

97. Ceylan Çelikler'in ağıdı

"Gavurda kazandı da yiyemedi malını, Doktorlara diyemedi halini, Ne söylesem üç geline oluyo hata, Ceylan'ı çıkartmadılar yukarı kata.

Garayımış şu Ceylan'ın yazısı,
"Babamoğlu" diyecek yoktur bacısı,
Sıra sıra hastanenin kapısı,
Mebuslara benziyodu yapısı."

-

⁴ In Emirdağ, Ceylan is commonly used as a male name. Nationwide, it is used more as a female name in Turkey.

(Yaldızkaya 2018, 353)

Translation 11

97. The elegy about Ceylan Çelikler

Has earned the money abroad, but has not been able to enjoy it,
He couldn't tell the doctors about his condition,
Whatever I say to the three daughters-in-law, it's wrong,
They didn't bring Ceylan up.

Ceylan's fate is pitch black,
He has no sister who can say, "Son of my father,"
Row by row of hospital doors,
They looked like civil servants.

3.3 Poetic Devices of the Poems from Belgium

From this section, the poems of Hakiki Kabakçı, his pseudonym, will be analysed. His name is Mesut Kocabaş, was born in 1971 and his roots come from the village of Elhan, a nearby village of Emirdağ. Since 1992 he lives in Belgium and wrote his poems in the diaspora. He started posting his poems on social media, after which he gained fame, resulting in three poetry collections, called Gavurcuya Mektup (2011), Zıkkımın Kökü (2014) and Kabak Tadı (2018). Kabakçı gave an interview to *Istikbal Gazetesi*, a local newspaper of Eskişehir (largest industrial city near Emirdağ), about his poetry. His pseudonym means 'the real pumpkin-ist' in Turkish. The village of Elhan is known in Emirdağ for its pumpkin merchants, hence the pseudonym. Like his pen name, his poems are also characterized by irony and sarcasm. The poet opens doors for his readers by making social criticisms in the local idiom and jargon of Emirdağ. The poet aims to have a shocking effect by emphasizing the bitter truth. In the interview he calls his style of poetry satire, which is called *hiciv şiiri* in Turkish. Sometimes he uses Emirdağ's dialect in his poems, but it's more Emirdağ's jargon that comes out. This refers to the way in which context and style some words are used, rather than how they are pronounced as a dialect. About the poetic form and meter, Kabakçı says in the interview that he tries to write his poems in the poetic forms of Turkish Folk Poetry and his

meter in the syllable meter, but that he does not oblige himself to stick to it and that he wants to feel free in this (Urfalı 2018).

All three poetry collections contain poems relating to the Emirdağ community in Belgium and social and economic relations between the diaspora and Belgium. But for the selection, *Gavurcuya Mektup* (2011) was chosen to analyse. This poetry collection contains more poems about migration, the title is therefore translated 'A letter for the migrant'. The book consists of 74 poems, which are divided into the following chapters: "*Gurbet Şiirleri*" (translation: Migration poems), p. 1-58, "*Yörem*" (translation: My region), p. 59-76, "*Öteki Şiirler*" (translation: The other poems), p. 77-119, "*Köyüm*" (translation: My village), p. 122-134. As the poems were written in the last decade, they are an interesting source to see how one of the most recent poets from Emirdağ writes in a satirical and critical way about the socio-cultural relations within Emirdağ and the diaspora. His poems illustrate the outcome of decades of migration and what the effects are today. The question you get answered with his poems is how it fared for the migrant and how the local experiences the migrants, in the eyes of Kabakçı. This kind of satirical poetry is not found in the elegies, which had a very different purpose to be written. This makes it possible to view the poetry of the *Emirdağlı* in multiple facets, both in raw grief (the elegies) and witty satire (Kabakçı's poems).

It has previously been discussed that the elegies are lyric poems that fall within the category of poetry and that they also contain a narrative. The poems of Kabakçı were examined using the same method as with the elegies. It is clear from his poems that these are not lyrical poems, but narrative poems, thus belonging to the epic. As mentioned, lyrics can be defined by starting from the language situation. In lyricism this is monological with the lyrical subject as spokesperson (Van Boven and Dorleijn 201, 31). Kabakçı's poems are also monological, there is no dialogue between multiple characters, but the poems are usually not written from the lyrical "I", in most poems, except for a few, the first-person narrative is not substantially present in the text. There is also a poem that does contain a dialogue, the poem *Elio ve Bart Aşıklar şöleninde* (Kabakçı 2011, 36). Translation: Elio and Bart at the Lovers' Feast.

