

**ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

THROAT PLAYING PRACTICE OF HONAMLI YÖRÜKS

M.A. THESIS

Turna Ezgi TOROS

Department of Music

Music Programme

SEPTEMBER 2018

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Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emine Şirin ÖZGÜN TANIR

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

HONAMLI YÖRÜKLERİ'NDE BOĞAZ ÇALMA PRATİĞİ

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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EYLÜL 2018

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Date of Submission : 31.08.2018
Date of Defence : 06.09.2018





To my grandmother Durna Toros,



FOREWORD

I'd like to thank my brother Salih Ozan who have been the first and best assistant of my fieldworks. Also thanks to my mother, father, aunt Fatma, cousin Mustafa, uncle Musa for their help in the field and their guidances

The participants of my fieldwork, I'd like to thank them with all my respect for sharing their experinces with me: Eşe Toşur, Bayram Garip, Ayşe Garip (Cice), Ayşe Günal, Fatma Demir, Hatice (Anakız) Akkın, Mustafa Demir (Sarı), Rukiye Güler, Neslehan Süral, Havva Güler (Öksüz) and the people of Gedikli Village.

I am grateful to my teacher and advisor E. Şirin Özgün for her guidance, patience and all helps on my study. I am thankful to Robert Reigle for his mentorship during my studies.

Very grateful to my teachers Ozan Baysal and Mustafa Avcı for being the inspiration and for their helps to start my studies in ethnomusicology.

September 2018

Turna Ezgi TOROS



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THROAT PLAYING PRACTICE OF HONAMLI YÖRÜKS

SUMMARY

Yörüks are the group of the people mostly living in South and West parts of Anatolia and leading a life based on pastoral nomadism. Today, most of the Yörük groups have settled down. Thus, culture and social structure that developed according to nomadic life have been changed. Throughout that process of change in lifestyle, musical practices that evolved with respect to nomadism have begun to be forgotten. Among those musical practices, throat playing is a unique vocal technique of Yörük culture. Throat playing is executed by ornamentation of the sound produced by the vocal fold by pushing the hand fingers onto the throat. Primarily practiced while shepherding, this practice is mainly done by women performers.

In this study, a group of Honamlı Yörüks living in Gedikli Village, Isparta is chosen as the field of the study focused on throat playing practice named as *dova* or *dova çalmak* by the members of the community. In the study, the practice of throat playing is analyzed with respect to its musical and technical characteristics as well as its interaction with nomadic life and Yörük social life based on the data gathered from the field. The field chosen is a field where the researcher's family is coming from, so the position of the researcher in the field and the study is another aspect of the study. The purpose of the study is to search the social and musical characteristics of the practice of throat playing while considering the effects of the interaction between the researcher and the field.



HONAMLI YÖRÜKLERİ'NDE BOĞAZ ÇALMA PRATİĞİ

ÖZET

Yoğun olarak Anadolu'nun güney ve batısında yaşayan Yörükler, konar göçer hayat sürdüren ve hayvancılıkla geçimlerini sağlayan toplulukların genel adıdır. Günümüzde çoğu Yörük topluluğu yerleşik hayata geçmiş durumdadır, bu yüzden de göçebe hayata bağlı olarak gelişen kültürel üretim ve sosyal yapı değişmektedir. Bu değişim sürecinde, göçebe hayat ekseninde gelişmiş olan müzikal edimler de unutulmaya yüz tutmuştur. Bu müzikal edimlerden birisi olan boğaz çalma geleneği, Yörük topluluklara özgü bir vokal biçimidir. Boğaz çalma, el parmaklarının boğaz üzerinde bastırılmasıyla, ses telleriyle oluşturulan sesin değiştirilmesi şeklinde gerçekleştirilmektedir. Genellikle hayvanların otlatılması sırasında gerçekleştirilen bu eylem, pek çok Yörük topluluğunda ağırlıklı olarak kadınlar tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir.

Bu çalışmada, Yörük topluluklarından birisi olan Honamlı Yörükleri'nin Isparta'nın Gedikli Köyü'nde hayatını sürdüren bir grubu alan olarak seçilmiştir. Çalışmada, bu topluluktan elde edilen veriler doğrultusunda boğaz çalma eyleminin, topluluk tarafından ifade edilen biçimiyle dova ya da dova çalmanın müzikal ve teknik özelliklerinin yanı sıra Yörüklerde göçebe hayat ve sosyal yapıyla ilişkileri de incelenmektedir. Ayrıca seçilen alanın, araştırmacının aile bağlarının bulunduğu bir alan olması nedeniyle de araştırmacının alandaki ve çalışmadaki konumu, çalışmanın diğer bir boyutunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı, boğaz çalma eyleminin sosyal ve müzikal yanlarını araştırırken araştırmacı ile alan arasındaki etkileşimi ve bu etkileşimin çalışma üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektir.



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of Thesis

My ancestors are Yörük¹ people who maintained an unsettled life for years, migrated from one place to another to find the optimum climate conditions and food supplies for their herds. They did not have a stationary residence, even though they followed specific migratory routes and had temporary summer and winter settlements. When they finally settled down to Gedikli Village, Isparta in Anatolian part of Turkey, they still continued to their living based on animal herding and shepherding, as they did in their nomadic life, even though new ways of living have been practiced in settled life. They started to experience settled life, however, they still kept the traditions of nomadic life as far as they could do. As the result, a transition period of culture has been arisen.

My parents, both are from same Yörük tribe and born in the same village, were born into this settled life of that ex-migrating community. Both of my parents lived in the village until they got their jobs as civil servants and worked in different cities of Turkey for government work. My parents' generation, generally went to government schools and became civil servants, however, they worked as shepherds and farmers during their holiday breaks when they were young and by these means, they had practiced rural village life and experienced that culture.

As an individual coming from those nomadic and rural ancestors, I have never experienced a rural or nomadic life and I have grown up in big cities. I have always been to Gedikli Village, the hometown of my parents and me, in different times of each year, especially at holidays or *bayram*² ceremonies with my parents to visit other family members. Thus, I always have been connected to that village and my ancestors,

¹Detailed explanation of the meaning of the word Yörük and discussions on Yörük culture will be provided in next chapters

²Bayrams are the national or religious days celebrated. In this text, Islamic religious feasts are mentioned

even though my position was not exactly in a way of an insider who experienced the same life style with them, but more like a tourist or visitor who could get snapshots from their lives. At the end, I have become an outsider to my roots' lifestyle, however, I was never been a stranger to where and how way they live.

The first time I had been into the field was a day of *bayram* as a regular visit to our grandparents and other relatives living in Gedikli Village. I was planning to record some music from my village, because I have always been a curious person for music in general terms, but after a point, I have started to wonder about the musics of the community and culture I am coming from. I had my computer, amateur sound recording equipment and a simple video recorder with me, because I was planning to capture some audio and video recordings of throat players that would be long-term subject of interest and the subject of this study afterwards. Even though I thought that I know the village and people and was known in the village, since my family are from that society, I still needed guidance to learn who are the throat players and introduce myself to them. Because I was a young person who grown up outside the village and I was feeling “stranger” to the people. When I felt that I was hesitating to communicate with the people, then I realized that I needed to make this fieldwork not only to discover and to archive the music and culture of my own society, but also to understand where I stand inside and outside of this community and culture.

I have started to fieldworks in Gedikli Village starting from 2012 still working on each time I have been to the village. In the beginning, I was just looking for some audio and visual material for throat playing. I was recording the performances; however, I was not interviewing people about the practice or even ask about their lives in nomadic period or their musicianship. In time, I have learned to ask “right” questions, I have learned to connect the culture with the music I got from the field and I have learned to communicate better with the people.

It has been difficult to set only one question of research for this study. Since throat playing is a unique practice that we cannot see on any media, concerts or even among the Yörük communities, I have started to search on the characteristics of throat playing practice by asking those simple questions:

“What kind of musical practice is throat playing? How can I learn about that practice with respect to nomadic life traditions of the community I come from?”

Nevertheless, many other aspects have been added to my questions and concerns during the period of the study. In those simple main questions, I had many sub questions that constitute this general question in a way that covers as much sociocultural and musical views as it could. I looked for the repertoire of the practice with respect to nomadic life constraints and women's perspective, since it is a practice mostly peculiar to nomadic women of Anatolia. Furthermore, I tried to study the rhythmic and melodic aspects of the pieces performed in throat playing practice.

I aimed to construct a perspective for myself that includes an objective researcher's point of view as well as the experience of an insider about her community. However, I did not mean to establish a perspective that favors the community I worked on and I belong to in an ethnocentric way. On the contrary, I would like to build an argumentative perspective from a person on her own culture. Because, among the literature of Yörük studies I have used, I have encountered with many works that have been written by Yörük authors on Yörük culture and history that could not avoid ethnocentric perspectives. In order to avoid those perspectives in the study, I had established my data on fieldwork recordings, oral history narratives and interviews and try to stick on objective scientific methodologies.

So after all those other aspects that affected my fieldworks and context of the study, my main research question has evolved in various points. My main aim in that study is to explain the throat playing practice in its musical aspects with respect to the social aspects of nomadic Yörük culture in the perspectives of the community members who practiced that tradition and nomadic life, along with as my perspective as a researcher who never experienced that practice even though I am also theoretically a member of Yörüks. As the result of those various aspects that required me to develop a comprehensive point of view on the issue, my research question has evolved in two main forms:

“What are the characteristics of throat playing as a musical practice, including its performance techniques, repertory and forms?”

“How this musical practice is related to social aspects of nomadic life and how I do perceive that practice as a researcher coming from nomadic roots?”

At the same time with my fieldworks, I have started to search the literature on Yörük culture, history and music, however I could only find a limited bibliography on that topic. Peculiarly for music of Yörüks, there was only one music album that focused on Yörük music traditions and throat playing by including field recording based on the academic studies of Yetkin Özer and Levent Ergun³. Still, the sources for Yörük culture were very limited and the existing works were mainly the autobiographies and personal narratives that could reflect subjective points of view. The problem of lack of sources has also motivated me to work on the music of Yörüks and provide a source that focused on throat playing practice. I aimed to construct a perspective for myself that includes an objective researcher's point of view as well as the experience of an insider about her community.

In this paper, I have started with my methodology and literature I reviewed in my study. Then, I introduce Yörük culture and music as well as my field before I get in the details of throat playing. Then I explain the throat playing practice with respect to my fieldwork with Honamlı Yörüks and I discuss my position in the field and in the study while I am analyzing the practice.

In next chapter, I explain my methodology on this study and the theoretical framework I had established my paper. I have followed ethnographic field works methods of many ethnomusicologists as well as various women anthropologist who worked on women's music and culture as women researchers and established their own methodologies of the study.

In chapter three, I introduce the field and Yörük community I worked on. Also, I provide background information about Yörük people in detail in this chapter before I present my points in throat playing in sociocultural aspects. I discuss the definitions and context of the word Yörük with respect to historical and cultural perspectives approached by various scholars in different points. Then the social structure and women's position in issues Yörük communities will be explained.

Chapter four is focused on throat playing practice based on interviews and audiovisual data I gathered from the field. I explain this musical practice with respect to its social

³Ergun, L., Ozer, Y. *Yörüklerde Müzik ve Boğaz Çalma [CD]*. Turkey: Kalan Müzik. (1998).

constraints based on nomadic life and gender issues as well as the playing techniques and repertory I have observed. I also expressed my personal position in the field.

In the last chapter, I summarize the main points and discuss further study.

Due to lack of terminology in English about Yörük studies and in order to preserve the meaning of local practices and language, I will keep using original Turkish words for some concepts, such as *dova*. Therefore, I will keep the word *Yörük* in whole study both as the name of an ethnic group as well as the word defining nomadic Anatolian tribes in general.

1.2 Methodological and Thoretical Framework

In this study, I attempted to provide a comprehensive approach to throat playing by analyzing the practice not only in musical terms, but also in sociocultural aspects of Yörük society I worked on. I aimed to explain a particular musical tradition by covering the various topics; such as comprehension of music, musicianship and the position of women in Yörük societies by considering my position in the field as the researcher as well as a member of the community. There are various scholars who have been the guides for whole of my fieldwork and ethnomusicology studies, however, main structure of the study has based on ethnographic researches conducted by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists.

1.2.1 Literature review

My study has established on the fieldwork and ethnographic methodologies. Thus, as the first step of my field study, I focused on the basics of fieldwork research in all aspects. How to listen to people is one of the most fundamental rules in the field for a researcher, according to my experience in the field. After learning how to listen, it is easier to figure out how to ask questions and get responses you are looking for. Thus, learning the fundamentals of interviewing and listening are the two essentials of a fieldwork. Edward D. Ives's book *The Tape-Recorded Interview: A Manual for Field Workers in Folklore and Oral History* was a reference guide to study basics of the art of interviewing for me. Since I was working with a community I come from, but do not know the culture indeed, my complicated position in the field required me to be more careful to choose the right questions. I had many moments in the field where I could not find the questions that would lead to me to the answers I am looking for and

got lost in the dialogues.

How to interpret the words of informants and writing the ethnography are the other main concerns determining the whole structure of a study. For writing ethnographic fieldwork, the book *Writing Ethnographic Fieldwork* by Robert Emerson, Tachel Fretz and Linda Shaw show us a series of guidelines, suggestions and advices on writing of useful and more systematic fieldnotes. Even though I had the benefit on technological devices to record the interviews or performances in the field, both in video and audio formats, taking my field notes manually and letting the flow of ideas should not be ignored. Field notes are still the fundamental part of ethnographic narratives we create and it helped me lot when I returned back from the field and revise the material I had.

In this whole study, I have been inspired by the works of Steven Feld (1984) on Kaluli people where he aimed to express the music and musical practices of the community by merging “ethnomusicological questions (the cultural study of the shared meanings of musical sounds) with sociomusical ones (the study of musical sounds from perspectives of the social structure and social organization of resources, makers, and occasions)” (p. 22). I have tried to establish my study also on those two main groups of questions where I try to figure out the synergy between music and the behavior of Yörük community I have worked on. Since the musical practices and sounds are not considered as a form of the practice of art or other cultural structure; but considered as taken for granted as a part of daily routine and life, it has been essential for me to study on music of Yörüks with respect to their life style and social structure.

