

ABDALS of ANAMUR: A COMMUNITY EXCLUDED WITH REGARD to ITS LANGUAGE, BELIEF and IDENTITY

*Dil, İnanç ve Kimlik Bakımından Dışlanan Bir Topluluk:
Anamur Abdalları*

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Abstract: The Abdals are people who live in the centre of Anamur, especially in Yeşilyurt and Yıldırım Beyazıt quarters.

There are many different views about the origin of Abdal identity. While some of Abdals claim that their ancestors migrated from Khorasan, some others believe that they are Copts. The common idea is that the Abdals do not represent themselves as Turkish.

Abdals claim that they are excluded by local people due to their physiological appearance and belief (Alewi). By the way they mention that there is no any relation between them and the other Alewi group known as Tahtacılar living in Kaşdışlen village. They say that in context of belief, they are completely different from each other.

The data of the study is obtained by interviews with certain people. In depth interviews were conducted with elderly people and generally with those who are uneducated. After the speeches were transcribed, it was found that the dialect spoken by Abdals has many things in common as well as many differences.

The special language, beliefs and identity of Abdals of Anamur as an inner community have not been studied before, so it is believed that the study will have a contribution to such literature.

Keywords: Anamur, Abdals, Identity, Alawism, Dialect.

Öz: Abdallar, özellikle Yeşilyurt ve Yıldırım Beyazıt dolaylarında, Anamur'un merkezinde yaşamaktadır.

Abdal kimliğinin kökeni hakkında pek çok farklı görüş vardır. Bazı Abdallar atalarının Horasan'dan göç ettiklerini iddia ederken, bazıları da Kıpti olduklarına inanırlar. Ortak fikir, Abdalların kendilerini Türk olarak görmemesidir.

Abdallar, yerel halk tarafından fizyolojik görünüşleri ve inançları (Alevi) nedeniyle dışlandıklarını iddia etmektedir. Bu arada, onlar ile Kaşdışlen köyünde yaşayan Tahtacılar olarak bilinen diğer Alevi grubu arasında herhangi bir ilişki olmadığından bahsediler. İnanç bağlamında, birbirlerinden tamamen farklı olduklarını söylemektedirler.

Araştırmanın verileri belirli kişilerle yapılan görüşmeler sonucunda elde edilmiştir. Derinlemesine görüşmeler yaşlılarla ve genellikle eğitimsiz olanlarla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Konuşmaların yazıya dökülmesinden sonra,

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Abdallar tarafından konuşulan ağzın pek çok farklılıklarının yanı sıra birçok ortak noktası olduğu da tespit edilmiştir.

Anamur'da yaşayan Abdalların bir toplum olarak gizli dili, inanç ve kimliği daha önce çalışılmamıştır, dolayısıyla çalışma bu tür bir literatüre de katkı sağlayacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anamur, Abdallar, Kimlik, Alevilik, Ağız

Introduction

The Abdals, who have different names in various parts of Turkey, are significantly more different than local people of their regions with regards to their general physical appearances and cultural features they brought along with them for years. Although they are commonly residing in Central Anatolia, Aegean, Marmara, Southeast Anatolia and West Mediterranean Regions, they are also known to live in some other parts in small groups. Unlike a nomadic or semi nomadic life style in the past, today they prefer a sedentary life style. Moving on in a wide geography, the Abdals live under the same roof with Turkmen tribes, having closer relations compared to other communities, bearing similar identities, beliefs and cultures. It is expressed that they have established closer relations with Turkmen tribes, a group sharing Alawism belief, in comparison to other communities. They have historically been excluded by all other neighbouring and local communities. Abdals were forced to move away according to idiosyncratic cultural identities, beliefs and spoken secret language to acknowledge the dominant local communities due to the exclusion.