In addition, a narrative is often described about a person, about a situation, without explicitly expressing feelings, as was more often the case in the lyrical elegies when describing the pain over the deceased. With Kabakçı these kinds of exclamations of feeling do not occur. In terms of momentary experiences, we cannot speak of Kabakçı's poems, because the reader does have the idea of what time the poem is about. Like the time in Belgium, the

time when it takes place in Emirdağ or across a certain generation gap. One can therefore speak of narrative poems, which fall within the category of epic poetry.

To demonstrate this, the stanza of poem 12 serves as an example for the narrative style of Kabakçı's poems, as opposed to the lyric. The stanza clearly shows a dialogue between the narrator and the ticket seller. In addition, it is clearly written about a time span, the 1960s, a time when the first generation of migrants from Turkey left for the West. The poet gives a reflection of the zeitgeist of the time and experience among migrants who wanted to go to Europe.

Poem 12 (stanza 1 out of 3)

Öküz Parası

"Altmışlı yıllar, herkesin gönlünde bir Avrupa sevdası (a)

Ana baba günüydü, İstanbul'un Haydarpaşa'sı (a)

Biletçi dedim: kaç para İstanbul Alamanya arası (a)

Boş ver gardaş dedi, yere batsın Avrupası (a)

Atılır da gidilir mi şu memleketin havası (a)

Kalmam dedim, dönerim kazanınca öküz parası" (a)

(Kabakçı 2011, 28-29)

Translation 12

Money of the Ox

The sixties, a passion for Europe in everyone's heart

It was busy in Istanbul's Haydarpaşa

I said: ticket seller, how much is it from Istanbul to Germany?

Let it go brother, he said, let Europe sink into the ground

Why would you want to leave your homeland?

I said I will not stay; I will return when I have the money for the ox.

As with the elegies from Emirdağ, Kabakçı's poems will be categorized within Turkish literature. Generally, Kabakçı's poems fall under the category of Turkish Folk Literature. As

mentioned before, within Turkish Folk Literature there are three subcategories including Anonymous Folk Literature, Troubadour Folk Literature and Lodge Literature. Each category has its own rules to be defined as such. In the Troubadour Folk Literature, it is a rule that a *mahlas* (translation: pseudonym) is given in the poem, usually at the end, and not in the Anonymous Folk Poetry. As a result, poems in Folk Poetry Anonymous become, over time, a common property of a society (Boratav 1969, 25). When we look at Kabakçı's poems, we see that in some poems he mentions his *mahlas* at the end of the poem and in some poems he does not. The poetry form of Kabakçı's poems that are analysed are satirical poems. Within Turkish Folk Poetry satirical poems are called *taşlama*, within Ottoman poetry *hiciv şiiri* and within Modern Turkish Poetry *yergi* (Boratav 1969, 28). The poems in the analysis can be categorized as *taşlama* poems, within the Troubadour Folk Literature.

The *nazım biçimi* (poetic form) of Kabakçı's poems in *Gavurcuya Mektup* (2011) are mainly written in quatrains. Namely, 67 of the 74 poems are written in the form of 4 lines of verse. Of the 74 poems, 3 poems are written in lines of 2, 2 poems are written in lines of 3 and lines of 2 verses alternately, 1 poem is written in lines of 3 and 1 poem is written in a free form. The poet mainly opts for quatrains, with stanzas of 4 lines of verse. The meter of the poems is partly written in the syllable meter (*hece ölçüsü*), but many poems are not. It is noticeable that there are many poems that do not conform to a fixed number of syllables per line. In Turkish folk poetry, 8 or 11 syllables are most common, and the syllable meter poems consist of 11 syllables.

In the poems that do not have a meter and are therefore free verses, the rest of the style does fit within the Troubadour Folk Literature. The following examples are two short poems (poem 13 and 14) and a stanza of a longer poem (poem 15). The boldface indicates the vowels, with which you do the finger counting in Turkish Folk Literature to count the syllables, behind that you see the number of syllables in parentheses. We see poems 13 and 14 did adhere to a syllable meter, but poem 15 did not.