All musical sound structures are socially structured in two senses: they exist through social construction, and they mean through social interpretation. Both kinds of engagement are socially real regardless of the ultimate importance or value of the musical sound, and regardless of how consciously it is formed, attended to, and understood. Interpretation of a sound object/event (that is, of a construction), is the process of intuiting a relationship between structures, settings, and kinds of potentially relevant or interpretable messages. (Feld, 1984, p.22).

As Feld indicates, the musical sound structures are socially constructed. I tried to understand the social construction of Yörük life as the first and the fundamental part of my studies, because most of the musical practices have been developed out of the practices of nomadic life and interaction with nature and animals. Unfortunately, I was not able to observe the people in nomadic life routines and musical practices in those spaces, since they had settled down years ago. Nevertheless, the narratives and

interviews guided me to interpret the practices as well as transmission and transformation of the practices and the culture.

Since the people I work on the field were mainly women, my study has gained another perspective: a woman's view on the other women. Thus, the pioneer theories on women studies should not be neglected in that type of study. As a reference book compiled by various articles *Feminist Anthropology: A Reader* edited by Ellen Lewin has been the book covering many concepts, as positioning of the researcher and the informants in the study or identifying cultures to comprehend the perception of women. In this book, the article “Feminist Insider Dilemmas: Constructing Ethnic Identity with Chicana Informants” by Patricia Zavella (2006, p.189) discusses the positioning of the researcher when she works on a community that she is connected to and the subjects which have been the questions also during my research. Her question below, as the starting question of her article has been one of the main questions in my study to create the narrative from women perspective, both as a researcher woman as well as the women subjects of the study from the same sociocultural background.

What happens when the ethnographic “others” are from the same society and are the members of the same race or ethnicity, gender, and class background as the ethnographer? (Zavella, 2006, p.189)

In this matter, field studies and the works based on field studies are other sources that helped me to create my own narration of my studies. Kamala Visweswaran's book *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography* (1994) narrates an autobiographic ethnography that has been one of my final aims to create. In this study, Visweswaran focuses on the fictional writing aspects of ethnography where researchers trying to “write the cultures” as discussed primarily by Clifford Geertz. Introduction of the term “halfie ethnography” by Kirin Narayan to express the ethnographic studies made by researchers in between their native culture as well as their position as the researcher has been the situation I positioned myself in many aspects of my fieldwork that will be discussed later.

Studies on the history, culture and life style of Yörüks have been the other main sources of my works. Since Yörüks are the communities living in Anatolia, most of the studies on Yörük people and culture have done by scholars from Turkey in Turkish language. Many of those studies are based on personal narratives of the authors who come from nomadic Yörük culture and wrote their observations and autobiographies.

Even though they are not the primary academic sources, they include narratives from the first person about Yörük life and culture and in that sense they form integrity with the narratives I gathered from the field. Books of Ramazan Kıvrak, Ali Çelik, Ali Tanyıldız and Musa Seyirci are the good examples of such studies. However, ethnocentric approaches and expressions are generally dominant in such personal narratives. Thus, citing those studies requires much more attention in order to get the correct historical and cultural frame on Yörüks and to avoid ethnocentrism.

There are several milestone studies by Turkish scholars on Yörüks that have been the reference guides for the other Yörük researchers. Ali Rıza Yalın(Yalman)'s books *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları* (1931) and *Cenupta Türkmen Çalgıları* (1940) are two of the pioneer studies on Yörük tribes including compilations of song texts, musical practices and instruments. They still have been primary sources for researches of Yörük music also due to their content of organology and oral repertory of songs, lullabies, poems etc. Even though Yalın was not neither an anthropologist nor a musicologist, his works are regarded as the pioneer fundamental resources for Yörük culture and music in Republican period of Turkey. He is also among the researchers who joined Hungarian musicologist and composer Bela Bartok's fieldworks in Anatolia about Anatolian music cultures that organized by the Republic of Turkey in 1930s. Thus, the organological works in his books as well as the repertoire he collected are essential pioneer studies on Yörük music.

The other main reference books are primarily concerned on the history and social characteristics of Yörük tribes. The book *Oğuzlar(Türkmenler):Tarihleri,Boy Teşkilatı, Destanları* (1999) written by Faruk Sümer is based on the history myth of Yörük communities stating that those communities share a common history and culture with Middle Asia communities named *Oghuzs*. Prof. Mehmet Eröz's book *Yörükler* (1999, 2 ed.) is another comprehensive book based on the scholar's doctoral thesis and explaining the culture and traditions of Yörüks with respect to their origin and history as well as the etymologic views on the origin of the word "yörük".

In the subject of Yörük culture and life style, the studies based on fieldworks done in period between 1950s and 1980s when the some of yörük communities were still continuing nomadic life, by the anthropologists such as Masateka Matsubara and Ulla Johansen helped me in detail to demonstrate that life style and tradition that evolved around nomadic life style. Since it was not possible for me to observe nomadic life of

most of Yörük communities due to settled modern life of today, both of those studies' detailed observations on daily practices of migration process supported my study's deficient perspectives. Another valuable point in those studies is the researchers' position. Because most of the studies on Yörük culture have been conducted by researchers having relationships with Yörük culture, the field observations and narratives by the researchers who are the outsiders of Yörük culture consider that communities in different perspectives that could be mislead by Yörük researchers.

Ulla Johansen's book *50 Yıl Önce Türkiye'de Yörüklerin Yayla Hayatı* (2005) is the study based on her fieldworks where she had migrated with Karaevli Yörük tribe. This study explains the details about migration and work distribution among society members, women's positions in the family and tribe as well as the notions about herding of animals.

Similar to Johansen's fieldwork and study, Japanese anthropologist Masateka Matsubara had also conducted a fieldwork with Çoşlu Yörük tribe in 1970s. He also joined a seasonal migration of that tribe where he could observe the daily routines of the process of migration. In his book *Göçebeliğin Dünyası* (2012), he explains the nomadic life based on herding of animals and the daily practices evolved around animals explicitly.

When I learnt in my field that Matsubara had visited Gedikli Village, stayed there for a few days during his field work on Çoşlu Yörüks and he also had some points on Honamlı Yörüks, the study of Matsubara has been one of the key sources of my studies. It also has been a source of motivation of my studies on Yörüks.

The foremost source of my study has been the book *Orta Asya'dan Gedikli Köyü'ne: Honamlı Yörükleri* (1991) by researcher Ali Tanyıldız who is also a member of Honamlı Yörüks and grown up in Gedikli Village. Since his study was focused on the community I worked, the study's content on micro history and culture of Honamlı Yörüks set the frameworks for my study. The subjects he discussed in his book or the people he interviewed in his study have been the starting points of my works. Furthermore, the author's position in the field as a researcher who studies his own community guided me to discuss my position in my field while gathering and expressing the data in non-ethnocentric and objective way. Even though there are some points in that study where the author could not get over his personal relationship with

the subjects and had ethnocentric perspectives, I still followed they way the positioned himself as a researcher and as a member of that community in the field.

Focusing on Yörük musics, the studies are mainly academic works handled by various scholars from Turkey in their undergraduate, graduate and doctoral studies. Doctoral dissertation of Levent Ergun under the supervision of Prof. Yetkin Özer named *Yörüklerde Müzik ve Boğaz Çalma* (2002) is one of the first and most comprehensive studies about music of Yörüks. In this study, Ergun demonstrates the musical instruments, forms, repertoire of Yörük people as well as their perception of music and musicianship with respect to their nomadic life shaping the cultural practices. He also depicts the throat playing practice in terms of its performance techniques, sociocultural and gender aspects as well as the musical and textual content. That study of the scholars had also resulted with an audio CD before they published the dissertation. The CD titled same with dissertation as *Yörüklerde Müzik ve Boğaz Çalma*(1998) includes 30 tracks of various musical forms from Yörük music as well as personal narratives by the participants.

Other than Ergun's dissertation, some other academic studies focusing on Yörük music forms, instruments and traditions are listed as *Yörüklerde Boğaz Çalmanın Anlamı ve Tekniklerinin Analizi* (2013) by Zehra Yılmaz, *Teke Yöresi Çalgılarından "Sipsi"nin Yapısal ve İcra Özelliklerinin İncelenmesi* (2017) by Deniz Yıldız and *Teke Yöresi Yörük Türkmen Müzik Kültüründe Yerel Çok Seslilik Özellikleri* (2013) by Sinan Ayyıldız.

It is difficult to find proper audio and video material on Yörük music established except than the album mentioned above. However, various researchers have started to form their personal archives that are also available on the Internet. The YouTube video channel of music teacher and researcher Emre Dayıoğlu⁴ about the folks songs, instruments and forms of Anatolian rural people who mainly living in Southwest of Anatolia and mainly includes Yörük communities is one of the most comprehensive archives that is open to public.

Scarcity of studies on Yörük musics encouraged and motivated me to work on that subject while I am trying to learn and interpret the ways my ancestors lived. Even

⁴Emre Dayıoğlu's YouTube channel is available here:
https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwTAa7TMv0xuaVKP8IxP_6A

though I could not have the chance to observe Honamlı Yörüks in nomadic life, I established my research methods on interviews and oral history narrations based on memoirs of the people who used to have nomadic life, but settled down in time.

1.2.2 Research Methods

I have established my study on fieldwork and the interpretation of the fieldwork material. When I have started to my fieldworks in 2012, I was not aware of the methodologies of ethnomusicology used in the field. Later, I have realized that I was in the field, but not making a fieldwork in a methodological way. I was just making video and audio recordings of throat playing performances, however, I had never thought to ask questions to people about that practice or music. After starting my education in the discipline of ethnomusicology, I have intentionally started to my fieldwork studies and I have used interviews, oral history narrations and performance recordings as the main methods in the field.

1.2.2.1 Fieldwork and oral history interviews

Interviews have been the primary sources of information about culture, music and life style practices of nomadism as well as the perspectives of the people on those concepts. I was not able to observe the musical practices within the concept of nomadic life, since the group of Honamlı Yörüks had settled down a few decades ago. Furthermore, the literature about Yörük musics and throat playing was very limited and since Yörüks had lived an unsettled life, all traditions had been practiced and transmitted orally. As the result of all those aspects, obtaining the data from the performers of the throat playing practice and the other people who used to xperience nomadic Yörük life was essential for my study as the primary source of information.

The questions and the content of my interviews had been varying with respect to the time and the subjects of the interviews (such as Bayram visits with other people around or face to face interviews). However, in all of my interviews, I was asking the main questions given below:

1. Do you know how to practice throat playing?
2. Whom/how did you learn that practice?
3. Where did you play that?
4. Do you or other people still play? If not, why?
5. Do you play any other instrument or only play *dova*?

6. Do the men also play *dova*?

In my interviews, sometimes I preferred "open ended questions" which allow people to talk in a freer way and tell their memoirs more. However, that type of interviewing caused the drifts from main topic sometimes, because people were tend to tell more stories about their lives and not all of those stories were related to my study indeed. On the other hand, those memoirs had notions about nomadic life, people's perception on music and other sociocultural aspects that implicitly involve the meanings and motivation behind the musical practices. Hence, my methodology of interviewing and oral history cannot be separated from each other. Interviews in the field generally evolved into oral history narratives rather than Q&A sessions, since the informants were more willing to talk about their history, life style and memories. My position in the field as a member of that society also inspired people to talk about the culture, history and their memories about Yörük life, including the memories about my grandparents. Obtaining oral history narratives from the first person was crucial for my study, because in that study, I was not only studying a musical practice, but also my personal position in the community both as researcher and as ethnic member of that society.

I aimed to get the video and audio recordings of throat playing performances to obtain the material I could analyze, as well as to make an archive of the throat airs and performances, since the sources for that practice are very limited.

I tried to capture the practices where people feel more comfortable, thus the places were generally the houses of the performers. During the performance recordings, most of the performers preferred to stay alone with me in a private room.

I used simple portable tools for audio and video recordings. My main sound recorder was Zoom H1, and some non-professional handy cameras as well as smartphones for both audio and video recordings.

It was important to get high quality audio recordings in order to analyze pitch changes, overtones and other ornamentations in tunes. However, it was not possible for me to get high quality audio recording at the field. As the continuity of that research, I will get high quality audio recording and make more intense analyses of the sound.

I have used various software programs to analyze the audio material I have gathered from the field. Sonic Visualizer is used for analyzing the pitch, Melodyne Editor is

used for determining the pitches and scales. I also used Guitar Pro 5 and Sibellius for Western notation transcriptions.





2. DEFINING THE “YÖRÜK”

2.1 Introduction

Before analyzing the throat playing practice, a particular musical tradition by a particular group of people named Yörüks, it is essential to explain some fundamental concepts about Yörük people. Because of the throat playing practice's connection with nomadic life style and shepherding activities, it will be inadequate to analyze this musical practice without comprehending the social constructions behind the practice. In that chapter, I aim to explain the word Yörük in both linguistics and sociological concerns and to introduce the history and culture of Yörük communities in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the musical practice as a cultural aspect. I will also discuss the musical traditions and perception of Yörük communities as well as women's place in Yörük life in order to find out the notions of gender in the practice of throat playing along with the practice's existence in Yörük life as a musical tradition.

2.2 Etymology and the Meaning(s) of the Word Yörük

The widely accepted and well-known meaning of the word Yörük represents the people who earn their lives by stockbreeding and maintain an unsettled life in Anatolia. That word has derived due to the life style of those people. In that manner, the societies named as Yörük are categorized based on the choice of life style and social construction, including common culture, traditions etc.

The Dictionary of Turkish Language Foundation states following meanings of the word Yörük given below:

yörük (noun)

1. Göçebe (nomad)

yörük (noun)

1. Çok yürüyen (person who walks much)

Yörük, k'ü (noun)

Hayvancılıkla geçinen, genellikle Toroslarda yaşayan göçebe Türk oymağı (Nomadic Turkish tribes which resides in Toros Mountains Region generally and earn living by stockbreeding).