They were led to this fact to benefit from better conditions both in economic and educational life. The central issue expressed by all interviewees is that local people have continuously casted them out in these two particular issues leading to a deprivation of opportunities. The paper will address the secret language, cultural identities and beliefs of Abdals with reference to information obtained and recorded during interviews as part of a field study.

The Abdals, Their History, Social Identities, Cultures and Beliefs

The term Abdal is defined distinctly in various glossaries. In most cases, an unfavourable meaning has been ascribed to the term. For example, in Güncel Türkçe Sözlük (Updated Turkish Dictionary), the word Abdal refers to a negative attribution meaning a kind of beggar, bedraggled, gipsy, drummer, roamer as well as lazy, awkward, mad, servant, slave, greedy and mean. On the other hand, Türkiye Türkçesi Ağızları Sözlüğü (Glossary of Turkey Turkish Dialects) defines Abdals as those who do not harm others.

In Güncel Türkçe Sözlük the word is described as one of the Turkic tribes having resided in Iran during the period of Safavids, and as some of the tribes residing in Anatolia presently.

The name Abdal originated within Byzantine sources with Hephthalites, the great power of the period between 4th and 5th centuries B.C. in Central Asia (Konukçu 2002: 828). It is alleged by Zeki Velidi Togan that Abdal or Hephthalite=Ephthalite, regarded

as ancestors of Karluk and Kencine Turks, settled in Eastern Tien Shan and that Chinese sources call them Hua. It is asserted that though these people are mentioned as “Haytal” with “Y” instead of “B”, the word is originally described as “Habdal” in Arabic sources (Togan 1981:420). The statement by Köprülü: *“the claim that the name of the people known as Hephthalite or Ephthalite that played a crucial role in the history of Central Asia during the 5th and 6th Centuries A.C. was in fact Abdel or Avdel should not be easily denied. As a matter of fact, the word **abidal**, which is used as the cognomen of male Shamans in today’s Yakut language, justifies the relevant question” backs up the denomination of Hephthalite* (Köprülü 1988: 62). It is remarked by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak that these denominations correspond to the definition of “dervish” made by Europeans, which does not have an equivalent indeed and to all of Haydari, Cami, Torlak and Greek Abdals, however; Qalandariyyah did not take place in sources until the first quarter of 13th century in Anatolia as a consequence of the migration driven by Mongol invasion (Ocak 2016: 113). Abdal tradition is used as a term corresponding to a dervish order derived from Malamatiyya, fifth rank of Bektashism or nomadic Turkic dervishes (Hancerlioğlu 2000: 7).

The name Abdal originated in 13th century sources in Anatolia. According to Aşıkpaşazade, four well-known communities among (Greek) visitors of Anatolia during that period are: 1) Gaziyan-ı Rûm, 2) Ahîyân-ı Rûm, 3) Abdâlân-ı Rûm and 4) Bâcıyân-ı Rûm. The very first utterance of the Greek Abdals among these communities was given by Aşıkpaşazade (1332; 205). Termed as Abdâlân-ı Rum in Aşıkpaşaoğlu Tarihi (History of Aşıkpaşaoğlu), Abdals are claimed to be one of the pioneering communities of Islam Group. Abdals were associated with groups ranking among the heterodoxy of the period such as Qalandari, Hayderi, Cavlaki, Torlak and Işık (Light), and were mostly characterized with common features (Duygulu 2012: 31-46), a view which was first delivered by Köprülü. It is claimed that Abdals were a group composed of Qalandaris, Hayderis and Yassawis, initiators of grand Babai Revolt in 1240 (Köprülü 1976: 29-38). It is suggested by Gölpınarlı, who partly agrees with the statement above, that Abdals were the group of another community, yet appeared similar to Greek Abdals and Qalandaris (Gölpınarlı 1961: 47). What is suggested by Köprülü, however, is corroborated in the light of information available in Ottoman sources; sagas of Greek Abdals clearly indicate their relationship with Qalandariyyah. Outstanding characters are those with cognomens *Baba* (Father) and *Abdal* such as Geyikli Baba, Doğlu Baba, and Abdal Musa. These cognomens have been used by Qalandaris since 11 century, as seen in Baba Tahir-i Uryan example (Ocak 2016: 139). There is no such certain information as to when exactly Abdals settled in Anatolia. Nevertheless, despite that uncertainty, the common opinion reveals that Abdals settled in Anatolian territories along with Turkic tribes. It is claimed by most of the Abdal communities who are living in Turkey at present that they came from Khorasan and were of Persian origin, a fact which may be verified with available information. While sources demonstrate that Geyikli Baba and Abdal Musa came from Hoy (Azerbaijan), Abdal Murad and Abdal Mehmed from Bukhara, and Postînpûş Baba from Diyar-ı Acem (Ajam Region), it may be observed in descriptions of the word “Khorasan” that they did not come from Khorasan in person – it may also be true though- yet that they were affiliated with Qalandariyyah movements of Khorasan origin (Köprülü 2005: 295).