Poem 13 (whole poem)

Kız anası isyanı

"Sormazlar ne kadar görgülü diye. (11) (a)

Bizde kız isterler permili diye. (11) (a)

Selamı keserler, eğer ki dersen, (11) (b)

Bacımın oğluna vergili diye." (11) (a) (Kabakçı 2011, 50) **Translation 13** Complaints of a mother of a daughter They won't ask how well-mannered she is. With us they want a bride if she is licensed.⁵ They interrupt the greeting when you say: She is promised to my sister's son. Poem 14 (whole poem) Fark "O büyüdü Fatmagül'ün suçuyla. (11) (a) Ben büyüdüm Kemalettin Tuğçu'yla. (11) (a) Ben onu, o beni anlamıyorsa. (11) (a) Budur farkım zamane çocuğuyla." (11) (a) (Kabakçı 2011, 89) **Translation 14** Difference They grew up with Fatmagül's guilt. I grew up with Kemalettin Tuğçu.

⁵ By license is meant a European passport.

If I don't understand them, and they don't understand me.

Then that is the difference between me and the youth of today.⁶

⁶ Fatmagül'ün Suçu Ne? (2010-2012) is a Turkish TV soap (translation: What is the guilt of Fatmagül?) and Kemalettin Tuğcu was a writer (1902-1996).

Poem 15 (stanza 1 out of 10)

Gavura gönder beni baba

Diyorlar, kocadan çıkmış İbili'nin kızı (14) (a) Telefon edelim, beklemeyelim yazı (13) (a) De ki, bizim oğlan çocukluya da razı (13) (a) Gel etme, gavura gönder beni baba (12) (b)

(Kabakçı 2011, 22-23)

Translation 15

Take me abroad father

They say Ibili's daughter is divorced Let's call, don't wait for summer Say our son agrees with kids too Come, send me abroad father (...)

In all poems there is a clear rhyme, but the rhyme schemes can differ per poem. The poet does not stick to a single rhyme scheme. Even in the poem with a free number in verse lines, such as poem 12, is rhyme to see. As can be seen in the examples, rhyme schemes such as aaba, aaaa, and aaab are used. Typically, with poems in Turkish Folk Literature. Also, there may be different rhyme schemes in different stanzas in the same poem.

3.4 Themes of the Poems from Belgium

As in section 3.2, the structural analysis of motifs will also be applied in this section, in which we will look at ground motifs and themes (Van Boven and Dorleijn 2013). Two poems have been chosen for this, which also bears the title of the book itself, "*Gavurcuya mektup*" (translation: a letter for the migrant). This is the first poem in the book (Kabakçı 2011, 2-5). The second poem, "*Gavurcunun cevabı*" (translation: the answer of the migrant) is the migrant's response to the first poem (5-8). They are two poems in dialogue with each other, written in separate poems. These poems were chosen because both poems are relevant to the

research question, namely how cultural transformation through migration is reflected in the poems. This allows us to study how the local population views the migrant according to Kabakçı and vice versa. In these two poems, the two groups from Emirdağ, the migrants and the locals, are juxtaposed by the poet.

It is important to explain the word gavurcu first. The migrant is called gavurcu (meaning: migrant in Europe) in Emirdağ, while in general Turkish the word *gurbetçi* (meaning: migrant in general) is more commonly used for European migrants. Literally translated, gavurcu means an 'infidel-ist', a migrant who has gone to the land of the infidel (non-Muslim). This sounds very penal, which in general Turkish is true. In Emirdağ, however, this word is used as a metaphor for *gurbetçi*, the word not being intended to be hurtful, as would be the case in other parts of Turkey. In Kabakçı's poem "İzanı Kısalara", he answers to someone who has criticized him for the use of the word *gavurcu* about European migrants in his poem. Assuming this person didn't know it was a non-offensive word in Emirdağ's jargon, Kabakçı says in a line of verse (translated): "By the way, I'm a gavurcu too. They say "gavurcu" to the migrant at our place" (Kabakçı 2011, 10). This makes it clear that the word *gavurcu* is typically a term from Emirdağ's idiom.

"Gavurcuya mektup" is a long poem (the title of the poem will no longer be mentioned in the examples), in which aaab is used as the rhyme scheme, except in the first quatrain, which uses abab, a crossed rhyme scheme. It is written in free verse (Kabakçı 2011, 2-5). The language of the poem, like all other poems by the author, is typically written in the mind of the man from Emirdağ. The poem is about a local who complains about the migrant's life and looks down on the migrant. The local describes in a mocking and sarcastic way what kind of activities dominate the life of the migrant. In the verses it can be clearly read that the poet portrays the migrant from Belgium and thereby makes fun of it. Each line of verse contains a characteristic that is typical of the stereotype gavurcu. To give an example of a stanza from the poem, where you read that it really is a migrant from Belgium, originally from Emirdağ and not elsewhere from Turkey:

Poem 16 (stanza 4 out of 16)

"Sen izindeyken başkası basar somaj kartını.