The exact date for the first use of the word “Yörük” is not known, however, in major studies, we encounter with three possible centuries: the second half of the 12th century, 15th century or the 17th century. It is also reputed to “the word “Yörük” was used by the people who did not have nomadic life to define nomads” (Matsubara, 2012, p.1). “However, by the 19th century, semantics of the word has been broadened to the scope by including also people who used to live nomadic, but began to live semi-nomadic or settled lives” (Gülten 2009, p.1).

Today, I think those uses of the word Yörük have been evolved in different contexts in the manner of the expression of the identity. Even though the word has emerged to define nomadic people, nowadays even the people who are living in modern cities without any practice of nomadism could define themselves as Yörüks because of their ancestral nomadic life style, history and culture. This evolved meaning and identity of Yörüks also apply to my personal Yörük-being as well as my researcher position in the field. Thus, I prefer to consider the identity and meanings of Yörük in a broader way while I mean to express Yörüks as an ethnic group. Rather than a society sharing commons because of the nomadic life style based on herding and walking, I prefer to use the term Yörük for the people who also name themselves as Yörük even though they do not follow nomadic life. Gülten (2016) discussed that today, “the meaning of the word Yörük exceeded its boundaries and evolved into a term representing the people not only having a nomadic life, but also the people who used to have nomadic lives even though they have settled down” Gülten (p.33).

Ethnic group, a social group or category of the population that, in a larger society, is set apart and bound together by common ties of race, language, nationality, or culture.

On the other hand, since the word Yörük is the name of a particular group of nomadic people that are sharing common cultural values at the same time as an ethnic group, the difference between other unsettled tribes and Yörük tribes is another point of discussion. In that discussion, it is essential to differentiate pastoral nomadism from other types of pastoralism and nomadism.

Pastoral nomads or nomad pastoralists live in societies ... the husbandry of grazing animals is viewed as an ideal way of making a living and the regular movement of all or part of the society

is considered a normal and natural part of life. Although the terms “nomad” and “pastoralist” are generally used interchangeably, they are analytically distinct: the former referring to movement and the latter to a type of subsistence. Not all pastoralists are nomadic (diary farmers and cattle ranchers), nor are all nomads pastoralists (hunter-gatherers, Gypsies, migrant farm workers) (Gülten 2009, p.22).

Within the context of pastoral nomadism, Yörüks should be differentiated from the other unsettled societies living in Anatolia, since the nomadism of Yörüks is based on seasonal migration as a consequence of animal grazing. By the reason of seasonal migration and having particular migration routes, Yörüks has their own characteristics of pastoral nomadism. Even though they do not have permanent settlements, where they stay in summer and winter seasons as well as their resting points at migratory routes are generally determined in advance.

Another distinctive characteristic of Yörüks differings from the other nomadic societies is the history and origins of Yörüks that will be explained in the following section.

Some of the scholars use the word *Türkmen* in order to express Yörük communities in addition to the name of Yörük. It is also common to use the words *Yörük* and *Türkmen* together to express those nomadic social groups. There are various hypotheses about the content and meaning of those names.

... Yörük and Türkmen are the words that define the same thing: those nomadic Oghuz clans that migrated to Anatolia. All documents state that those nomadic groups had come from Middle Asia (Eröz, 1991, p.22).

Another common view on the difference between Yörüks and Türkmens states that “Turkish nomads living in the west of Kızılırmak river are named as *Türkmen*, whereas the ones living in the east of the river are named as *Yörük*” (Eröz, 1991, p.23). The uses and meanings of Yörük and Türkmen words are still ambiguous today. Thus, most of the associations and organizations about Yörük culture use the both terms to express the communities, such as Toroslar Yörük Türkmen Federasyonu and Yörük Türkmen Vakfı.

2.3 History of Yörüks and Views About the Origin

As explained in the previous section, Yörük is the name of an ethnic group that is based on pastoral nomadism with shared cultural practices and kinship relations.

Nevertheless, the shared history of Yörüks is another constitutional aspect that forms the Yörük identity.

The most accepted view on the history of Yörüks claims that Yörük have come to Anatolia from Middle Asia and they have the same nomadic ancestors names Ughuzs (Oghuzs).

Eröz (1991, p.20) defines the word “Yörük as a word representing the nomadic Oghuz clans that settled down to Anatolia”. He also claims that there are ethnical, religious and cultural connections between nomadic Anatolian tribes and Middle Asian Oghuz clans. Furthermore, he believes that “the words *Yörük*, *Oghuz* and *Türkmen* are the words that are used to define the same nomadic tribes” (Eröz, 1991,p.17).

According to a common point of view on the history and origin of Yörüks, there are 24 Oghuz clans who are the ancestors of Yörük tribes and groups today. Doğan (2012, p.138) states that:

Today in Anatolia, there are many places named after Oghuz clan names. Although some of the names have changed in time, today there are more than 36 places named as after Oghuz clans; such as more than 40 places as Kayı, 44 Bayat, 44 Yazır, 54 Avşar, 29 Bayındır, 51 Çavuldur, 106 Eymür, and 45 Kınık. (Doğan, 2012, p.138)

Faruk Sümer (1999, p. 229) illustrates the classification of 22 Oghuz clans with respect to Kaşgarlı Mahmud. Kaşgarlı does not include 2 clans of Oghuzs to his classification. Today, it is difficult to find Yörük clans living together as indicated by the scholars in 22-24 different branches. Transformation from nomadic life to settled life, changes in sociopolitical position and means of living led people to have different life styles and cultural changes. Nevertheless, still most of the Yörük population lives mainly in the Southwest of Anatolia. Due to climatic environment that favors the herding, many of the Yörük tribes chose to live in Toros Mountains region. “Today, the cities in Turkey most populated by Yörük communities are Antalya, Mersin, Isparta, Burdur, Adana, Konya, Karaman, Denizli, Aydın, İzmir, Manisa, Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Uşak, Afyon, Kütahya and Gaziantep” (Ergun, 2004, p.15,16).

2.4 Yörük Life and Culture

The most fundamental common ground for Yörük identity is the lifestyle they maintain. Even though the main lifestyle of Yörük communities had been nomadic

unsettled life throughout the history, due to rapid urbanization and settlement policies of the governments for a long time, nomadic life has not been maintained as the primary choice of life any more.

We can observe three main ways of life maintained by Yörük communities: nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled life. Nomadic life is the main and the most authentic lifestyle of Yörük tribes. In that pastoral nomadic life, due to nutrition needs of the animals, the search for a fertile pasturage defines the place where tribe would spend the season. As the result, tribes reside in higher places of mountains where the climate is not too dry and hot in summers, whereas they prefer to live in mild temperature places in winters, such as seaside. Summer residence is known as *yazlık* or *yayla* and the winter residence is called as *kışlak*. Since that lifestyle is not permanent, tribes live in tents instead of stable houses as the residence. No motor vehicles had been used during the migration in past, the tribes migrated from one residence to another by walking. The goat-herd and sheep-herd accompanied to the tribes and along with the other animal herds used for transportation, such as horses, donkeys and camels.

There are various migration units that live together in nomadic life. The base unit of people is named as *çadır* (the tent) that defines the group of people, mostly a family who shares the same tent and live in there together. *Çadır* (the tent) is not only the house Yörüks live, but also the shelter keeps the family together. A family unit sharing the same tent could include an elementary family as well as an extended family consisting grandparents, parents, children and the wives and children of sons if there are any. “*Oba* is a typical migration group that formed of a few tents or families and settled down in same places during the migration” (Matsubara, 2012, p.16). Size of an *oba* might differ, because there is not a quantitative standard for the number of families in a unit of *oba*.

Most of the families in a migration unit have family bonds with each other. It is also common to observe marriages between the tents migrating together. As the result, solidarity economy and social cooperation among the members of a migration group have been powerful.

Animals have been the most important component in the lives of Yörük people, because of their value as livelihood. The fundamental concept that determines the nomadic life is the herding of animals. Animals are the main assets of Yörük

communities. Yörük people sell the animals or the products of the animals, such as milk or the goods produced from animal products, such as cheese and yoghurt. Camel, goat, sheep, donkey and horse are the main animals used for economical purposes as well as transportation of goods during the migration process.

Pastoral nomadism is a production system that do not produce surplus production for the needs of people who do not involve in production activities. Because of that reason, we could say that nomadic communities are egalitarian communities. In fact, nomads do not have a mentality of personal ownership of lands, since they do not interchange their herds with lands. Considering the fact that pastoral nomadism is based on a mutual interaction between the animals and the people, that way of living is focused on reproduction of the animals (Matsubara, 2012, p.5).

There is a strong communication and relationship could be observed between the animals and shepherd members of a Yörük group besides that economical and functional uses of the animals. The shepherds use particular ways and sounds to call and the lead the animals. Matsubara (2012, p.32) names “the acts of making sounds to call and lead the animals by the shepherds as *kışleme*”. *Kışleme* is used not only for calling and leading the animals, but also helping them to eat better.

We can comprehend the calling to animals with particular sounds as a cultural aspect. This call is a cultural element shared by the shepherds and the animals. Probably, animals would not react as expected if they had been called by the calling system of another culture, because the animals learn the meaning of that particular call in their own environment (Matsubara, 2012, p.34-35).

Since Yörük life is based on pastoral nomadism, almost all of the members in a Yörük community are the shepherds who could lead and herd the animals. The particular communication ways between the shepherds and the animals also resulted in musical practices of shepherd musicians. As it will be discussed in detail in next chapters, most of the shepherds are the musical actors in Yörük societies and they could use their instruments to lead and calm down the animals besides their calling sounds.

Cultural practices and artworks have been build up with respect to necessities of unsettled nomadic life. Most of artworks are portable, small items that could be used functionally in daily life and could be carried easily. It is not possible to talk about Yörük architecture due to nomadic life. However, the tents used by Yörüks for habitation have their characteristic design both in artistic and technical manners. Most of the tents are made of goat hair named as *kıl çadır*. The rugs and carpets inside the

tents are also hand knotted. Rug and tent veawing is an essential work in Yörük life both in for their functional uses as well as their aesthetical perspectives. There are various symbols and colors used in rugs to express the identity and feelings of the artist. Furthermore, it is claimed that “some tribes use specific colors and figures in the rugs in order to represent their tribes in symbolic ways” (Ergun, 2004, p.13,14). Felt (*keçe*) is also another material used in rug and carpet production by using the hair obtained from the goat. Figure 2.1 demonstrates a felt rug made by a member of Honamlı Yörüks.



Figure. 2.1: Handcrafted felt rug (Toros, 2018).

As another result of unsettled life, there are no formal institutions for culture and arts of Yörüks. Thus, cultural knowledge has been transmitted orally among the generations. Traditions and techniques for musical practices and handicrafts had taught by the masters via demonstrations and master-apprentice learning systems. It was also common among Yörüks that children did not go to schools regularly due to unsettled life.

Unsettled life is the main and characteristics life style of Yörük tribes, however, this life has evolved into semi-nomadic and settled lives in time due to changes in technology and social construction of societies via urbanization. Settlements policies in Republican Period as well as in Ottoman Empire had lead Yörük groups to settle down to places in their routes of migrations throughout the time. Mainly in 19th century, Ottoman Empire had implemented tax policies to Yörük tribes in order to

make them settled down. Similarly in the early years of Republican Period, the settlement problem of nomadic groups had been one of the major problems and the government had implemented settlement policies for Yörük groups. “In 1926, a law on settlement policy had been enacted and 168.056 nomadic people were subjected to settlement policies” (Erdal, 2016, p.18).

Semi-nomadic life has been the first result of this transformation in lifestyle of Yörük communities. In semi-nomadic life, tribes still reside in different places in different seasons as in the case of nomadic life, however, the summer and winter settlements are permanent in semi-nomadic life in the form of houses rather than tents. People have particular places to reside in different seasons and mobility is less than nomadic life. Furthermore, transportation vehicles are used in the migration process rather than the animals. Due to seasonal-settled life, tribe members also deal with agriculture as well as stockbreeding as the primary sources of living. Thus, semi-nomadic life has been a transition form from nomadic life to settled life.

Settled life has been the most favored lifestyle among Yörük communities within the time along with urbanization. Not only because of urbanization, but also due to government policies forcing nomads into settled life let nomadic tribes to reside in particular places. Today, Yörük tribes live together or individually in villages, towns or cities as their permanent residents. As a result of that life style, the livelihood is not limited to agriculture or stockbreeding. Tribe members may work in public service or engage in trade as well as continuing stockbreeding.

Today, most of Yörük tribes have settled down and living in villages or cities. Most of the migrating units have been separated from each others and people mostly live with their nuclear families rather than *oba* or *çadır* groups. Throughout the changes in social life, the meaning of the word Yörük and cultural practices have been evolved into different contexts.

2.5 Meaning, Life and Culture in Today

With the change of life style, the term Yörük also has evolved in the meaning to represent the people who have nomadic ancestors or origins, besides the people who have nomadic lives. Thus today, when we talk about Yörük people or Yörük culture, we include the people who lead modern lives in cities, but have Yörük ancestors or

originated from Yörük culture. Accordingly, practices in Yörük culture have been evolved into contemporary life along with those changes. Today, many of Yörük people left unsettled life and most of Yörük community have settled down to villages, towns or cities. As the result of that, the migration units and *obas* have dissolved and the communication between the people cut off. However, some members of Yörük communities have started non-governmental organizations that aim to gather the members of different Yörük communities periodically and organize events to revive nomadic Yörük culture. As the result of that, associations that represent Yörük culture and traditions have founded by different Yörük tribes in all over Turkey.

Yörük associations are mostly non-profit organizations that intent to preserve and maintain Yörük culture and traditions. However, they have gained sociopolitical power in time due to their reputation among Yörük communities and via the federations they have established. Today, there are 3 confederations, 23 federations and 210 associations of Yörük communities exist in more than 60 cities of Turkey. Many of those Yörük associations organize festivals each year in *yaylas* where those Yörük group used to live and stay. Those events are named as *Yörük Toyu*⁵ or *Yörük Şöleni*⁶. They gather disconnected Yörük communities together in those festivals, revive the cultural characteristics of Yörük life with music, dance, hand-crafted materials and aim to strengthen the communication among the people whose parents/grandparents are coming from same migration units or *obas*.