Some Abdal communities call themselves “Teber” while some others use the name “Abdal” (Tietze 1982: 521-532), however; as they have been excluded by local people, they are regarded equivalent to Gypsies, another excluded community. Arguing against this definition, Abdals consider themselves as a long standing and deep-rooted group with old beliefs. Majority of Greek Abdals, unlike classical Sunnism today, have a sense of Islam in which ancient beliefs and mythological motives rule over (Ocak 2016: 141), as a result; Abdals mostly are associated with Alewi belief today. Almost all of the interviewees have introduced themselves saying “we are a member of Abdal Family”.

Köprülü believed that the word Teber may be associated with musicianship of Teber or Abdal. The word Teber is claimed to mean Teberci “drummer”, derived from Arabic word “tabl”, however; as some of the Abdals represent themselves in dervish costumes, they carry Teber with them which is why they may have been called with this name (Köprülü 1935: 42). Majority of Abdal communities in Turkey are known for their aptitude and competence for music, so they are mainly confused with Gypsies, to which they bear resemblance with regards to their inclination to music and appearances. As the identity of Abdal is more prestigious than of Gypsies, some Gypsy communities identify themselves Abdals. In the paper, it was pointed out by interviewees that they feel a discomfort with this situation and they belong to Haji Bektash Veli tradition of Sufism and are officially Turkish but a noble group coming from Khorasan. Evidence to refute this statement was observed during interviews. Kara Duman Abdals are claimed to have been connected with Dom/Doman group, Middle East Gypsies (Yıldırım 201: 29). It was stated by a family during interviews that they represent themselves as members of Copt belief having migrated from Egypt, underpinning their association with Kara Duman, a section of Abdals of abovementioned Dom/Doman group in Turkey.

Almost all Abdals belong to Alewi belief. Their beliefs are considered as the base of their identities, as a result; they describe themselves on basis of their religious belief. Probably due to high influence of dominant identity and belief, they always point out that they are different from other Alewi communities, notably Tahtacı Alewis, when characterizing themselves. Naming themselves Abdal Alewi as identity, they describe other communities as Tahtacı Alewi, those having Sunni belief as Yezidi and all the local people out of religious identity as Turks.

Abdals of Anamur, who follow Haji Bektash Veli in terms of belief and belong to Alawism, have highly integrated to the customs and beliefs of communities they lived together and completely distinguish themselves from Tahtacı Alewis. This situation has been explained by Hüseyin ARDIÇ (57) as follows:

“While they are Tahtacı Alewis, we are Abdal Alewis; they do not fast in Ramadan, yet we do, besides; we perform worshipping...they are not the same as can be seen in the case of funerals; when someone passes away, they do not hold mawlid; they [Tahtacı] cover the corpses with clothes, sheets, whereas we cover with silk shroud. We do not have Djemevi; in the past, we were all brothers and sisters, meaning that my wife and others’ wives were sisters, and so neither their sons/daughters could marry ours, nor the other way around, yet we realized that this situation was wrongly conducted and in

due course, as Dedes (leaders) passed away, we left them too.”