Eskişehir'de evin yoksa çiğnedin gavurculuğun şartını.

⁷ Kabakçı: "Ben de gavurcuyum söyleyeyim bu arada.

[&]quot;Gavurcu" derler, gurbetçiye bizim orada" (Kabakçı 2011, 10).

Çarşıda pazarda giymeye utanmıyor musun şortunu.

Arı hayayı tamamıyla yıktın gavurcu."

(Kabakçı 2011, 3)

Translation 16

While you are on vacation, someone else stamps your unemployment control card.⁸ If you do not have a house in Eskişehir, you are not considered a migrant.

Are you not ashamed to wear your shorts in the market?

You have completely destroyed morale, migrant.

With the first line he means by *izin* the seventh month (July) that the migrants come on leave to Emirdağ, which mentioned about earlier. By *somaj* he means the unemployment benefit in Belgium, which in the vernacular of the migrant from Belgium is called *somaj*, derived from the French word, chômage. The local in the poem means that the migrant has others stamp his control card in Belgium, while the migrant himself is on vacation. Eskişehir is very popular among the people of Emirdağ. Many migrants and locals with wealth buy real estate there as an investment. The second sentence is about this, in which the poet presents a stereotyping of the migrant who buys real estate in that city. This stanza therefore gives a good generalization of what the habits of the migrants have become, in the eyes of the locals.

Striking in the poem is that the migrant is portrayed as a greedy person who is showy with the money he has earned in Belgium. Words that imply wealth and money are therefore regularly used, such as one of the sentences: "I know, though the naive and stupid don't know. You got this money with a credit, migrant" (Kabakçı 2011, 4). The charges against the migrant include, among other things, that the migrant is a hypocrite, attached to wealth, poorly speaking Turkish, showing off, someone who is of no use to his place of birth, someone who changes the rules in language and traditions, someone with no morals, a wasteful person, and a liar. The local in the poem also shows that he is jealous of the migrant and says these words out of frustration, which can be read in the following stanza:

Bu parayı kredi ile çektin gavurcu" (Kabakçı 2011, 4).

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⁸ In case of unemployment in Belgium, you stamp your non-reimbursable days of the current unemployment month with the control card and hand it in to the payment institution.

⁹ "Ben biliyorum haberi yoksa da cahilin safin.

Poem 16 (stanza 1 out of 16)

"Geldin izine araban Mercedes.

Bilmem ki iyi mi ettin gavurcu.

Bizi de ettirdin gavura heves.

Bir ay sonra çektin gittin gavurcu."

(Kabakci 2011, 2)

Translation 16

You came on holiday with your Mercedes.

I don't know if you did the right thing, migrant.

You have also made us enthusiastic about abroad.

Then after a month, you just left migrant.

The next stanza is a good example of how cultural transnationalism can change certain rituals in the local place through migration. This stanza is about changing funeral rituals. In Turkey, due to Islamic beliefs, it is customary to bury the deceased within 24 hours, unless pathological examination is required. Nowadays, if the deceased has a near relative abroad, they wait with the funeral until the relative arrives. For such cases, there is a transportable mortuary in a vehicle. This vehicle will be driven with the deceased in it to the courtyard of the deceased's house so that the funeral can begin after all migrant relatives are present. In most cases it takes longer than 24 hours to arrive from Western Europe. Keeping the deceased waiting for more than 24 hours in a portable morgue is not common in Turkey and is only used in exceptional cases, but has become a common phenomenon in Emirdağ due to migration. The local in the poem addresses the migrant about this in the last two lines of the stanza. I can confirm this phenomenon from my own observations and experiences in Emirdağ. This is a good example of how migration can also change the local place when transnationalism is involved. Here again we see that the poet uses imagery that only someone who knows the regional culture of Emirdağ understands. Dialect is used to a lesser extent, except for some words, such as ana (dialect) instead of anne (translation: mother).

Poem 16 (stanza 2 out of 16)

"Kahve sigaradan başka bilmez misin hediye.

Faydan oldu mu köyündeki okul ya da camiye.

Ben gelesiye anamın ölüsü kokmasın diye.

Köyüne morgdan başka ne diktin gavurcu."

(Kabakçı 2011, 3)

Translation 16

Don't you know anything other than coffee and cigarettes as gifts.