Honamlı Yörükleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği HOY-DER (Honamlı Yörüks Culture and Solidarity Association)⁷ is such an association founded in 1998 by the members of Honamlı tribe. They organize one Yörük festival in Sindel Yaylası, Isparta in spring and one gathering picnic in Antalya annually.

In recent years, some universities have opened research centers on Yörük culture and they organize annual symposiums and conferences on Yörüks studies in different disciplines, as history, politics, art and music. Akdeniz University Yörük Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi and Mersin University Yörük Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi are the first two academic institutes opened recently.

⁵toy: feast

⁶şölen: feast

⁷<http://www.honamliyorukleri.org.tr/index.asp?mn=30&bn=&in=167> Will be named as HOY-DER from now on

2.6 Women's Position in Yörük Life

Nomadic life requires a strong companionship among the members of the community. As explained in previous chapters, Yörüks maintain their lives in social groups. Due to hard conditions of seasonal migration with herds of animals and big families, the members of a migration group act in coordination with each other in migration. Thus, not only male members of migration units, but also women and children have particular responsibilities in distribution of work.

By reason of that production based life style that against the settlement and private ownership in general, gender and social roles in the community are also developed with respect to maintenance of the herding and production. Thus, it is common to observe in Yörük communities that both men and women sharing the workload and shepherding as their daily routine and profession. Nevertheless, it is still women's responsibility to deal with children and make the housework; such as cooking, laundering and cleaning. This situation had been observed by various researchers who had joined the seasonal migration with Yörük tribes. Matsubara (2012) indicates that “when the male shepherds finish their works with animals, they have rest, however, women still continue to make housework and similarly, the young girls help to housework as soon as they finish milking the animals” (p.21).

As soon as Yörük groups have started to settle down, women have focused on house works and men have become more dominant on agriculture and stockbreeding. However, the women still continued to work in the fields and herd the animals besides houseworks. Along with settled life, the work distribution and the position in the family between the men and women become more visible.

The most common marriage model among Anatolian nomads is endogamy. Eröz (1991) states that “main reason for that type of marriage is to keep the tribe from foreigners” (p.53). This could also be the result of unsettled life where Yörük groups migrate in small groups in general and do not interact with other people than migration groups unless they are forced to interact for trading or similar reasons.

Monogamy is the other main characteristics of marriage among Yörük communities. Eröz (1991) expresses that “polygamy is not common among Yörük groups and it had been a result of Islamic tradition throughout the time” (p.53).

We could say that patriarchal family system is the main structure of family in Yörük communities, even though some egalitarian characteristics between the genders could be observed in daily life and work distribution in some points. Similar to majority of Yörük groups, Ötgünlü group of Honamlı Yörüks who are the subject of that study has also the characteristic of that structure based on patriarchal family system.

In Ötgünlü Yörük group, patriarchal family system has been applied with its rules. In a tent, a family includes parents, children and grandparents and even more people in bigger families. All the members of the family, including the oldest woman in family have got to respect to the father of the family. Even though the notion of the respect should be heartfelt, respecting the father is required in those families. The words of the father are not open to dispute. Even though the father's words are wrong, they cannot be objected. (Tanyıldız, 1990, p.110).

Tanyıldız (1990) also states that “in Ötgünlü Yörük group, women have right to join important meetings with their husbands, express opinions about the topics related to their families” (p.112). However, if the expressions of the women are written down in such meetings, they are credited to their husbands. Therefore, the position of women is still determined by the men in Yörük communities even though the women have rights to express their opinions in theory.

During my field works, I have worked mostly with women and aimed to understand their feelings about the gender roles in their community. The women were acting together with men more in nomadic period by herding animals together in the mountains and sharing the workload. Still, they acted as the main actors for housework and child care. Yet with settled life, women in social groups have stayed behind the men in social life. Similarly in musical practices that will be discussed in next section, men are the main performers of the instruments and musical practices.

2.7 Music of Yörüks

Music in Yörük culture is not a very simple concept to explain. How music exists in Yörük's life is the first question should be asked in order to understand practices and products of Yörük musics. Music has been a practice that developed with respect to animal herding and shepherding. Thus, its perception by Yörük communities is also based on a practice of daily routines, rather than a special artistic tradition. The main performers of music in Yörük communities are the shepherds who perform mainly during the herding of the animals. Thus, almost all the instruments, performances and

musical forms had been developed with respect to pastoral nomadic life and shepherding.

There are not any formal institutions of music in Yörük culture, all the tradition has been experienced and transmitted orally. Thus, we cannot talk about a written source or notation of Yörük music. All musical practices of Yörüks are based on oral tradition.

2.7.1 Perception of music and musicianship of Yörüks

In my study, I tried to understand and express the relations between musical terminologies, local theories of music and the metaphoric basis of language about music that used by Yörük people themselves.

As the most of the daily habits and cultural values, music in Yörük societies also takes shape based on unsettled life and shepherding practices. Shepherds are the main characters who produce music, so in general, we can say that musicians are shepherds or vice versa. People make music during the time they spend with animals while herding them. Since shepherding activity is a solo practice, musicianship is also in favor of solo performances, instruments and practices usually.

Even though shepherds are the main producers of music, Yörüks do not refer themselves as “musicians”. The musical practices are considered as a part of nomadic life and shepherding practice, hence the Yörük people do not differentiate musical practices from life style practices and routines.

...playing the musical instruments is considered as the same with playing *davul* and *zurna* in wedding ceremonies and this practice is particular to *Abdals*⁸. The instruments and repertoire of Yörük people are the results of their life style, do not have any professional purposes. (Ergun, 2004, p.22)

Although the shepherd-musicians do not call themselves as musicians and the perception of musicianship is chiefly in favor of professional musicians who are hired for their performances in ceremonies, the notion of talent is used for shepherd musicians in order to express their ability on music. There are still some respected people who are masters of instruments, such as the *kaval*.

⁸Abdal: the musician who goes to weddings and play as their profesion

Ergun (2004) confirms that “Yörüks believe that playing musical instruments requires a particular talent that differentiate the performers from the other people. This talent is inherent and because of that, only a few people in a tribe could play the instruments. Moreover, the notion of talent is not only valid in musicianship, but also for shepherding. Shepherding requires a special talent and among the shepherds, some of them are more talented who know all of the animals in a herd one by one and have a strong communication with the herd” (p.23).

Due to strong communication between the animals and shepherds, even the calling of shepherds to animals might have a particular nonverbal communication that could be analyzed culturally, as mentioned earlier. Matsubara (2012, p.35) uses the term *kışleme* for the special sound production by the shepherd to call and lead the animals. There are various ways of calling the animals by the shepherds. We could observe use of whistles and the instruments as *kaval* to lead and call the animal herds by the shepherds.

2.7.2 Instruments and performance practices

The instruments used by Yörük musicians are generally manufactured by the performers’ themselves. However, there are some people who specialized in instrument making and could manufacture instruments for the other people. The instruments used by Yörük performers have evolved in light, portable and small shapes due to nomadic life that favors small and portable items to ease the migration. It is essential for the shepherds that they could play their instruments while walking and be able to carry them while they herding the animals and moving.

In different regions Yörüks live, the choice of musical instruments might differ. Yet, we can categorize the instruments of Yörük musical traditions under those 3 main classes given below.

2.7.2.1 String instruments

String instruments could be classified in two categories given below, as plucked string instruments and bowed string instruments.

Plucked string instruments used in Yörük music are the *bağlama*, *ikitelli cura* and *üçtelli bağlama*. All of those instruments are belong to *bağlama* family, the most characteristic instrument of various Anatolian musical traditions. Historically,

“*bağlama* is an instrument coming from lute family, however, throughout the time and various geographies, the instrument has evolved in different shapes performed in different musical traditions” (Yıldız, 2017, p.8). Even in neighborhood regions of Anatolia, physical construction and playing techniques of “this instrument has variations among different social groups, since the evolution of an instrument is determined by the life style, geography and the culture” (Yıldız, 2017, p.24). As the result of those variations, the instruments used by Yörük performers, mainly in Teke region are small in shape, light in weight and easy to carry. *İkitelli* and *üçtelli bağlama* are such musical instruments that are named after the number of strings they have and commonly used by Yörük musicians. *Üçtelli bağlama* has 3 strings and named as three-stringed-*bağlama* and *ikitelli bağlama* has 2 strings and named as two-stringed-*bağlama*. All of the plucked string instruments could be played either by hand with various technics or with the help of a pick. Various tuning systems used in those instruments; such as *bozuk düzen* or *zeybek düzeni*.

Fethiyeli Ramazan Güngör, Hayri Dev, Ali Ulutaş and Osman Kırca are some of the renowned masters of those instruments.

Bowed string instruments are played with a bow, instead of hand fingers or a pick. Since those instruments are produced by the performers themselves manually, it is possible to observe different variations of the instruments with respect to the manufacturer/performer’s choice. Nevertheless, there are certain sort of bowed string instruments used in Yörük musics. Yıldız (2017) classifies the main bowed string instruments as “*kabak kemane*, *Yörük kemanesi* / *tırnak kemane*, *İklık* or *İklığ*, *kemane* or *keman* and *eğit* or *heğit*” (p21).

2.7.2.2 Percussion instruments

Similar to many other different societies living in Anatolia, *asma davul* is one of the leading percussion instruments used in Yörük music. However, the most characteristic percussion instruments of Yörük music are *delbek* and *def* which are kind of frame drums particularly used by women performers in wedding and henna⁹ ceremonies. “The other percussion instruments used by Yörüks are *def*, *darbuka*, *zilla maşa* and

⁹kına gecesi: the ritual done for the bride among women before the night of marriage

kaşık” (Yıldız, 2017, p.38). The kitchen tools *leğen* and *çanak* could also be used as percussion instruments.

2.7.2.3 Wind instruments

Wind instruments are the most used instrument family by Yörük music performers. *Kaval*, *sipsi*, *düdük* and *zurna* are the main instruments of wind family used in Yörük music. Zurna is one of the common wind instruments performed not only in Yörük culture, but also in many different societies living in Anatolian and Middle East geography. Similarly, *kaval* is also a common musical instrument of various Anatolian musical traditions, however, the instrument has a particular place in Yörük culture due to myths, such as Karakoyun Legend. According to the legend, the kaval playing is used by the shepherds in order to motivate and to navigate the herd of sheep. Similar uses of the kaval to direct the animal herd also could be observed in Greek mythology” (Ergun, 2004, p.27).

Some scholars defines the kaval as “the instrument of profession”, since the shepherds lead the herds with their kaval playing performances. It is also common that particular tunes played by the shepherds for each different move and gestures of the animals.

Sipsi is the most characteristic instruments of Yörük culture among the wind instruments. It is made of reedmace and formed of two pieces. “The instrument is commonly performed in Burdur, Dirmil region and the main repertoire of that instrument is based on Teke region musical forms” (Yıldız, 2017, p.42).

All of those instruments are small sized and portable, as mentioned earlier, due to necessities of a travelling life style. And due to that mobility, the place of musical performances have also happened in alternating outdoor places rather than stationary places. The place of the performance is an essential factor that determines the practice. It is difficult to see people playing the *kaval* or practice throat playing in the village in their settled daily life, because those practices were performed during shepherding on the mountains or the places where herds were pasturing.

Musical performances have evolved as solo performances mainly, since shepherding has been a singular activity done by the individuals. As the result of that individualism and solo performances, musical repertoire and instrument playing techniques have also been evolved in favor of unaccompanied styles. It is also uncommon to have rhythmic

instruments accompanying to melodic ones. Nevertheless, “vocal accompaniment to the instruments, especially to the *kaval* might be possible” (Ergun, 2004, p.21).

Unlike musical practices based on shepherding, we could observe ensemble performances in particular ceremonies; such as weddings. In those performances, the percussion instruments *def* and *delbek* are used primarily. It is also common among communities that some women are specialized in those instruments and performances and they perform in those ceremonies. “In case where people do not have the instruments, kitchen tools, such as “*leğen*” can be used as percussion instruments” (Ergun, 2004, p.22).

The context of music performed by the musical instruments is generally about animals and migration that are the fundamental aspects of nomadic life style.

The main genres are *gurbet havası* (air of homesickness), *koyun havası* (air for sheep), *davar havası* (air for cows) . The other important genres played by those instruments are *oyun havası* (dance song) and *zeybeks*. The dance songs, particularly in Teke Region (the region in the South of Anatolia including some parts of Antalya, Denizli, Burdur, Muğla, Isparta and Afyon) are known as *Teke Zortlatması* in which the movements and beats are based on the imitation of the agile movements of goats where *teke* means the male goat (Ergun, 2004, p.16).

2.7.2.4 Throat playing practice

In most broad definition, *throat playing* is the name of a particular vocal practice peculiar to Yörük communities. The tunes played in the practice are called as “throat airs” in general, however, there are various local names used for the practice of throat playing among different Yörük groups living in different places. For example, Yörüks living around Silifke use the word *hollu*, Burdur Aziziye Sarıkeçili Yörüks use *hada* to express throat airs. Ergun (2004) says that “Sarıkeçili Yörüks uses the word *hada*, Honamlı Yörüks use *dova*, Karatekeli Yörüks uses *hoya* and Karakoyunlu Yörüks living in Adana and Mersin use *hollu* to express throat airs, the tunes performed in throat playing practice” (p.23).

Among the musical practices of Yörük communities, throat playing is the most unique practice peculiar to only Anatolian Nomads. The practice could be considered as a particular style of singing, however, Yörük performers themselves name the practice as “playing” rather than “singing”.

Ergun (2004) explains that “even though the throat playing is a vocal practice, it is named as “playing” rather than “singing”, because the human voice is used to imitate

the sound of the *kaval* in that practice and the human voice is indistinguishable from the *kaval* sound when throat and the *kaval* play the same tune in the same time” (p.35).

