THE REFLECTIONS OF 1980 MILITARY COUP IN TURKISH THEATRE: 
THE EXAMPLE OF MEMET BAYDUR

Arzu ÖZYÖN

Abstract
Sociology of literature which is based on Marxist criticism acts according to the assumption that there is a strong link or interaction between life and art or society and literature. This interaction has two directions: Either society can affect literature or vice versa. Therefore, it is the duty of sociology of literature to trace these relations between society and literature. This article, through the method of sociology of literature aims to reveal the political, social and economic reflections of 1980 military coup in three plays of Memet Baydur: Cumhuriyet Kızı (The Republican Girl), Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları (The Toys of Loneliness), Kamyon (The Lorry), thus trying to emphasize the interaction between literature and society once more by three examples from theatre. Since Memet Baydur stepped into the world of theatre and started his career as a playwright during a turbulent period in Turkey, namely the 1980s, it is important to analyse his plays in order to reach the traces of that period. Therefore, also regarding the limits of this study, only three plays of the writer, Cumhuriyet Kızı revealing political reflections, Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları especially focusing on social reflections and Kamyon basically carrying the economic reflections of the period, have been selected to be analysed in this study. Thus, the notion that there is a strong bond between life and art, or between society and literature and either of them can influence the other, which lies at the basis of the sociology of literature, is justified once more through the examples from three plays. The result reached at the end of the article is that Memet Baydur's three plays give a political, social and economic portrayal of Turkey in 1980s.

Keywords: 1980 Military coup, Turkish theatre, Memet Baydur, Özal Government, sociology of literature.
Introduction

Since there is a close relationship between the substructure and the superstructure in a society, the influence of society on literature or the guidance of the society through literature is inevitable. This means that either social, political and economic conditions of the society affect and shape literature or literature gives direction to the society —and people— in some cases. This mutual relationship between the society and literature as a subject, is in the domain of the sociology of literature, which will be the method to be pursued in this study. The sociology of literature is constructed on Marxist Criticism that considers there is an interrelation between the substructure (economic structure and production relations) and superstructure (culture, politics, religion, traditions, language and of course art), and the first defines the second. As is seen art is a part of the superstructure, and thus a part of the ideology. “Then to understand literature means to understand the whole social process, of which the literature is a part.” Although there is reflection theory and realism lying at the root of Marxist criticism, that must not mean that literature is a mirror reflecting everything in the society exactly as what it is. The author, through literature, handles the social, political and economic events or conditions as his material, reshapes and changes them and turns them into something new, something fictional in some way and realistic in other. Thus the author, on the basis of the notion of “production relations” in Marxist criticism, becomes a producer creating something new out of what he has in his hand as a material. Memet Baydur’s plays entitled Cumhuriyet Kızı (The Republican Girl) (1988), Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları (The Toys of Loneliness) (1984) and Kamyon (The Lorry) (1990) are the three plays selected to be analysed in this study in order to put into practice what we have mentioned above about the Marxist criticism and the sociology of literature and to display the effects of 12 September military coup on the Turkish Theatre in this sense. Because the breaking points such as wars, revolutions, collapses are the most important events that leave deep traces on the society and thus on its literature.

Therefore, after giving the general atmosphere of the 1980s, —in other words a short summary of the background of the period—, the first part of the study will be allotted to the analysis of the play called Cumhuriyet Kızı in relation to the political reflections of the period, which it mainly focuses on. In this context especially the situation of the academics released from work according to the law no. 1402 and called as 1402’likler is analysed through several examples from the play. In the next part of the article, social reflections of the 1980s will be exemplified by the play Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları. This part notably handles the problem of curfew practised on people over sixty and criticizes that practice. Apart from that, a new lifestyle and nutritional habit based on frozen food, borrowed from America and introduced to the Turkish people, are presented with a critical approach. The third part of the study focuses on the economic reflections of the period by referring to the writer’s another play, Kamyon, which is totally devoted to the economic background of the 1980s. Thus, this part includes the “side-effects” of the Turgut Özal’s policy of the “liberal economy” based on export and import especially: consumer society, debts and loans, the gap between the rich and the poor, migration, slums as a result of irregular urbanization.

A general outlook of the 1980s

Turkey has experienced many failures and disappointments since the beginning of the multi-party period. This was mostly because of the fact that every government acted in the direction of the view that its party supported. It was as if they were not there to represent...
the Turkish people, the public but to act in accordance with their self-interests and to show either the right-wing or the left-wing opposition that they had the power. Thus every government turned it into a show of strength and a struggle for dominance, each of which unfortunately ended with the martial rule, starting with the first one in 1960, second in 1971 and the third one in 1980, one military coup almost in every ten years. All of them left deep traces on society and on every field of the society. However, in the context of our study, we will only deal with the 1980 military coup and its effects on Turkish Playwriting of the period through three plays by Memet Baydur, who wrote most of his plays during the painful process of “democratization” under martial rule.