Have you contributed to the school or mosque in your village.

So that your mother's corpse doesn't stink until you arrive.

What else have you set up but a morgue in your village, migrant.

The following stanza is a good example of the effects of economic transnationalism on the local place. In Emirdağ, the prices are jacked up from July until the end of the summer period, because in the summer the migrants come on vacation. Because Emirdağ has such a high level of migration flow, the local entrepreneurs, who are mostly shop owners, are responding to this and increasing their prices and services. The local in the poem clearly expresses a complaint about this phenomenon and that the migrant changes the morals and customs of Emirdağ. As discussed in the theoretical framework, this is an example of how transnationalism and the displacement of migrant flows between Emirdağ and Belgium allows local culture and customs to adapt.

Poem 16 (stanza 9 out of 16)

"Sen izine gelince pazarcısı esnafı.

Abarttılar fiyatı unuttular insafı.

Babayın yılında Euro ile okuttun musafı.

Kısacası düzenin içine ettin gavurcu."

(Kabakçı 2011, 4)

Translation 16

"When you come on leave, the market man and shopkeeper.

They exaggerate the prices and forget about humanity.

For the annual recitation of your father's death, you had read the Quran for Euros.¹⁰ Basically, you messed up the routine [habits], migrant."

After this analysis, it can be said that the theme of this poem is the complaint about the behaviour of the migrant and the change in habits that formed in Emirdağ itself along with the migration. The main motives are the wrong behaviour of the migrant, the changing habits and the jealousy that has arisen in the local for the well-being of the migrant. The ground motives, in the most abstract form, is the 'gap' and the 'adjustment' between the local and the migrant.

In the second poem of the book, "Gavurcunun cevabi", the migrant answers the first poem (Kabakçı 2011, 6-8). The poem consists of 13 stanzas, all written in quatrains. This poem also consists of the aaab rhyme scheme, except for the first stanza, which consists of the abab rhyme scheme, exactly like the first stanza of the first poem. The lines of verse are again written in the free verse. The migrant also does not hesitate to complain about the local in a sarcastic undertone and, just like the local, has complaints about the behaviour of the local. But you mainly see a defence of itself, rather than the attack on the local, although many verses can be interpreted as an attack. The migrant is also especially sad about how the local feels about him and begs in some lines of the verse to tone down to himself. It is also interesting to read that the migrant repeatedly says that these bad character traits also occur in the local and that the local exploits the migrant.

Poem 17 (stanza 7 out of 13)

"Anız parası alırken, tarlayın dönümünü şişirmedin mi? Biçerciye para öderken, tarlayın dönümünü düşürmedin mi? Bizi hep sağacak inek görüp de sabrımızı taşırmadın mı? Eskişehir'den ev alıp da gidişimiz bunun yüzünden."

(Kabakçı 2011, 7)

¹⁰ When an Islamic teacher (called *hoca*) reads from the Quran, such as during a ritual or ceremony, the owner of the event sometimes gives an amount of money as gratitude. This is an unwritten rule and is not appreciated in public. It is also not mandatory. The local in the poem exposes the migrant that he is showy, even with religious events.

Translation 17

Didn't you blow up the acres of the field when you got the money for the stubble?

Didn't you reduce the acres of the field when you paid the harvester?

Have you not always seen us as cows to milk, which made us lose our temper?

That's why we bought a house in Eskişehir and we left.

The next stanza also shows how the migrant mockingly defends himself:

Poem 17 (stanza 3 out of 13)

"Saymışşın gavurcunun yaptığı hileyi, oyunu. Gavurcu, yerli olmak değiştirir mi insanın huyunu. Hatırlatsam ayıp olur, süte kattığın çeşme suyunu. Onun için eleştiriyi taşırmamak lazım dozundan."

(Kabakçı 2011, 6)

Translation 17

You have listed the tricks and the false games of the migrant.

Does being a local or migrant change a person's behaviour?

It would be a shame if I remind you of the tap water you added to the milk.

Therefore, the criticism should not be exaggerated.

The migrant emphasizes that the money he earns flows into the pockets of the local and that the local benefits from it. The next stanza is a good example of economic transnationalism:

Poem 17 (stanza 10 out of 13)

"Fitre geçmez anaya babaya, istersen danış hocaya. Para akıyor buradan anaya, babaya, emmiye, halaya.

İnanmazsan sor, bankaya, sarrafa, Mustafa Koca'ya.