Among Honamlı Yörüks, the practice is also perceived as a playing performance by use of the body as a musical instrument, so they also use the verb to “play” to articulate the practice.

Most of throat airs do not include verbal texts, but rather have non-verbal repeating units. “Non-semantic airs consist of syllables as “ee”, “ii”, “iyye”, “hoyya”, “hoo”, “huu” etc” (Ayyıldız, 2013, p.37). Semantic airs include texts that generally about the love, animals, the nature and the shepherding in context. Throat airs could also be performed by the instruments, such as the *kaval* and the *sipsi*.





3. ENTERING THE FIELD

3.1 Honamlı Yörüks

Yörük is the name of an ethnic group that includes many different sub groups sharing a common in nomadic lifestyle and cultural heritage. However, it is difficult to establish a general musical study of Yörüks without working on all different tribes and social groups who have been living in different regions of Anatolia and had different settlement processes throughout the time. Even though most of musical practices and traditions have common points and they are all derived from the characteristics of nomadic life, we can observe differences in techniques, repertoire and traditions. Thus, in my study, I focused on only a particular Yörük group named Honamlı.

Honamlı is the name of a tribe which is belived that as a branch of Oghuzs. Similar to other Yörük communities, Honamlı is also composed of different sub-groups that could be named as *mahalle* (neighborhood) or *oba* (tent group) consisting a few families migrating together. Among those sub-groups, I work with Ötgünlü Obası of Honamlı Yörük tribe.

Honamlı Yörük tribe includes several sub-groups and *obas* that migrate together. Those sub groups are listed as below according to Tanyıldız (1991) as “Ötgünlü, Eski Yörük, Çoşlu, Karsavurdanlı, Recepli, and Adıgüzelli” (p.38). Some of those obas had named after a person who lead the group, as well as after the neighborhoods where the groups stayed in winter or summer. For example, Ötgünlü is the name of a neighborhood in Manavgat, Antalya. The Ötgünlü group had settled down in some places in their migration routes in Antalya; such as Serik and Manavgat, as well as Gedikli Village in Isparta. Most of the population had settled down to Gedikli Village, so I chose that village as the base of my study.

The yayla (summer residency) of Honamlı Yörüks is a region including the mountains of Akşehir, as well as highlands between Eğirdir and Şarkikaraağaç/Yenişarbademli. Gedikli,

village of Şarkikaraağaç has been one of the settlements of Honamlı Yörüks in this route of migration. (Tanyıldız, 1990, p.12)

Additionally, Honamlı researcher Tanyıldız (1990) describes the connection from Oghuz clans to Ötgünlü group in Gedikli village in the scheme below.

Middle Asia – Oghuzs – Kayı Boyu – Güzebeyli – Veli Bey Kanadı – Honamlı – Ötgünlü – Hacı Abdil – Hacı Mehmet – Gedikli Köyü (Tanyıldız, 1990, p.47).

The main settlements of Honamlı Yörüks today are classified as below according to Honamlı Yörüks Culture and Solidarity Association:

Isparta: Şarkikaraağaç - Gedikli, Senirkent - Akkeçili , Sütçüler- Yeşilyurt köyleri.

Konya: Yunak - Honamlı (Gökpınar çiftliği) - Çayırbaşı -Sevinçköy köyleri.

Konya: Akşehir - Cankurtaran - Kundul - Saray - Değirmen - Ulupınar -Yeniköy

Konya: Çeltik - Gökpınar kasabası

Konya: Çumra - Dinlendik köyü

Konya: Kadınhanı - Saçıkara - Örnekköy (Alibey yaylası) köyleri.

Konya: Sarayönü - Koyunlu - Kuyuluzebir köyleri.

Konya: Tuzlukçu - Kundullu köyü.

Ankara: Polatlı - Yağcıoğlu köyü - Yenisanayi mah. civarı

Antalya: Manavgat - Kaymaz - Çakış -Talaş (Ötgünlü) - Bereket - Nigit ve Hocalar, Taşağıl - Kaymaz köyleri ve Ötgünlü yurdu.

Antalya: Çalkaya (Mandırlar) Pınaralan Mah., Kemerağzı , Karaçalı ,Kurşunlu köyleri

Antalya: Serik - Yenimahalle ve Akçaalan Mah.

Antalya: Döşemealtı, Yağca, Konyaaltı Sarısu Mah.

Within the transition period from nomadic life to settled life, differences between the sub-groups have been emerged since they settled down to different places and have interactions with various cultural groups. Throughout the time, daily practices, customs and traditions of nomadic life have been faded away in Yörük communities. Nevertheless, some members of Yörük communities who are still maintaining settled life have started several social initiatives that attempt to revive culture and traditions of nomadic Yörük life. As the result, there are several non-governmental organizations have been established by Honamlı Yörüks after the period of settlement in order to

maintain the cultural values of nomadic unsettled life and teach them to younger generations. Those associations organize various meetings and activities that aim to gather the members of Honamlı Yörüks who live all around Turkey and the world.

Honamlı Yörükleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği (HOY-DER) is the main non-governmental association formed by Honamlı Yörüks. It has been established in 1998 by a group of Honamlı Yörüks from Gedikli Village. Beginning from 1999, the association has been organizing an annual gathering picnic in Antalya and an annual Yörük festival in Isparta, Sindel Yaylası.

The festival in Gedikli Village generally held in a weekend day of May or June every year, according to weather conditions and by considering Ramadan month¹⁰. The festival is named as HOY-DER Sindel Yaylası Yörük Şöleni and takes place in Sindel Yaylası, the place where people of Gedikli herds their animals in spring/summer period. It is a one-day event with a program based on talks, dance presentations and music lasts around 3-4 hours and then continues with free time of people where they can cook, eat and spend time together. Gedikli Village's local government also supports the event by providing transportation, field cleaning and the other helps. It is a non-profit event and open to public. Main attendees of the festival are the residents of Gedikli Village and Honamlı Yörüks from Antalya, Isparta and living in different cities. Figure 3.1 given below demonstrates the field of the festival with its participants.

¹⁰Ramadan: the ninth month of Islamic year observed as sacred



Figure 3.1 : 18. HOY-DER Yörük Şöleni (Çiçek, 2018).

A typical run of a festival day starts in the morning with travel to Sindel by cars. As soon as people arrive to the field, they settle down. HOY-DER settles an authentic Yörük tent for the association as the main place of the festival to host the guest from other associations, local governments and from other cities etc. After all guests come and settle down, the official program starts with National Anthem and moment of silence followed by the opening talk of local governor of the village and the president of the Yörük association. If there are presidents of other Yörük associations or any politicians, local governors or people who have higher political or social position among Yörüks are in the festival, they are invited to the stage to give short speeches. After the talks, folk dances by various dance groups are performed. Mainly the students of village primary school perform some local dances or other presentations. Furthermore, local dance groups formed by the adults for that festival also perform local traditional dances, such as *teke zortlatması* and *zeybek*.

In the program of the festival, local poets read their poems about Yörük life, village, nomadism and the concepts related to Yörük life. Some of the local poets read their poems dedicated to that edition of the festival or the guests of the festival.

An excerpt from a poem by Hüseyin Öter from Gedikli village named as "Kepenek" tells about the coat of shepherds named as *kepenek* that is used by shepherds while herding the animals on the mountains to be prevented from the weather.

Pardüsü gibi dağda giyilir
Keçe olarak eve serilir
Üşüyen hemen ona sarılır
Yörükün her şeyidir kepenek

It is wore as a coat in the mountains
Used as a rug in the houses
If you feel got, you could hold it
Kepenek is the everything of Yörük

Then the final part of the program starts with the performance of Yörük musicians or musicians who mostly perform Yörük music as well as other Anatolian folk musics with traditional and modern instruments. That part of program takes around 2-3 hours and people could dance along the music if they would like to participate. In last two editions of that festival, the same music group named Grup Yarenler performed. Yarenler is a group formed by retired school teachers Mehmet Bedel playing sipsi and kaval and Mehmet Çeler playing bağlama along with a percussionist and a vocalist accompanying them. That band band mostly performs in such Yörük festivals and ceremonies in Antalya, Isparta, Burdar and other cities organized by Yörük associations and local governments. Their repertory is based on folk dance songs, mostly the forms used in Yörük musics as *zeybeks*, *teke zortlatması* as well as *gurbet havası*.

Besides the events, HOY-DER also aims to provide communication among the members of Honamlı. HOY-DER has a web site¹¹, a Facebook page¹² and a Facebook group¹³ where they announce the upcoming Yörüks festivals and events by them or by the other associations, obituary notices, wedding ceremony invitations and such important local news. Furthermore, that organization has a Whatsapp group formed in

¹¹<http://www.honamliyorukleri.org.tr/>

¹²<https://www.facebook.com/HonamliYorukleriKulturveDayanismaDernegi/>

¹³<https://www.facebook.com/groups/94909507448/>

2015 and including 156 members that communicate instantly and frequently with each other, share updates about their daily lives and send congratulatory address or other messages directly to each other.

Among Honamlı Yörüks, it is difficult to discuss about neither a standard musical terminology nor a musical theory about Yörük music and throat playing. There are several reasons of that situation. First of all, there had not been any official schools or other institutional organizations about music and music education, as a consequence of that, there has been no standardized and compulsory theory, terminology or education system evolved among Yörük musicians. Even though some of Yörük people had gone to state schools and got formal education, including music classes, that educational system does not include any aspects of Yörük music and based mainly on Western Art Music.

Secondly, unsettled life style of Yörük communities has resulted a cultural heritage that has been derived from and transmitted as oral culture. Not only for music, but also the literature, handcrafts and other cultural values have been evolved in favor of the products that could be easily carried physically or that could be easily transmitted from one person to another by verbal or non-verbal oral ways. Thus, the interpretation of the musical practices and repertoires were not determined by the written rules or books and been more vulnerable to changes and misinterpretations. Hence, it is difficult to express a steady musical methodology, terminology or theory in Yörük music practices and tradition.

The primary musical instrument of Honamlı Yörüks is the *kaval*. Tanyıldız (1990, p.140) supports the ideas of Ergun on the presence of a special talent among shepherd musicians, chiefly for the *kaval* players as mentioned in early chapters.

Even though there are not many *kaval* players, certain performers had been famous for their performances and even after their death, their repertoire has been performed by the other musicians. (Tanyıldız, 1990 p.140).

Tanyıldız (1990, p.141) names the leading *kaval* player of Ötgünlü group living in Gedikli Village as Sarı Veli (Veli Güler) and Mehmet Çavuş (Mehmet Süral). Both of them had died before my fieldwork, so I did not have chance to interview them. During my fieldwork, only one *kaval* player, Bayram Garip was able to perform some throat

airs. However, he did not have the instrument *kaval* any more, but he had a flute that given him by his grandson. So, he performed the throat air by applying the techniques of *kaval* playing with the flute instrument.

Even many of Yörük shepherds were playing the instruments, the perception of musicianship mainly covers the musicians who play at the wedding ceremonies and at other special events. Those musicians are named as *Abdals*. They are not Yörük people, however, they used to migrate with some of Yörük tribes from time to time. “One of the influential Abdal musicians for Honamlı Yörüks’ Ötgünlü group was Abdal Hacı. He had been the major musician for all wedding ceremonies of Ötgünlü people during his life. He had made is last will to be buried in the cemetery of Gedikli Village instead of his hometown Antalya and his tomb is in Gedikli Village cemetery today” (Tanyıldız, 1990, p.145).

Even though Abdal musicians, such as Abdal Hacı and his grandson Abdal Mehmet, had been accepted into Honamlı Yörük society and been respected, “sometimes people called them with slang language when they would ask them to perform” (Tanyıldız, 1990, p.145). Ergun (2004), states that “Yörük people look down on wedding musicians and because of that perception they do not call shepherd musicians as *musicians*” (p.22).

Abdal musicians had introduced some musical instruments to Gedikli village according to my interviewee Abdil Demir:

People had not play the instrument *bağlama* before, they listened that instruments at wedding ceremonies when Abdal musicians played. I am the first person who owned and played *bağlama* in that village. Then people got interested in that instrument in time and it became popular (Personal interview, 2012)

Today, still professional musicians who earn their livelihood from live music performances are hired for weddings and other ceremonies. They still named as *Abdals* and there are still some particular individuals who are welcomed by Yörük inhabitants

of Gedikli Village. The instruments they play are the *bağlama* and the keyboard. They also use *davul* and *zurna* in particular occasions, such as *gelin alma*¹⁴ practice.

Shepherd musicians are very rare in Gedikli Village nowadays, even though there are still people who are involved in animal herding and spend time in nature with their animals. Due to change in life style and abandonment of some of the customs and rituals of pastoral nomadism, people do not practice the music produced and performed upon shepherding and nomadic life. So today, the *kaval* and throat players I interviewed at the field were the people who used to play, but not anymore. The situation was same with throat players, they used to perform when they were on the mountains and herding the animals, but they quit after they settled down and married.

Recently, Honamlı people living in Gedikli Village play the *bağlama*¹⁵ as their most common instrument. They play a general repertoire of Turkish folk songs, including Alevi semahs, even though they are not Alevi Muslim, but mostly Sunni Muslims. The accompanied musical performances are common among younger generations. Ensemble performances of the guitar, the *bağlama* and the percussions, such as *bendir* along with singings are common among young people, especially in the time when they gather in the village. Since most of the Yörük population from Gedikli is now living in cities, as in example of myself, those gatherings help us to know each other and communicate.

3.2 Gedikli Village

The field of the study, Gedikli Village is governed by Şarkikaraağaç district of the city Isparta. The village is located between Anamas Mountains and Lake Beyşehir. The village was established by Ötgünlü Group of Honamlı in 1937 as a neighborhood of Belceğiz Village and has been an independent village in 1948. The village currently has 235 houses with population of 641 people. The village also covers the

¹⁴Before wedding ceremonies, the groom and his relatives go to the bride's house and take her from there

¹⁵a string instrument used commonly in Anatolian folk music

neighborhood of Kumluca (Mada) which is an island located in Lake Beyşehir with 37 residences living there. Figure 3.2. is a view of Gedikli Village and its geography.