Their beliefs have a significant role in cultural life. Along with traditions from the past, they live what the modern life requires. They have different practices among themselves though they have similar traditions to those of local people in rituals such as death, wedding and religious festivals.

Abdals have been discriminated by local people due to their social identities. Therefore, setting aside the endeavour to make their social identities accepted, they have kept their exclusive life styles and while doing so, they have faced a number of problems resulted from exclusion. Unemployment is regarded as the most significant problem. Lack of a regular and constant job has led them to be categorized in poverty groups. While trying to earn their livings, they have been named differently depending on their various professions and jobs associated with them in areas they settled. For example, some of them are Sepetçi Abdalı (Basket Abdal), Elekçi Abdalı (sieving Abdal), Bıçakçı Abdalı (Cutter Abdal), Çalgıcı (Musician) and “Gewende” in South East Anatolia, term attributed as they play drums.

Abdals of Anamur

Anamur is the farthest town to the city centre in Turkey considering its geographical position. It is five hours away from Mersin, to which it is bounded, Konya and Antalya as neighbouring cities. This feature has led to an exclusive structure to arise on behalf of Anamur. As it is hard-to-reach, it has scarce migration in-and-out. Besides, Anamur is at the southernmost corner of Turkey having a dominant Mediterranean climate, thus the county is humid and hot in summers and warm in winters. In spite of this fact, it differs from coastal areas such as Alanya and Antalya in terms of tourism activities. Though it is a coastal town, economic activities of the whole local people are based on agricultural production. As a result, migration to Anamur is prevented. Therefore, communities living in the area have kept their traditions, languages and cultures throughout centuries.

Majority of Anamur population consists of Yoruks-Turkmens. Turks settled in Anamur following immigration of Yıva Tribe settlement in İç-il in 11-12th centuries under the ruling of Bayezid II. With reference to documents recorded during Ottoman Period, social groups that resided in Anamur are as follows (Erim 2014: 63).

Name of the document	Number of documents accessed	Total number of pages
Yoruk Tribes and Communities	16	49
Non-Moslems Armenians	8	36
Non-Moslem Greeks (of Turkish nationality)	9	11
Non-Moslem Greeks	4	10

Foreigners	10	16
Immigrant Copts	1	1
Cretan Immigrants	2	6
Dobruja Immigrants	1	1
Total	51	81

Currently there are Sarıkeçili, Bahşiş, Tekeli and Tahtacı tribes living in Anamur (Tokatlı and Nas 2012: 35). Apart from the Yoruk tribes, as the majority of the population, there are about 300 Abdal families in to the city centre. While Abdals have been pushed to corners of the cities by local people in other parts, in Anamur they have settled in the middle of the centre in two quarters. The interviews have shown that in fact this situation has nothing to do with today's conditions but the fact that the two relevant quarters were out of town and had insufficient infrastructure not long ago; as the city became larger, both quarters remained in the centre. It has further been stated that as local authorities and public hold back, they cannot drive Abdals to other places and until recently (5-7 years) no foreigner was permitted to the quarter.

Having a group of 1300-1600 persons, Abdals of Anamur are thought to be comprised of five lineages: Kelceler, Hıdırlar, Akgabaklar, Sülalar and Kandaklar, among which the ruling one is Akgabak line with Dedes as the bearer of Alawism. Until recently two brothers belonging to this lineage were the leaders (Dede) of Anamur Abdals. After their death, Abdals failed to keep the tradition and did not seek for a new leader. The wealthiest of all lines Akgabaklar are claimed to have created uneasiness out of this situation among other lines – as observed in interviews made both with them and other lines-. According to the statements of other lines, position of Dede was used to make Akgabaklar richer, whereas others were driven into poverty. On the other hand, the reverse is expressed by Akgabaklar family. Mustafa ZEYTİN (60) has spoken as follows in respect to this issue:

“Dedes brought a square-shaped stone from Haji Bektash saying “rub it on your face and throw coins...”, in this way, today they have not less than 25 acres of land and besides, any member of the family has fortune, such a fortune that made us kiss the little children's hand, children whose father was Dede, and Dedes' wives' hands; it was hard to be close to them as they were a kind of untouchable.”