Yaz sezonu hariç günlük kaç euro bozuyorlar en azından."

(Kabakçı 2011, 8)

Translation 17

The alms do not pass to parents, if you want, consult the hodja.

Money flows from here to our mother, father, uncle, aunt.

If you don't believe it, ask the bank, the money changer or Mustafa Koca.

At least how many euros do they exchange per day, outside the summer season.

In the third line, the migrant refers to a person named Mustafa Koca. This stanza is again a typical example of the idiom used in Emirdağ, appropriate to the regional culture, which only the insider of the regional culture would understand. Mustafa Koca is the owner of a boutique in Emirdağ, called Fatih Konfeksiyon (today Fatih Moda). Since Emirdağ is a relatively small town, the shopkeepers are well known by the locals and the migrants who come to do their shopping in the summer. Here the poet uses the personality Mustafa Koca as a metaphor and figurehead for economic gain in Emirdağ through migration.

It was interesting to analyse the two poems written against each other as a dialogue. In this way we have gained insight into what image the migrants and locals of Emirdağ have of each other, from the perspective of the poet. In the next chapter, the results of the analysis of this chapter will be discussed further.

4. The Outcome

The aim of the analysis was to research whether cultural transformation through migration is reflected in the poems from Emirdağ and the diaspora, between the onset of migration in the 1960s and up to 2011. In this chapter, the outcome of the analysis based on the research question are discussed. After that, the outcome of the analysis will be formulated in the context of the theoretical framework.

The way of speaking, the idiom of the spoken language, the subjects of the poems, the words chosen to express an emotion, the words chosen to reflect the state of the moment: all say something about the socio-cultural background of a community. This is best understood when the language and idiom of the poems are mastered and when the poems are compared with poems from another regional culture of the country. By trying to translate the poems into English as accurately as possible and preserving the way of speaking, I have tried to contribute to the literary science of a non-hegemonic language, beyond its own hegemonic borders, yet within its borders through migration, inspired by Damrosch's vision (Damrosch 2020).

This chapter is divided as follows. First, the analysed poetic devices, subchapter 3.1 and 3.3 of chapter 3 are discussed in subchapter 4.1. Then the analysis of the themes of the poems, subchapters 3.2 and 3.4 of chapter 3, are discussed in subchapter 4.2.

4.1 The Outcome of the Poetic Devices

From the analysed elegies from Yaldızkaya's collection of poems *Emirdağ Türkmen Ağıtları* (2018) we see that the elegies in the poetry collection are lyrical poetic poems, which are both objectively and subjectively lyrical. They belong to the anonymous folk poetry of Turkish literature and are categorized by type as $a reve{gut}$ (elegy). The poetic form consists mainly of quatrains and stanzas of three lines of verse, alternating with two lines of verse. The meter has a syllable meter (*hece ölçüsü*) and when there is a fixed number of syllables per line, this is mainly 11 syllables. All poems have rhyme, but not all have a strict rhyme scheme. The quatrains that do have a rhyme scheme mainly use aaaa, aaab, aaba and aabb.

In the elegies, the traditional form of the rules of Turkish folk poetry has been adhered to as much as possible. In some cases, there is no correct rhyme scheme, but in general the writing is done within the framework of Turkish folk poetry. This is remarkable, because these elegies were sung by mostly villagers from the countryside, who were not professional

poets or have received the education to do so. The authors were people in the community who had a talent for it and used this talent by singing the lyrical lyrics during emotional situations. In this way they perpetuated the culture of singing an elegy during emotional occasions, such as funerals, which makes them to be regarded as culture keepers.

It is noticeable that most of the owners of the elegies are women. This makes it even more remarkable how well the rules of the syllable meter have been adhered to, as illiteracy rates in rural areas and among women were much higher. Yaldızkaya does mention that the elegies that are only sung and not written down were later written down by him for compilation, so that it would not be lost. He also mentions that illiteracy is high among these women (Yaldızkaya 2018, 18). But even it was not all written down by the women themselves, you must still stick to the syllable meter in terms of numbers. In that case it is remarkable to see that, despite illiteracy or low literacy, the rules of a meter or rhyme scheme are almost always adhered to. This shows the awareness of the cultural and literature norms and that the elegies from Emirdağ were not just freehand laments, but true cultural and literary products conforming to the norms of Turkish folk literature.