Figure 3.2 : Gedikli Village (Garip, 2003).

The village has one cultural center, one library, one mosque, one health center, one primary school and one fire truck. The all village headmen have been elected among males since the time the village established. Rate of literacy is high in the village and many of the people grown up in the village work as civil servants in different regions of Turkey.

Main occupations in the village are based on agriculture and animal husbandry. Fishery is also another important occupation among the residents of the village as well as Mada Islanders. Pomiculture of cherry and sour cherry has been the most common agricultural practice in recent years. There are 2 peasant cooperatives operating to keep agricultural and animal production and trade of the villagers: Tarımsal Kalkınma Kooperatifi (Agricultural Development Cooperative) and Balıkçılık Kooperatifi (Fisheries Cooperative).

Besides those peasant cooperatives, there is also onether non-governmental organization formed by people of Gedikli: Gedikli Köyü Kalkınma ve Dayanışma

Derneđi (Gedikli Village Development and Solidarity Association). That association works on maintaining the services of public properties in the village, such as renovation of the mosque or cleaning of the cultural center and also helping to Honamlı Yörükleri Kùltür ve Dayanışma Derneđi to organize annual Yörük festival in Sindel Yaylası.

The relationship among the residents of the village is strong. Because of the village has been established by the same migration unit consisting of families living together for a long time, the kinship relation among the residents of the village is very common. It was frequent to have marriage between the families of a migration group in nomadic life period. As the result of that practice, the migration units have developed family relationship with each other in time, in addition to having migration relationships. The most common marriage type is “endogamy” among the people of Gedikli, however, people generally do not marry with their first degree relatives, but with the distant relatives or their neighbors. In recent years, that trend has changed slightly, however, as the result of that tradition, almost every individual in the village has line of descent with each other in different degrees of intimacy.

Most of the population in the village today are the elders and the people who dealing with agriculture, fishing and animal herding. Recently, the people who spent their childhood in the village, but then lived in other cities due to their jobs have started to move back to village and deal with agricultural works after their retirements. Also, the population of the village increases drastically in summer and holiday periods because of the visits of the younger generations living out of the village. People visit their relatives in that holiday seasons and younger generations get to know each other as well as their relatives via those gatherings.

I have conducted my fieldworks in Gedikli Village in different times between the year 2012 and 2017. I have visited the village mostly in Bayram periods and in summer time. I have conducted various interviews with different members of the village, not only limited to throat player women. I recorded around 5 performances from different performers of *dova*.

3.3 Entering the Field

At the very beginning of my fieldworks, I did not intend to establish an ethnomusicological fieldwork study. My intention was to discover the notion of “throat playing” which is a musical practice I had just heard and did not have any information about. I thought that I could easily find people who know that practice and learn about it, but it did not move as smooth as expected.

The first step was the hardest step to start, because I did not know how to start and whom to talk. Thus, I asked help of my cousin who is living in the village and know the people of the village closer than me. He was also a person who is known by the villagers and he was also interested in music. At the first step, I asked to my cousin if he knows anything about *dova* and if he can guide me some performers. I supposed that my position as a person from same community would help me to enter the field easily, however, I realized that I was outsider to my field indeed and did not know where or whom to start with. So, I used my cousin as the intermediary person that could connect me to older people of the village. I was lucky that my cousin was aware of that practice, but never practiced it and been into places where practice happen. He was known about the practice, even he was able to demonstrate it, but he did not know about the repertoire, techniques or any “meanings” of the practice.

We began to a search of *dova* players in the village. We went to center of the village where people, mostly men gather, spend time, local market opens or any general meeting or occasion happens. We asked to people if they know any *dova* player. Most of them were surprised about the question. They asked us questions like “How do you know *dova* playing?” and “Why are you searching for it?”. They were surprised, because people do not practice *dova* nowadays and it was unusual for them to a young person living in the city is asking for the practice. I told them I research on that topic and I need to talk to people who can perform. Some people suggested us to talk with some older people who could know the practice. We finally got a few common throat player names from all the people we asked.

Then we began another search for to reach the children of throat players to ask their permissions about if we talk with their parents. We could directly had gone to *dova*

players themselves, however, we used their children as the transition phase to our main target. It was another need of mediator for me to introduce me to the performers and initiate a relationship between us. In this situation, I had become outsider again and my first mediator, my cousin had also become outsider. I was expecting to get closer to my subjects, but with each person we need to reach the *dova* players, I had become more outsider than I already was.

Some of the relatives of the *dova* players were very enthusiastic to help, however, some other people were more suspicious and hesitant to help. Especially for the people who are children of *dova* players, the hesitation was increasing. In my opinion, they do not want their parents to be filmed by a “stranger”. I was now feeling also stranger besides being outsider.

We met one of the son of a *dova* player named Öksüz Havva and asked him if her mother can play *dova* and if she can play for us. He directly rejected our will and claimed that his mother did not know how to make the practice. Even though elder people of the village already told us that Öksüz Havva had been a good performer and she played a lot when she was young, her own son was claiming that she could not. I assumed that he did not want me us to record her mother and thus rejected us. I was confused why he did not want and he rejected us. Then my cousin told me that he might be lying and we can go directly to Öksüz Havva's house and talk to her. So we went, but nobody was home and I was not able to even meet her.

It was my first attempt in the field and was my first failure. I was already feeling nervous, after that incident, I was feeling much more uncomfortable. I was just about to quit the fieldwork, because I failed to enter the field. However, my cousin suggested me to go to another woman people talked about and try to talk with her. If he had not been with me, I'd probably give up. Being a stranger in a field where you think that you belong to was an unexpected thing for me. I supposed to meet people easily.

In that point where I was hesitating to define my position in the field, I remind the discussion on that point where some scholars claim that ethnic insiders can gain access to the community they worked on easily due to their advantages. However, it was not very easy for me at the first step.

There is a debate among ethnographers about conducting a fieldwork with subjects who are of the same gender or race or ethnicity as the researcher. Chicano scholars assert that insiders are more likely to be cognizant and accepting of complexity and internal variations, are better able to understand the nuances of language use, will avoid being duped by informants who create cultural performances for their own purposes, and are less apt to be distrusted by those they study. Some assert that ethnic insiders often have an easier time gaining access to a community similar to their own, and that they are more sensitive to framing questions in ways that respect community sensibilities. (Zavella, 2006, p.138-139).

After one year, another day of *bayram*, I visited Öksüz Havva again. At that attempt, my mother and father with me as the ice-breaker, since they were known by the women. I was more prepared to talk with her this time. We visited her at her home, celebrated her *bayram*. She was pretty surprised to see us and expressed it in a sarcastic way by telling us “I did not know that you know the way of my house.” However, she was happy to see us as young people from her village were visiting her in a *bayram* day. Since the *bayrams* are the divine days when people gather and visit the elders, it was a great timing to visit a person I did not meet personally before. However, I was feeling a bit uncomfortable, since I had used the “bayram ceremony” as an excuse to my study and a chance to visit her at her house.

She was living alone. Her husband had died when she was very young and she never got married again. We talked about general issues, like family and children and she showed us some photos of her grandchildren. After a point, an awkward silence had begun. My father asked her if she could play *dova* for us. She directly said “no”. Then my father added that I was making a research for my homework, but she did not accept. She said that she cannot play anymore and no more explanation. Neither my father nor my mother asked again, so I even did not attempt to ask. We stayed a few minutes more and then left. My parents told me that she was a widow for many years and she might felt it was inappropriate to play as an old widow woman. Because of that explanation of my parents and as the result of my second failed visit to Öksüz Havva, the first gender question of my study emerged:

“Do women have some social restrictions in that practice?”

In the following field trip, I was more concerned about the gender issues of the practice and I asked to all my interviewees about that topic.

I was feeling that it was a story of failure attempt to enter the field when I could not talk with Öksüz Havva. However, I did not lose my enthusiasm and continued my search with my mediator cousin. He guided me to other woman named Urkiye. This time it was easier to reach her, because she was my cousin's grandmother's sister. We found her at her neighbor's house while she was helping them to make bread. My cousin called her to outside of bread house and asked if she can play *dova* for us, because I was searching for *dova* players for my "homework".

She was surprised to hear that, but after a few minutes of hesitation, she accepted to help us. However, before accepting our will, she asked my cousin that who I was. After learning that I was from the same village, she was relaxed and asked me if I was the grandson of Sultan (my grandmother) and she said they were neighbors and explained me where her house was. She invited us to her home at the evening after she finished with her works to do.

My "homework" was our key to open the door of the field. In actual fact, what I was doing was not the homework. It was an individual fieldwork I was doing for my interest, without any institutional obligation at the beginning. However, the notion of "homework" was an excuse to legitimize my fieldwork, because homework was a notion that people help to their children and grandchildren to support their education. In the village, we were relative with the women I worked on and they were willing to help me on my "homework". Fieldwork has been converted into the homework.

We visited them in their house in the evening. The lady, her husband, their daughter, daughter's husband, children were in the house. They were all focused on us and asking questions as "What do you want me to play? Why do you need? Who is that girl? How is your family?". Then questions ended, nothing else left to talk and nervous minutes had begun. Then we said "Let's do it!". She got a bit anxious and said "I am not sure if I can do. I have a sore throat. " But then she came around and began to play. After a few minutes of hesitation, she flowed like a river. Her husband was sitting near her and listening to her in joy. I haven't seen any blocking attitude of him on his wife to sing and being recorded. On the contrary, he was pretty proud and happy.

It was interesting for me that she was pretty comfortable even though she had hesitated a bit before performing. She performed for minutes among other people, even though they are her family. Then I learnt that she was familiar with field researchers, since some other people visited her before and she even performed in the field recordings by other researchers in 1990s.

That recording session was the first time I met her personally. After that, we had not seen each other often. However, when she saw me in somewhere, she always smiled to me, asked how I am or kissed me. I felt that we had bonded due to that recording session we had.

After a few years from the first recording session we had, we made another recording sessions together. That time, a local TV producer wanted to film her. The local TV producer from Konya was in our village to record Honamlı Yörükleri Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği's annual Yörük festival. As mentioned before, those festivals have been important events for Yörük associations. So, the association invited a local TV to record the event. Since my father was the president of the association at that year, he asked me to host TV programmers and help them during their recordings. TV programmer asked me if we could record some old people who know about the music of Yörük tradition. Then I told her about my fieldwork and we decided to record some of throat players. I took him to Urkiye's house. This time I was the mediator to introduce TV programmers to her. Suddenly, I had become to an insider, a real insider who was able to introduce the other researchers to the field and the subjects.

I asked her if she could play *dova* for us. She told me that she had already played for me. So, I explained the situation. She was not very interested, but I requested kindly and she accepted. Then, TV programmer asked me to ask some questions to her and made her to play. I opened a conversation on nomadism and throat playing. Then, she gradually get rid of her anxiety, began to play. Sometimes, she held my hand while she was talking. She was always looking into my eyes and talking directly to me, not the other people. I felt that I was giving her confidence and it was the moment when I felt like a real insider.



4. DOVA: THROAT PLAYING PRACTICE OF HONAMLI YÖRÜKS

In this chapter, throat playing practice of Honamlı Yörüks is discussed by using the field material obtained from Gedikli Village. I aimed to discuss the practice in the various aspects: performance techniques, sociocultural features of the performance, the content of the text and the repertoire.

Dova is the term used to describe the practice of throat playing among the member of Honamlı Yörük tribe. The term *dova* expresses the name of the practice as well as expressing the general nomenclature of the throat air pieces. The verb *çal-mak* (to play) is used to articulate the practice. Thus, *dova çalmak* is the local terminology that stands for *boğaz çalmak* (throat playing).

The etymon and the semantics of the word *dova* are ambiguous. Honamlı researcher Tanyıldız (1990) thinks that “the word *dova* or *doğa* might be derived with respect to its performance practice by improvising without using any other instruments” (p.37). The verb *doğaçla-mak* means “to improvise” and hereof Tanyıldız connected the word *dova* with that verb, since throat playing is a musical practice that mostly improvised.

According to *Derleme Sözlüğü*(1993) published by Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Foundation), the word *dova* has two different meanings given below:

dova (I) [doa, doğo, duva, düva (I)] Dua (the prayer)

dova (II) Toy kuşu (bustard)[7]

The first meaning *dua* (the prayer) is used various regions of Anatolia, such as Ankara, Elazığ, Hakkari, Gaziantep and Niğde. The second meaning *toy kuşu* (bustard) is the word compiled from Aziziye, Burdur which is a region where some Yörük tribes live. Nevertheless, the dictionary does not mention any meanings related to musical practice of *dova*. Unfortunately, I could not get any information about the etymon or semantics about the word *dova* from the people I interviewed in the field.

Uses of the word *dova* as the word *dua* (the prayer) could be an issue to analyze if there is any religious content in *dova* practice and repertoire. However, no religious context has been indicated in literature on throat playing I have used as reference.

Furthermore, I could not observe any religious meanings or context of the practice in my field works. It could be a notion to research in further study.

Learning/teaching process of the practice, gender issues, performance techniques, repertoire and text are the subject that will be discussed in next.

4.1 Performance Techniques

Dova çalmak is a practice which could be classified as a vocal technique as well as a body percussion technique. The performers use the word "to play" rather than "to sing" to describe the practice. The throat is considered as an instrument by the performers and they differentiate the practice from singing.

The widely accepted view among the researchers states that the practice is perceived as an instrument playing, not as singing. Studies on throat playing also indicate that the verb "to play" is used to define the practice instead of "to sing

Even though throat playing is a vocal practice, it is expressed as "playing" rather than "singing". This is because of the uses of human voice to imitate the sound of the *kaval*. When the voice and the *kaval* play together, the sounds of voice and the *kaval* are indistinguishable from each other. (Ergun, 2004, p.35).

The scholars claim that the use of verb "to play" to describe the performance practice is because of imitation of instruments with voice by using the throat as the instrument. The performers in my study did not indicate that they imitate the sound of *kaval* by playing *dova*, however, they stated that they play *dova* while men play the *kaval*.