It was pointed out by both the deceased Dede's wife and individuals belonging to other lines that they gave up their belief and few of them kept practicing necessities of Alawism. Dudu BÜYÜKDERE (92), wife of the last Dede, explains the case as follows:

“We neither knew anything about worshipping before nor performed worshipping; we had nine days of fasting and whirled with companions which meant everyone became siblings, as a result; sons and daughters of no one would marry others among us, yet it is not the case today and wrong as far as we realize. We both perform Ramadan and nine days of fasting and perform praying In other words, Khidr ordered us to fast for

nine days and so it is what we do; we cook ashura in month of Muharram as we are the house of Dede and then ashura is distributed to the neighbourhoods from our house early in the morning”

While mentioning about their traditions which are characterized as ancient belief by them, they have stated that existence of Dedes has schooled them and prevented clashes among themselves. Cihan BÜYÜKDENİZ (65) has stated as follows:

“Before, in our childhood we had Dedes, two of them, for example; once someone used a bad word, they got money from the teller and until paying the penalty, s/he could not ask for marriage to the girl. As there was a swearword, a penalty was set and paid to the Dedes, and only then could the teller ask for the girl. Alawism is our belief ordering us not to get in bad with someone as we are already disadvantaged”.

Though Anamur Abdals basically have similar life style with other Abdals, it is a fact that they possess a rather different life style. As popular profession among Abdals, musicianship is not significantly preferred by Anamur Abdals. However, they experience the same problem as others when it comes to low level of education and poverty. They are mainly employed as agricultural labourers with low-cost labour, which is generally a profession in strawberry cultivation.

Anamur Abdals have much lower educational level than other local people. Most of the middle aged and over-middle aged individuals are either without educational background or graduates of primary schools. Today, it is stated that along with efforts to change the situation, not enough progress has been made after all. Abdals experience all the difficulties stemming from low level education. Local people equate Abdals with many bad characteristic such as robbery, drug addiction and usurpation. All interviewees ascribe these epithets to poverty, lack of education and exclusion. One of the determinations in the paper suggests that even Anamur Abdals consider drug addiction something natural and ordinary themselves. Most of the interviewees have stated that drugs are the same as other pleasure-giving substances (alcohol, cigarette) for them. Cannabis is known as Abdal weed in the neighbourhood. Hüseyin ARDIÇ (57) has stated following issues in respect to this:

“We have Abdal weed smoked and addicted, yet I smoke neither cigarette nor cannabis. However, I have some nephews who smoke in the neighbourhood along with many others”.

Crime rate based on drug addiction is rather high among Anamur Abdals. Abdals Abdals claim that the problem(s) can be solved only with an increase in the degree of education and awareness.

Secret Language of Anamur Abdals

With its simplest definition, secret language refers to a structure in language which may not be understood by other communities around when spoken by its speakers. However, neither the grammatical structure of the secret language nor its thesaurus may be understood by a foreigner. Except for few suffixes, there is no trace of any feature obtained from general language. Moreover, they hold back using expressions derived from general language. Anything to be said is stated in a sentence just like in

any other independent language. Secret language is useful not to hide a simple thing but to hide a certain field of a life of a group, its opinions and briefly its whole linguistic life space. Such languages hold a small amount of vocabulary, therefore; every single word may have a number of meanings. Due care is exercised not to derive any word from the common language. They pay attention not to give away what is spoken to those out of their groups and regions (Caferoğlu, 1943: 52). Abdals/Tebers sometimes speak in group –particularly when they feel the need to hide some information from foreigners- a “secret language” what they call as *dilce (localism)* or *Teberce (Teber language)* and what foreigners call as *Abdal Language*, which is comprised of special words and has limited communicative features. Abdal secret language is a Anatolian Turkish based mixed language within whose syntax, in parallel with Turkish, the order is subject+object+verb in formation of sentence where the signified comes after the indicative, and important elements come after the unimportant elements (Yıldırım 2011: 33).