The analysed poems of Kabakçı are not the same form of poetry as the elegies, as it is satire and the poems aim to convey a different message, like self-criticism, and the current circumstances of the community. Kabakçı's poems are narrative poetic poems belonging to the epic. His poems belong to the Troubadour Folk Literature within the Turkish Folk Literature and as a poetic form we can speak of *taşlama*, satirical poems in Turkish folk poetry. His poems consist for the most part of quatrains with 4 verse lines. When a meter is present, it consists of the syllable meter, which mainly uses 11 syllables per line of verse. His poems all contain rhyme, with rhyme schemes mainly aaba, aaaa and aaab. Although he himself indicated in an interview that he does not feel attached to a certain meter and that he writes how it comes to his mind, a pattern can be seen within the traditions of Turkish folk poetry, as mentioned above. In the elegies the dialect of Emirdağ can often be seen, while in the poems of the diaspora, instead of dialect, the jargon of Emirdağ is more noticeable.

4.2 The Outcome of the Themes

Migration occurs in all analysed elegies, they are sung or written by relatives or migrants mourning the death of a loved one. The following themes were observed in all elegies: the reputation or status within the family and social community, the family ties with first- and second-degree relatives, the role as a man or woman within the community, family life

regarding husband and children and the importance of order in family life. These themes can be found in the analysis chapter. More than transformations in cultural traditions or identity, especially the effect of migration on these themes is observed in Emirdağ's elegies.

Such as the example of Gülizar Keklik (p. 26), in which the distance between Emirdağ and Belgium has an impact on the grieving process of her deceased husband. The elegy conveys the feeling that, despite trying to build a life abroad, the destination is always the place of origin. Here we see the inseparability between place of destination and origin. The elegy of Mevlüt Denizli (p. 34), who loses his wife and is left with the children, is not so much about the impact of migration on life, but shows the developed migration culture, such as the importance of going on holiday to Emirdağ in the seventh month. In the elegy of Nezahat Yenilmez (p. 36), the impact of migration is perceived in disappointment. She feels that the family has defied all the challenges to get to their destination, but in the end the wealth they have amassed was lost due to the untimely death. In this elegy we also see economic transnationalism, such as having a house built in the village. In the elegy of Gökkız (p. 37) we see the effect of migration on the relatives in Emirdağ. Here we see how family members look forward to the arrival of the migrant in the summer. The migrant has a responsibility towards his relatives left behind and locals who have sent their relatives to Europe become economically dependent on the migrant. This continues to form a bridge for economic and socio-cultural transnationalism. These elegies relate to first-degree migrants.

In the structural analysis of Kabakçı's poems, two poems have been analysed that were written by the poet as a dialogue between a fictitious local and a migrant. In these poems, cultural transformation in traditions and identity is directly reflected, because the themes of the poems are explicitly about change in morals and traditions through migration. The local speaks in his poem about morals that have changed, such as inappropriate clothing or giving money on religious occasions. The local talks about changing traditions in funeral and death customs, such as the transportable mortuary. Or changing habits in the city when the migrants arrive, such as changes in prices on the market. The migrant, on the other hand, complains in the poem about the locals that they are hypocrites and that the migrants have brought prosperity to Emirdağ. As a motive, it can be argued that indispensability plays a role in the poems. Indispensable in the sense of intertwining between migrants and locals, because of the migrant who is culturally linked to the place of origin and the local who is economically dependent on the migrant. Identity is also a motif in the poems, we see both groups claiming and contrasting their identity and role in the Emirdağ community.

The differences between the elegies and the poems of Kabakçı lie in the fact that the elegies are real experiences, sung or written out of grief, unlike Kabakçı's fictional poems, written as satire. The similarities are the themes, both of which revolve around the social and economic relations within the community. Cultural transformation is reflected in both poems, albeit much more clearly in the poems of the diaspora. But there is more that stands out from the analysis. When the outcomes of the elegies from Emirdağ and the poems in the diaspora of Kabakçı are juxtaposed, one can see a pattern from the development of a migration culture in the elegies of Emirdağ, to the outcome of this migration culture in the poems of the diaspora, in the economic and socio-cultural field.

Because through the elegies we have gained an insight into how the first migration flows have fared after their life-changing journey and what this migration of the first generation has caused to the relatives left behind. In these elegies we see the emergence of a migration culture. We also see a symbiosis developing between the migrant and the local family members left behind, resulting in transnationalism to the current generations. In Kabakçı's poems, written decades later after the first migration flow, we see the outcome of this migration culture and the current relationships between the migrant and locals. In Kabakçı's poems, from the poet's perspective, we see the cultural transformations in traditions, habits, and identity that this migration culture has created, mentioned before.