Biri goval çalardı, biri dova çalardı, biri de türkü söylerdi eveli. Alibey vardı rahmetlik, bizim Sarı Veli dede vardı. Sarı Veli gavalı çalardı. Alibey ebe de türküsünü söylerdi. Bunlar dovayı çalardı, biri de govalı çalardı. (Personal interview, 05 August 2015)

Somebody plays the *kaval*, somebody plays *dova* and somebody sings. There were Alibey and Sarı Veli Dede. Sarı Veli used to play the *kaval*. Alibey Ebe sung. They played the *dova*, one of them play the *kaval*.

The main body component used in the practice is the throat and vocal folds that producing the sound. However, the sound produced by vocal fold is changed with the use of the hand fingers onto the throat by applying pressure. In this manner, the practice could be analyzed as a vocal practice due to sound production by vocal folds, as well as body percussion practice due to use of fingers on throat to create ornamentation and pitch changes.

The practice of throat playing is the result of a technical use of the voice. Thumb is pressed on the front or sides of the throat. As soon as the melody has started, the finger is moved up and down onto the throat. Some of the performers put middle and index fingers on the sides of the throat and continue to up and down movement until the melody ends. (Ergun 2004, p. 33).

Throat playing practice is performed by the people instinctively while they are outside, mostly on the mountains or *yaylas* while they are herding the animals. The practice performed and transmitted orally, thus it is difficult to discuss the certain techniques of the practice. However, there are specific movements of the fingers to alter the pitches produced by the vocal folds.

The progress in a typical throat playing performance is given below:

As the first step, they open the part of their head scarf that closing her throat. Then they put index finger (also the middle finger in some performances) of their right hands onto the throat and start singing. Some of the performers put their other hands on one of their ears. The others do not use their second hands at all. With the beginning of singing, they move the finger onto the throat and alter the pitch. There are a few specific movements applied by the fingers. Fingers could be moved up and down with a slide movement or tapped on the throat. However, none of the performers use specific terms to express the techniques they apply. When I asked them to tell how they play, they demonstrate it instead of explaining verbally. In Figure 4.1, demonstration of practice technique is shown by Ayşe Günal.



Figure 4.1 : Ayşe Günal playing *dova* (Toros, 2013).

Some specific moves of the fingers to change the pitch could be observed in throat playing practice. Even though each performance is unique to the performer and it is difficult to establish standard techniques of playing, some researchers still classify some of the common movements with respect to the pitch change the movement produced as well as the shape of the movements.

With respect to the interview data gathered from the field, there are two specific techniques are identified among throat players. Those techniques are named by us as *kaydırma* and *vurma* with respect to their application and visual movements. (Yılmaz, 2013, p.33).

In the first technique of *kaydırma* could be translated as “shifting” or “sliding” where the index and middle fingers touch the throat mainly in a parallel position and they are moved up and down to alter the pitch. In the second technique named as *vurma*, same fingers are moved back-and-forth onto the throat. This technique could be perceived as tapping. Even though those two techniques create slightly different changes in the sound, the way they process the sound is quite similar. In the both, the pitch produced by the vocal folds is being ornamented by the movement of the finger onto the throat. Nevertheless, those nomenclature of the techniques are the terms used by researchers, not by the performers themselves. I could not learn any names to express the playing techniques explained by the performers in the field. However, when I asked the performer Eşe Toşur how to play it and which fingers she was using, she showed me her index finger.

E.T: Esas şu parmak onu yapan. (diyip işaret parmağını gösteriyor)

T.E.T: Bu parmakla mı çalışıyorsun? (işaret parmağımı göstererek soruyorum)

E.T.: Bu parmak. (işaret parmağını gösteriyor)

T.E.T: Şunla yapmaz mısın? (baş parmağımı gösteriyorum)

E.T: Hayır o olmaz. Bu parmak. Bu parmak yapar onu. (diyip yine işaret parmağını gösteriyor)
(Personal interview, 04 August 2015)

E.T: This finger is the one making that. (says and shows her index finger)

T.E.T: Do you play with that finger? (asking by showing my index finger)

E.T.: This one. (she shows her index finger)

T.E.T: Don't you play with that one? (asking by showing my thumb)

E.T: No, not that one. This one makes it. (again she shows her index finger)

Not only Eşe Toşur, but also all participants of my field recording used their index fingers as the main finger to change the sound. Thus, I cannot classify the playing movements I had encountered in the field in categories as some scholars did.

Nevertheless, I can express that I could observe both the movements of *urma* (tapping) and *kaydırma* (shifting or sliding) as well as some other moves that push the sides of the throat or touch the throat gently. However, those moves were instinctive movements as far as I could observe, not the movements made in a sequence or in order. Still, it is natural to observe the uses of common specific movements among the performers, since the practice is learnt and performed by imitation of the other performers' performances and playing styles. As the result of that, it is also possible to find common points in the text and repertoire of the practice.

4.2 Text and Repertoire

Dovas played by the performers of the study have two distinctive musical characteristics: one sort of *dovas* are the melodic pieces including repeating units without any semantic texts and the other kinds are the ones including texts in addition to non-semantic repeating units. Most of the throat airs I could record in the field were the second kind of *dovas* which are formed of non-semantic repeating units. However, some of the participants of my study also performed some throat airs that include text. Most the text contents include words and idioms from nomadic life practices, nature and the animals.

In the *dovas* that do not include text, there are certain repeating units used. Mainly used repeating unit are the phrases like “iyyee”, “ooo”, “eee” and “uuu”. The repeating units also could be used in the throat airs including text. The *dovas* could start with repeating units, continue with text and then end with repeating units as a typical progression. However, the use of repeating units within a piece is the choice of the performer.

Similar to general textual content of Yörük music pieces, the main themes mentioned in throat airs are animals, nature and words about nomadic life and migration.

Anamas'ın gediği

Çatal öter düdüğü (CD1, Track 3)

The whistle of Anamas

Blows in cracked voice

The text given above from the *dova* performed by Ayşe Günel includes a name of a mountain which is a settlement region for Honamlı Yörüks and also the name of a wind instrument used by shepherds. Anamas is the name of the mountain region between Beyşehir Lake and Eğirdir Lake that lies on the migration route of Honamlı Yörüks. The *düdük* in the second line is the name of the wind instrument commonly used by the shepherds. The word “*öt-mek*” means “to blow” and the full sentence of “Çatal öter düdüğü” explains how this instrument sounds like.

Another *dova* performed by Hatice Akkın includes the notions of weather and animals. The lyrics express the movement of cloud in the sky, on the top of the mountains and the movement of a bird.

Öte yakanın buludu
Beri yakayı бүрүдү
Kınalı da keklik taştan taşа yürүдү (CD1, Track 4)

The cloud of the other side
has come to the this side
Chukar has moved from one rock to another

Another excerpt from *dova* performed by Neslehan Süräl is a tune originally played by her sister. In the first line of the text, the performer identifies herself with the essence of the wheat. In the second line, she tells about her identity as the daughter of the man known as Kerimoğlu.

Ak buğdayın özüyüm
Kerimoğlu'nun kızıyım (CD1, Track 5)

I am the essence of the white wheat
I am the daughter of Kerimoğlu

In all of those throat airs with textual content I could record, there are also repeating units used. Use of repeating units within the throat air is the most preferred choice of the performers rather than the text.

The text and repertoire of the pieces are also transmitted orally among the performers. I think that is the reason for having same repeating units, text and melodic movements

in the *dovas* performed by different people. The participants of the interviews stated that they learn to play by watching each others performances. Thus, having common repertoire and text is an expected result of such learning and performing method according to my observations.

T.E.T. :Siz bunu kendi kendinize mi öğreniyordunuz?

H.A. :Heyye.

T.E.T. :Bir hocası filan yok muydu?

H.A. : Ne hocası? Kendi kendimize dağda çalar şey ederdik.

T.E.T. :Birbirinizden görerek mi?

H.A. : Heyye, birbirimizden görerek ederdik. (Interview, 05 August 2015)

T.E.T. : Did you learn that yourself?

H.A. : Yes.

T.E.T. : Did not you have any teacher?

H.A. : A teacher? We play ourselves on the mountains.

T.E.T. : By learning from each other?

H.A. : Yes. We used to play by watching each other.

Throat playing is practiced mostly during the shepherding of the animals. Even though it is a solo performance mostly, the performances with *the kaval* could be also seen. As mentioned earlier, imitation of the playing and sound of the *kaval* by voice in throat playing practice is a common view about the origin of the practice among the scholars. On the other side, imitation of throat airs by the instruments is another presumptive idea on the performance and transmission of the techniques and the repertoire.

In the field, I heard a story of throat air performed by a woman named Alibey Kızı. According to story, Alibey Kızı and the man named Kadı were in love with each other. One day, Kadı came near to the tent of Alibey Kızı and threw a rock to call her. When the father of Alibey Kızı heard that, he said to people to take their guns and get him. Alibey Kızı got panicked when she heard it and said that “Don’t go, it is Kadı.” After that, she composed a *dova* for that and that *dova* has been transmitted to other performers. This piece is known as “Alibey Kızı Dovu” or “Dolan Kadı”.

Kadı Dede rahmetlik, Alibey Kızı’na dolanırmış. Taş atılıvermiş. "Tüfeği alın da sevidivirin" demiş (kızın babası). "Gitmeyin" demiş. "Kadıdır o kadı" demiş. Ta oradan, onun dovaları var. Çalayım mı onun dovasını? "Dolan Kadı" diyeceğim şimdi. (CD 2, Track 2)

Kadı Dede fell in love with Alibey Kızı. He threw a rock. "Take the gun and go" he said (the father of the girl). "Do not go!" she said. "He is Kadı" she said. From that, there are dovas of her. Do you want me to play her dova? I will say "Dolan Kadı" now.

I could not hear the throat playing performance of that piece in the field, however, my interviewee Bayram Garip told me the story of the piece and performed it with his flute. Bayram Garip used to play the kaval in his youth. Nevertheless, he did not own a *kaval* when I visited him, however he had a flute that he was holding and playing like a *kaval*.

Throat airs are not only performed by voice, but also implemented to the instruments like *kaval*, *üç telli*, *sipsi*.

Throat airs are included in the repertoire of all instrument players of the region (Teke). The throat airs implemented to the instruments include the exact pitch changes in the vocal variations. (Ayyıldız, 2013, p.33).

Today, we could still observe throat air pieces in the repertoire of Yörük instruments. Since the practice of throat playing have not been practiced actively in recent year due to changes in life style and the abandonment of the shepherd practices, the repertoire has been transmitted via the instruments.

4.3 Analyses on the Pieces

In this section, I aimed to provide analyses on some of the throat air I recorded in the field with respect to their rhythmic and melodic aspects. I tried to transcribe the pieces into Western notation.

Throat airs are made of the repetition of two different sections one after another; the one with free rhythm meter (with or without text) and the one with constant rhythmic meters (Parlak, 2000, p.140).

In the field, I could only record a few performances of throat playing. Since it is a limited data to make generalization or standardization about the melodic and rhythmic structure of the repertoire, I only made a comparative study among two main pieces I have recorded, given the transcriptions above. I chose those two pieces, because they were the most solid sound recordings, and both were the pieces without text, and they have similar repeating units. Thus, it was easier for me to analyze them by separating them in pattern units and compare with each other. In that method of analysis, I got inspired from the "Cantometrics" methodology of Alan Lomax.

Cantometrics is a study of these standardized models, which describe singing rather than song. Therefore, it is not primarily concerned with complete collections and descriptions, but with locating provable regularities and patterns, in the fashion of science (Locke, 1976, p.17)

The reason for me to make that comparative study is to discuss the hypotheses expressed by the some scholars as there could be throat air tunes peculiar to a specific tribe or migration groups. It is a common view by the scholars that particular Yörük groups or communities might have their specific tunes of throat airs that is peculiar to them. Ergun (2004) obtains in his fieldwork “that members of each individual tribes play the same tune, but the tunes were altering among the tribes. Furthermore, even in the groups from same tribe, but living in different regions, the tunes may alter. Hence, the tune of throat playing could represent an individual tribe or group as a musical representation of the identity” (Ergun, 2004, p.36).

Because of that hypothesis, I try to catch rhythmic or melodic patterns that repeat in a throat airs I analyzed. Thus, I labeled the melodic units that are repeating in tunes both in melodic shape as well as repeating syllables. The melodic movements could be seen in transcriptions given in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3.

Throat Air No.1
Ayşe Garip

Moderate ♩ = 90

ooo iy ye ee ee iy yı iy ye ee ee iy yı iy ye ee ee iy yı hee e ee iy yı

iy ye ee ee iy yı ee e ee iy yı eae eae eae ee ee aaa ee eae e i e i ye ee yee

yaa ee ee ee eae eae yaa

Figure 4.2: Transcription of dova of Ayşe Garip

Throat Air No.2

Rukiye Güler



Figure 4.3 : Transcription of dova of Rukiye Güler

It was difficult to establish a constant meter to the pieces. However, I tried to align them into 9/16 meter.

The repeating melodies usually do not continue in the meter they have been started and they could change the meter constantly in the piece. In the excerpts studied, mostly 9/16 and 5/8 meters are used in throat playing. However, there are also many exceptional examples exist. (Önür, 2011, p.33).

I have used two main motives from two different throat airs and transcribed them as below. Then I analyzed the pitch movements of each with respect to each other. I named them as “Throat Air No.1” and “Throat Air No.2”. I tried to transcribe those tunes to check the melodic movements of them and compare with each other for any similarities and differences. The main motive 1 of the both airs are compared as given below:



Figure 4.4. Motive 1 of Air No.1



Figure 4.5. Motive 1 of Air No.2

- 1: Descending M2
- 2: Descending P5
- 3: Descending P5

- 1: Descending M2
- 2: Descending P5
- 3: Descending P5

In the both motives, a similar movement between the pitches could be observed. Since the Throat Air No.2 is more ornamented, the first pitch of the motive is ignored to ease the analysis.