Abdals of Anamur talk in Turkish based on Anamur dialect among them, however; they speak their exclusive language particularly when they are accompanied by someone else out of group –as they name it, Turkish, Sunni, and Yezidi-. They call the spoken language *Çerce/Cerce*. Though it is structurally the same as Standard Turkish as mentioned above, it is lexically completely different. Words used are mainly composed of nouns, whereas verbs are used less in terms of frequency of use. During the interviews, 64 words were observed among those that are not used in Standard Turkish and not available in Anamur dialects either. 15 of these words are composed of verbs, 47 of them of nouns and 1 of them are idioms. The language is said to be spoken by people of all ages within the group. The language with a wide range of diverse vocabulary has words of Persian, Kurdish and Arabic origin as well as words whose source and origin are not certain. According to scientists who previously discovered this feature of the language, “dialects of these Abdals separate from other Turks in terms of having a particular language, being classified as Southern Turkish; however, words are bizarre: while some words are Kurdish and some others are perhaps Romany (Gipsy Language), some others seem to be remainders of an old extinct Small-Asian language” (Köprülü 1935: 41).

In this paper, the study of the origins of the words were not discussed and it was examined whether the words in question were in the field of Abdal Secret Language (*Abdal Gizli Dili*) which is comprehensive study (Yıldırım 2011). Compiled words which are not found in the Abdal Secret Language or have different meanings even if they are available in Abdal Secret Language were examined under two headings.

1. Absent Words in Abdal Secret Language

- **Adavet:** High
- **Cıngıt:** Small patterned fabric.
- **Civ:** Lice
- **Çona:** Child
- **Darı kesiciği:** Corn Cob
- **Feli:** Chicken Egg

- **Gelti:** Crazy
- **Kay-:** To eat
- **Kayma:** Food
- **Lumbur:** Gun.
- **Maha mehri:** Handsome
- **Me(h)ri:** Husband, man
- **Menculus:** Chamber
- **Mengay:** Beef
- **Miski:** Stingy
- **Müsayip/MusayıP:** Be a sister or brother
- **Palazla-:** To grasp
- **Pırım:** Onion
- **Pıtpıt:** Chicken
- **Şarmtalık:** Jocularly
- **Yöğüccük:** To tease
- **Zifle-:** To skim
- **Zimbidi burnunda tüt-:** To long for home

2. Words Having Different Meanings Even if They are Available in Abdal Secret Language

- **Desle-:** To steal (Compare Abdal Secret Language p.81/ To do, to play an instrument, to buy, to hit, to give, to ferment).
- **Göhre:** Animak (Compare Abdal Secret Language p.125/ Horse).
- **Nıms:** Sleep (Compare. Abdal Secret Language p.184/ Prayer).
- **Tacık:** Man (Compare. Abdal Secret Language p. 216/ Foregin, non-Abdal).
- **Ürün:** Yoghurt (Compare. Abdal Secret Language p.224/ pil, butter).