To understand transnationalism and transformations within migrant cultures, these concepts have been put in an academic perspective in the theoretical framework. Together with the results in this chapter, feedback will be made. Vertovec said there is a rise in an approach to researching migration that emphasizes the attachments migrants maintain with families, communities, and traditions, rather than an approach focused on how migrants adapt in the country of destination (Vertovec 2001, 574). This approach has been shown to be effective in this research, because the themes reflected in the analysed poems confirm the idea that the close socio-cultural ties with the place of origin is indeed an important factor in the transnational networks in this migration culture.

Vertovec also discussed various features in 'old' and 'new' migrant transnationalism (Vertovec 2009, 14-15). In the case of Emirdağ, especially features of 'old' migrant transnationalism have been observed through the analysed poems. This is mainly reflected in the regular annual return to Emirdağ in the summer months, maintaining close family ties in the place of origin, marriage migration, having houses built in the village of origin and further economic investments. When researching second, third and later fourth generation Europeans

of Emirdağ descent in the future, there is a higher chance of encountering more features of 'new' migrant transnationalism.

On transformation, Vertovec said it is a matter of degree to what extent networked flows of information and resources lead to structural change. In this he quoted Portes, who said that individual actions have personal consequences, but in large numbers can cause cultural changes in cities and nations (Vertovec 2009, 24). In the case of Emirdağ, Timmerman said that immigrating to Europe has become a 'habit' because it happens on a large scale (Timmerman, Lodewyckx and Wets 2009, 237). Partly because of this, a migration culture has arisen. This has caused cultural transformation in the traditional and social atmosphere, as discussed in the outcomes of the poems in the diaspora.

Vertovec quoted Guarnizo, Rouse, and Mahler on bifocalism in migrants, in which they have a dual frame of reference and live in a dual reality in the destination country (Vertovec 2004, 974). Vertovec then quoted Gardner on the dual reality of the concept of 'here' and 'there' (Vertovec 2004, 975). This is strongly reflected in the analysed elegies of the first generation, in which the *gavur* (foreign land) is associated as the place to obtain economic gain and life is experienced as difficult, and the *köy* (village of origin) is associated as the place to invest in. This is strongly reflected in poem 9 (p. 36) and poem 11 (p. 39).

Hall described the second definition of cultural identity as a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. But like all things historical, they undergo a constant transformation (Hall 1989, 70). The analysis revealed a development of a migration culture, from the elegies that reflect the first waves of migration, to the recent poems from the diaspora that show how two identities finally seem to have emerged in the Emirdağ community, namely the migrant and the local, where both are in an economic and social symbiosis.

Conclusion

On the one hand, a small district that has pushed international boundaries through migration, on the other hand, a small district that has gained fame for its cultural richness in poetry. Emirdağ is a topic of interest, and this was the ideal combination to explore how migration, especially cultural transformation in traditions and identity, are reflected in the poems. This research started with the research question: "How do Turkish poems, written by poets from Emirdağ and the diaspora in Belgium, between the 1960s and 2011, reflect on cultural transformation through migration?". For this, elegies from Emirdağ, compiled by Yaldızkaya, and poems from Belgium, written by Kabakçı, were analysed.

It was fascinating to observe the regional language in jargon, the culture, the world of thought and basically the soul of a community in the poems. The themes of the analysed elegies show that socio-cultural and economic transnational networks related to the place of origin are strongly present. Cultural transformation did not occur, because the themes of the elegies mainly reflected migration in the initial phase. The elegies were written and sung in the traditional rules of Turkish Folk Literature. It was noticed that women were overrepresented as owners of the elegies, indicating that they have a prominent position in the tradition of creating elegies.

The themes of the poems from Belgium show how socio-cultural and economic transnational networks still exist in migration culture. Cultural transformation in traditions and identity were strongly reflected this time. It has been observed that both the migrant and the local from Emirdağ have assumed their own role in a transnational socio-cultural and economic symbiosis in the Emirdağ community. The poetic form of the poems fitted in with Turkish Folk Literature, but more freely and with a critical look at the migration culture. In addition, a transition from the initial phase of migration to the outcome of migration has been observed from the elegies to the poems.

With this research an attempt was made to contribute to Turkish Studies, Migration Studies, and Culture Studies. Recommendations for the future are the need to study migration from Emirdağ on transnational networks and transformations, regarding the second and subsequent generations in the diaspora, from the perspective of one's own cultural production.

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