It is not wise to say that since they share the same movement and sound similar, they could be the tune peculiar to that Yörük group. However, I would like to point the similarity in melodic movements of the tunes I got from the field. It is more obvious to check the similarities in different pieces performed by various performers in the sound recordings. However, it is not possible to say that Honamlı Yörüks share some common tunes or melodic movements with respect to only a limited amount of data. I think the similarities in tunes are the result of the oral practice and transmission of the performance. The improvisational nature of the practice and the performance techniques practiced by the imitation of the other performers' techniques and tunes resulted to have common tunes and rhythmic patterns in throat airs similar to have common text and repertoire.

4.4 Social Aspects of the Performance

Throat playing has also evolved as a musical practice with respect to shepherding routines. Performers of throat playing were also shepherds as well as the instrument players. The musical traditions of Yörüks depend on the shepherding and shepherding is generally a male activity in the tribes. Hence the main instrument players of Yörük music are male. However, in the general of Yörük tribes, throat playing is a female activity. Particularly young women involve in throat playing and they generally quit when they get married. Ergun (2004) proposes that he observed “male players only in Sarıkeçili tribe in Aziziye Village, Burdur” (p.57). However, he adds that he could not observe any other male performers of throat playing among the other Sarıkeçili tribes he worked with.

Seyirci (2000) argues that “throat playing had practiced by Yörük women and young boys at the ages of 10-12. Women generally give up throat playing when they are married” (p.137). There are two principal restrictions to women for abandoning the practice. Primarily, women generally give up shepherding when they are married. Correspondingly, they also give up throat playing which is a musical activity of female shepherding. The other reason is the communicative use of the throat playing. Throat

airs can be used to express feelings of a player to a woman or a man. Thus, performing of the practice by a married woman is not approved by the society.

In my field, I mostly worked with women performers. However, they all stated that there are male performers who used to practice throat playing besides women. Yet, the main performers are women among Honamlı Yörüks. Honamlı researcher Tanyıldız (1993) also clarifies that “even though there are few male performers, throat playing is mainly a female activity” (Tanyıldız, 1990, p. 142,143).

On the other hand, according to statement of a male interviewee in the field demonstrates that throat playing had been practiced by both female and male participants. Furthermore, the airs occasionally includes lyrics implying sensual feelings. The interviewee quoted a verse of a throat air played by a man from the tribe on this point:

Dolanalım yalılara
Kuş kondurmaz çalılara
Adam heves ediyor
Yavrum kırmızı basmalılara (Personal interview, 2013)

Let's walk about the waterside
to the bush
Man lust for
The ladies in red dress

The interviewee adds that the throat player used this air to communicate with the girls and whenever he played this tune, he hugged the girls afterwards. It is a common view on throat playing that the practice was used by the shepherds in order to express their feelings to each other. Yılmaz (2013) says that “one of the main purposes of throat playing is to express hidden senses of young girls and boys to each other while the herding the animals and cannot talk to each other directly” (p.19).

In my field, I tried to ask my participants about that purpose of the practice. However, they did not indicate any communication purpose of the practice. Rather, they expressed the practice as an activity they were making to spend time while they are herding the animals. Even though the people I talked in the field said that both male and females were performing throat playing, it was more common among the women. They also stated that women play *dova*, whereas they could not play the *kaval* and the men played the *kaval*.

T.E.T. : Erkekler çalmazmış dediler, öyle mi?

E.T.: Çalardı.

T.E.T. :Kaval çalar mıydı erkekler?

E.T. :Kaval da çalardı.

T.E.T. :Kadınlar çalar mıydı kaval?

E.T. :Kadınlar çalamaz.

T.E.T.: Neden?

E.T. :Ee kadınlar çalmaz kavalı, hiç çalmadı.

T.E.T. : Yasak mıydı?

E.T. :Yasağı masağı yoktu, ama kadın çalmazdı. Erkekler çalardı.

T.E.T. :Peki kavalla beraber de dova çalınıyor muydu?

E.T. :Çalınırdı. Kavalla beraber de çalınırdı dova. (Personal interview, 04 August 2015)

T.E.T. : They said men do not play throat, is it right?

E.T.: They played.

T.E.T. : Do the men play kaval?

E.T. : They play the kaval, too.

T.E.T. : Do the women play the kaval?

E.T. : Women cannot.

T.E.T.: Why?

E.T. : They never played the kaval.

T.E.T. : Was it forbidden?

E.T. : No, it was not. But the men played the kaval, not the women.

T.E.T. : Was the dova played along with the kaval ?

E.T. : Yes. It was played along with the kaval.

Even though I tried to ask why women could not play the instruments, but only limited to play throat, I could not get any satisfactory response from my interviewees. They expressed the situation by indicating that women never played the kaval, however they did not explain the reason of that.

As explained earlier, throat playing was practiced among the shepherds while they were herding the animals on the mountains. They also played as a game between them with their *dovas*. There were competitions among the throat players on who could play better and longer.

T.E.T: Bunu kim çalardı mesela? Birbirinizden mi öğrendiniz?

E.T. :Birbirimizden öğrendik tabii.

T.E.T : Yok muydu bir ustası?

E.T. :Ustası yoktu. Ağacların dallarına oturur, birbirimizle yarışırđık.

T.E.T: Yarışmalar nasıl olurdu? Sen çalardın, karşıdan öbürü mü çalardı?

E.T. : Ben çalardım. Ben durur, o çalardı. O çalardı, durur, ben çalardım. Öyle öyle yarıştık.

T.E.T: Kazananı kim belirliyordu?

E.T. : Kim yenilirse. Kim pes ederse o yeniliyordu.

T.E.T.: Peki her söyleyenin yeni bir şey mi çalması gerekiyordu?

E.T. : Aynı... Aynı öyle. Ne kadar uzun çalarsa, ne kadar güzel çıkartırsa... Bir de duruverme, yoruluverme var. Yorulan yenilirdi. (Personal interview, 04 August 2015)

T.E.T: Who played that? Did you learn it from each other.

E.T. : Of course we learnt from each other.

T.E.T : Was not there a master of that?

E.T. : No. We used to sit in the trees, compete with each other.

T.E.T: How were those competitions? You played, then the others played or how?

E.T. : I played. Then I stopped and she played. She stopped and I played. We competed like that.

T.E.T: Who decided the winner?

E.T. : Whoever loses. Whoever give up, then would be regarded as the losed.

T.E.T.: Did anybody need to play different tunes in each time?

E.T. : No, the same. How long you play, how good you play... There was also getting tired and stopping. If somebody got tired, then lost.

However, with the beginning of settled life, many people quitted nomadic life, shepherding and the other practices of nomadic life. As the result of that, they also quit the musical practices they performed during herding. In the field, only the older people who used to maintain the nomadic life were able to demonstrate the practice. Nevertheless, all of the participants agreed that they have not been performing that for many years after they quitted herding and nomadic life. Thus, the younger generations could not observe the practice and did not learn about that. As the result, the practice today is about to be forgotten.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, I aimed to establish a study on the musical practice of throat playing, practiced among Honamlı Yörüks. I tried to analyze the practice with respect to its sociocultural aspects as a practice of pastoral nomadism. I consider my study as an introduction to the field of Yörüks and as a starting point to study on musical practices and perceptions of Yörüks.

In the first chapter, I introduced my purposes in this study. I explained the personal story of how I started to that study and fieldworks. I also explained my research methods based on fieldwork and oral history interviews along with my literature review. The main literature I used in the study are based on the works about Yörük culture and history of various authors, including anthropologists, musicologists as well as the personal narratives of individual Yörük researchers. Furthermore, I discussed the perception of the women researchers who studied on women or studied the subjects as same with their ethnicity to comprehend and discuss my position in the field.

In the second chapter, I introduced the fundamental concepts about Yörüks starting with the analysis of the name Yörük etymologically and culturally. I explained the history and origin theories about Yörük groups. I also discussed the evolved meaning and perception of Yörük identity with respect to changes in authentic nomadic life style to comprehend the cultural changes in the musical practices. I explained the musical practices, instruments and genres of Yörük musics along with musical perception of Yörüks.

In the third chapter, I introduced my field Gedikli Village and the community Honamlı Yörüks I worked on. I explained my personal relationship with the field and subject in my reflection. I discussed my personal position in the field as a researcher and as an insider of the community. I tried to explain my perception in the field.

In the fourth chapter, I analyzed *dova*, the throat playing practice of Honamlı Yörüks. I discussed the textual content of the pieces I had recorded in the field. I also analyzed the rhythmic and melodic movements of the piece to discuss if there were any

similarities in the uses of the melodic units. Furthermore, I discussed the sociocultural aspects of the practice with respect to narratives I gathered in my field interviews. The gender issues in the practice and performance characteristics as a practice of nomadic shepherding were the main concepts I focused.

5.1 An Overview to the Study

After spending more than 5 years in the field, as a researcher as well as an insider of the community, I could observe the evolution of my study as well as my position in the field to a different content.

In the beginning, I was very nervous to talk to people and ask questions. In my first field trip, I could only ask for performances and get the recordings. I could not think about talking to people about the practice, music and nomadic life. They were willing to talk about their history and how they played in their youth. In those dialogues, I was not aware of what they are talking about and I was missing the notions about the nomadic life and musical practices. I was always interrupting their talks with my questions and did not listen to what they were talking about. After spending more time in the field and meeting with various people, I have started to learn how to listen to people. Respectively, I started to understand how to ask the questions and what to ask.

Earlier in my field trips, I was asking people that if I can find any musicians among the elder of that Yörük tribe. However, later I understood that it was the wrong question to ask, because the people I am looking for do not name themselves as “the musicians”. Even though they used to play instruments actively in their youth and they are still capable of performing, they had never considered that ability as “musicianship”. Similarly, when I tried to get performances of throat playing, I was ignoring the ask questions about the practice.

My main questions at the beginning of the study were “What kind of musical practice is throat playing? How can I learn about that practice with respect to nomadic life traditions of the community I come from?”. They were general concerns about the practice. Since I heard that Yörüks have such musical practice named throat playing as a young music researcher who have Yörük parents, I aimed to learn about the practice.

I focused on the sociocultural aspects of the practice mainly. I tried to learn about the performance practices with respect to the space of the performance. I tried to reply my main questions “What are the characteristics of throat playing as a musical practice, including its performance techniques, repertory and forms?” and “How this musical practice is related to social aspects of nomadic life and how I do perceive that practice as a researcher coming from nomadic roots?”

While searching for the responses, I have learnt about the new concepts, as the competitions of throat playing and some of my questions and concerns evolved into different meanings. On the other side, I still could not clarify some of the points I am searching for, such as gender restrictions in the practice. Nevertheless, the whole study and field work progress have been a process of personal improvement as a researcher and a Yörük person who have not practiced pastoral nomadism.

In the fieldworks, I have learnt how to position myself as a researcher among the subject sharing common cultural values. I experinced how to avoid ethnocentrism and to establish an objective perspective of reflexivism. I also comprehend to analyze a musical concept with respect to cultural and social constraint of the society it has emerged. As Feld (1984) stated that “Interpretation of a sound object/event (that is, of a construction), is the process of intuiting a relationship between structures, settings, and kinds of potentially relevant or interpretable messages” (p.22), I aimed to build my study and interpretations in a broader basis that intended to comprehend the musical practice of throat playing in the manners of text, repertoire, geneder issues and notions based on pastoral nomadic life patterns. The study has been my first step to enter the field of Yörüks musics that I intended to get answers for my research questions where I have encountered with new questions to broad my research in future.

5.2 Further Research

In my study, I have learnt about the fundamental concepts of the throat playing practice. I aimed to answer the questions about the performance characteristics of the practice. However, I could not get the replies to some of my questions. In further study, I would like to focus on the playing techniques and repertoire of *dova* more to comprehend the relationship between the kaval playing and throat playing. It will be another concern to study on the learning and transmission process of the techniques and repertoire among the members of the community. The implements of throat airs

onto the instruments and the comparison between instrument and voice performances would be a concept to work on.

I tried to learn to practice *dova*, however, I could not focus on that sufficiently. It will be my first concern to work with the people I met at the field to learn about the practice. Since the practice is not performed actively nowadays with the changes of life style and culture, it could be my last chance to practice it with the people who used to perform in the content of nomadic life.

I would like to learn more about the gender issues in the throat playing and the instrument playing practices. Even though I asked the question “why women do not play the kaval?” to the people I interviewed, I could not reach the reason for that. Furthermore, the communicative uses of throat playing among male and female shepherds as an expression of feeling is another ambiguous concept for me, since I could not get clear statements or stories about that use.

In general, I consider my study as an introduction to the field and musical practice of Yörüks. Thus in further study, I would like to work on throat playing practices among other Yörük communities and focus also on the practices of musical instruments. The self-reflexivity part in my studies will always be a concern that would question my position in the field as a Yörük researcher.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY

APPENDIX B: CONTENT OF THE CDS



APPENDIX A

Abdal the name used for musicians who travel and perform in weddings

delbek a percussion instruments mostly played among Yörük women

dova local name of throat airs among Honamlı Yörüks

dova çalmak local name of throat playing practice among Honamlı Yörüks

eveli in past

gütmek herding the animals

heyye yes, of course

Honamlı the name of nomadic Yörük tribe of the study

kepenek a coat wore by the shepherds

kışlemek the sounds made by the shepherds to the animal herds

mal the animals or herds

oba a migration unit based of a few tents or families

Sindel the summer place of Honamlı Yörüks

şölen the festival

Yörük name of the group of people who have pastoral nomadic life in Anatolia

yurt name of the places where migration units of nomadic tribes settle down during the migration

Teke zortlatması a kind of dance and also the name of musical genre, performed Teke Region of Anatolia

toy another name of *şölen*, the festival

zeybek a kind of dance and also the name of musical genre, mostly performed in South and West parts of Anatolia

APPENDIX B

CD 1

Track 1 - Ayşe Garip
Track 2 - Rukiye Güler
Track 3 - Ayşe Günal
Track 4 - Hatice Akkın
Track 5 - Neslehan Sürat

CD 2

Video 1 - Rukiye Güler
Video 2 - Bayram Garip





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