Marginalization, Exclusion

Every group has an exclusive *Volksgeist* (exclusive soul and nature), a system of customs and way of living, perception and behaviour patterns which are valuable as they solely belong to the group. Whole cultural life is shaped around a river of tradition where the source of such a river is common historical experience shared by only the members of the group (Berlin, 1992). Identities and groups are grounded on similarities and differences among people. Therefore, differences are influential on sense of belonging and embodiment of group feelings. A sense of belonging for a particular identity or a group indicates shared similarities and sameness as well as separation and being different from others (Nas, 2017). Social identity is the state of reflecting subjective feelings and impressions related to category and its features that the individual possesses in reality or related to the individual's own state and existence. Collective identity, on the other hand, is the expression of social identity on a communal basis. Request of identity and construction of identity is shaped upon two different grounds in a way. As for the first ground, there is the discourse "I/we, I am/ we are different from you" and the second one includes the discourse "you/you (plural) are different from me/us" (Bilgin 2007: 33).

Abdals refer to a group that have been marginalized by all groups having lived with them in respect to their extraordinary life style in which poverty and misery are determining factors of Abdal life. While keeping their lives under these circumstances, they are trying to earn livings working in professions excluded by the society (Duygulu 2012: 33-46). The closed-society structure, in-group marriage, limited social relation with people out of group creates a homogenous work group and space. In addition to this, their relations with those who are not Abdals and Alewi depend on relations conducted on basis of business and commerce (Kolukırık-Yıldırım 2009: 145-158).

It was frequently emphasized by the Abdals during the interviews that they were excluded by others with some individuals saying that they were not called Abdal anymore but *Geday* (*Beggar*) instead. Abdals describe their identities based on belief and professions partially –Sieving Man, Circumciser, Musician, etc- rather than on language. Emine BÜYÜKDERE (74), a daughter of Dede, has stated followings in respect to this:

“We are already disadvantaged people, having been suffering from the past; everyone has despised us, to set an example; no one in these villages has accepted our marriage proposal to the girls for years as we are Alewi – as was the case with our Dedes- you may not marry a Turkish girl, even a single one; we are called Abdal and we call them Yezidi. We settled in these territories from Iran, Khorasan, are local people having settled here as nomads; eighty percent of Anamur belonged to us as we were the first settlers and then lands were sold out; we are called Geday by Turks and we call them Yezidi. They modernized the centuries old word Abdal into Geday”.

Abdals are also marginalised in the education process and that is why they are associated with living schools in early ages. They believe that as non-Alewis do not send their children to the school called Cengiz Topel Primary School in the quarter, their children are deprived of educational facilities. Students, who were taken out of the school which was first shut down and then demolished due to the few numbers of enrolled students –only Abdals preferred the school-, were transferred to other schools in other quarters. Parents allege that their children are constantly facing discrimination and exclusion by teachers and students as well as parents of other students at schools where they were transferred.

Conclusion

It has been observed that Anamur Abdals mostly emphasize Alewi identity when describing themselves under an identity. The order in social relations and the thought to be a good person are ascribed to the Alewi belief. Mustafa ZEYTİN (60), one of the speakers, has explained the case as follows:

“As part of our belief, we naturally believe in Allah; we are asked not to misdo any one who is a member of Alewism as we are already disadvantaged people.”

Nonetheless, Alawism continues with some mythological remainders which have remained unfulfilled and been lost in practice among them. Upon being asked the reason, they proudly noted that they comply with practices of Sunnism as a dominant belief in the local people. It is asserted by them that they have more accurate form of

belief than Tahtacı Alewis in Kaşdişlen village marginalizing them in terms of religious practices. In spite of all these efforts, Anamur Abdals have not been able to clear the way for establishing positive relations with non-Abdals and non-Alewis. The problem is bilateral. Upon being asked for an answer to the causes of them remaining distant in relations with Abdals during the interviews made with non-Abdals, local people set forth reasons such as vigilantism, high crime rates, drug abuse and narcotic addiction among Abdals. It was also stated that such reasons and principally difference in belief prevented marriages with Abdals. On the other hand, Abdals consider themselves as a group belonging to Islam religion against the related exclusion and detach themselves from the society with an emphasis on the closeness of their groups characterizing others outside of them as Turks, Sunnis and Yezidis. This situation leads to an in-group marriage, giving rise to persisting –dark skin- from generation to generation distinguished as one of the most distinctive features of Abdals. The exclusion and marginalization in question have made the secret language among Abdals survive until today. This secret language is claimed to be spoken –with their own words- to avoid particularly Sunnis and Yezidis understanding them.

The most striking consequence of the exclusion and marginalization has been unemployment and poverty along with it. With a young population, Abdals are employed at hardest works - notably in agricultural activities-. Providing a low-cost labour for the employers, the relevant feature brings about issues such as employment at early age and dropout arising from financial difficulty as well as early marriage, which is common among Abdals. Common opinion of particularly old-aged interviewers reveals that all of the abovementioned reasons along with a negative perspective of youth on education have led to Abdals remaining at lower socio-economic status. Almost all self-criticize themselves over the issue noting that in spite of all efforts, the children are reluctant to continue formal education. Abdals feel uneasy about their children's continuing education at other schools upon the demolition of the school in the quarter. Abdal families are of opinion that children are discriminated at these schools, giving rise to a complete disconnection from educational activities along with the current reluctance towards going to school. The exact opposite is noted by the addressees –students, parents and teachers- of the situation asserting that the demolished school was always posing a problem and that location of the school was giving self-confidence to the Abdal children, thus leading to a number of unfavourable behaviours against teachers and non-Abdal students. Moreover, it has been stated that the transferred children developed behaviours towards obeying the rules watching around and attached more importance to the education after all.

64 words related to the secret languages of Anamur Abdals were compiled. 23 of them were detected not to be available in the most comprehensive work which was previously done in this area Abdal Secret Language (Yıldırım 2011). 5 were found to have different meanings even though they are present in Abdal Secret Language. The remaining 36 words were determined to be previously detected with the same meanings. Of the 23 words that are not available in Abdal Secret Language, 3 are verbs and 20 are names. Though 5 different words are found in Abdal Secret Language, 1 of them is composed of verbs and 4 of them are nouns. As can be seen, Abdal's

secret language is a limited number of words, mostly composed of names that can have multiple meanings. Anamur Abdals use their secret language when they do not want non-Abdal people to understand them and use the mouth of the Anamur region in general language. Such detected words will contribute to a dictionary like Dictionary of Anatolian Dialects (Compilation Glossary) for private and secret languages spoken in Turkey.

References (Abdals)

	Name and Surname	Age	Level of Education
1	Ebru BÜYÜKDERE	22	High School
2	Ferhan GEYİK	30	High School
3	Münevver ÜZÜM	33	Primary School
4	Figen BÜYÜKDERE	35	High School
5	İlsev ÇAM	36	High School
6	Nuray DEMİRBAŞ	40	Primary School
7	Suzan GEYİK	41	Primary School
8	Şehber ARDIÇ	48	Uneducated
9	Şerife ZEYTİN	53	Uneducated
10	Ümmü BÜYÜKDERE	56	Uneducated
11	Hüseyin ARDIÇ	57	Uneducated
12	Mustafa ZEYTİN	60	Uneducated
13	Cihan BÜYÜKDENİZ	65	Uneducated
14	Emine BÜYÜKDERE	74	Uneducated
15	Dudu BÜYÜKDERE	92	Uneducated

References (Non-Abdals)

	Name and Surname	Age	Level of Education
1	Eşşe GÜNEY	62	Uneducated
2	Ayşe Pınar	67	Uneducated
3	Nergiz OKTAN	73	Uneducated
4	Ayşe ŞİMŞEK	77	Uneducated
5	Sabri ÖZDEMİR	79	Primary School
6	İsmet KURT	80	Primary School
7	Havva YILMAZ	82	Uneducated
8	Ümmü YAPILI	82	Uneducated
9	Kazım TEPE	82	Primary School
10	Süleyman YILMAZ	83	Primary School
11	Süleyman YILMAZ	83	Primary School
12	Havva OKTAN	87	Uneducated

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