The conflict between the right-wing and the left-wing youth, many deaths, the chaos in every field, including the economic unstability and the inflation left people helpless and disillusioned first by the Republican People’s Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi-CHP) and then Justice Party (Adalet Partisi-AP) government because of their inability to cope with terrorism and economy. Actually the condition of the country was the same since 1973 because of the weak and indecisive governments that were unable to find their direction. Therefore 1980 Military Coup was met with great expectations since people hoped that it would end that chaotic and pessimistic atmosphere in Turkey and would bring “an environment of peace and trust” as it was in the statement of September 12 military coup. However, although the conflicts ended in the morning of September 12 and people felt relieved the coup didn’t solve everything and during the three years until 1983 a country governed by the military forces created oppression on people and they started to long for a civil government. This was mostly because of the attitude of the military officials towards people. “The martial law officials in İstanbul reported that since November 21 when the army seized power 1 245 people were arrested […] almost 8 thousand people were in prison all over the country, […]”3. Most of them were beaten and threaten and some were released. Torture became a common and systematic practice again. Many people held in custody, died in a suspicious way. The regime didn’t deny the existence of torture but blamed the uneducated police for the events and claimed that they were punished for what they had done4.

In order to renew the political system and to give an opportunity to the new figures, all of the old political parties were closed and their leaders were banned from political activity for ten years. That ban was especially intended for Bülent Ecevit and Süleyman Demirel5. Therefore, only three parties were seen on stage when it was time for the elections: Nationalist Democracy Party (Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi-MDP) representing the right-wing, Turgut Özal’s Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi-AP) in the centre, and Populist Party (Halkçı Parti-HP) with Necdet Calp, trying to represent the left-wing that remained empty after Republican People’s Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi-CHP). Özal, who demanded five years from the generals to deal with the economy, seemed to be the only party leader who realized the need of the people for a civilian government and promised for it. Besides, he had a liberal, anti-statist and anti-bureaucratic image in the eyes of the voters6. Thus, in the elections of 1983 it wasn’t a surprise when Özal as the leader of Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi-AP), became the prime minister and formed the government. However, the Özal government was only the beginning of a new period of disappointments for Turkish people as it had happened with the previous governments and the military coups. It was a period of oppression in many respects. The fundamental rights of freedoms the 1961 constitution had given, were laid aside7.

The schools and universities were held responsible for the attitude of the leftist students, who criticized the deep abyss between the rich and the poor, the exploitation of the working class and the villagers and wished to struggle for equality and justice. Therefore, liberal
and leftist teachers and academics working in these schools and universities were cleared up by sending a text including only a single line: “Your post was ended at the request of Martial Law Command.” In addition to this, many assassinations and political murders intended for the intellectuals such as Prof. Dr. Muammer Aksoy and Çetin Emeç a journalist from Hürriyet, caused people to worry about a new military coup. These were only a few ways to silence the intellectuals. Trade Unions, guilds, foundations, broadcaster press and universities were watched and controlled closely.

Owing to Özal’s admiration for America, Turkey’s economy became completely dependent on America. Together with 24 Ocak Kararları (the January 24 Decisions) Özal created an economy dependent on export and import instead of one depending on internal market. This development even led the way to the fictitious exports that enabled the big companies and thus the owners of the companies and the businessmen earn much more money. Fictitious export was not the only way to earn money during that period. Bribery, fraud, theft and malpractice many examples of which were exposed but weren’t even condemned, were also popular in those days. These crimes were even normalized during that period probably depending on a boom in such events. That meant the economic policy of Turkey in 1980s depended on a kind of survival of the fittest rule. Because the small companies were doomed to be eliminated in the power struggle among the big companies. This situation also deepened the gap between the rich and the poor, between the people living in the cities and the villages. Since the villagers also couldn’t sell their products and got poorer. There was only one way left for them, to migrate to the cities to start a new life and to work in the factories, which paved the way for the construction of the slums especially in big cities like İzmir, İstanbul and Adana.

Another result of the economic policy depending on liberal import was the creation of “a consumer society”. Many imported products, despite their high prices, were on the shop windows in a very short time. Instead of supporting Domestic Production by buying cars produced in Turkey, people preferred to buy foreign cars like Mercedes, BMW and Jaguar with very high prices.

Actually the process of democratization during the Özal government was only an illusion, since Özal considered economy more important than democracy leaving the protection of the law and order to the martial law led by Kenan Evren and tried hard to solve the economic problems, however unsuccessfully. His indifference to the process of democracy and also his failure in improving economy as he had promised to do, disillusioned the Turkish people once again.

The reflections of the period in Memet Baydur’s plays

It was just the time when Memet Baydur started to write his plays. Memet Baydur was only one of the playwrights who lived in the middle of this chaos, and witnessed all bribery, consumer society, political oppression on academics, authors, journalists namely the intellectuals, questionings and arrests, torture in jails and deaths. However, unlike many other playwrights who preferred to write about trivial topics without disturbing the government, Baydur succeeded to emphasize the social, political and economic conditions of Turkey between the lines of his plays. As a conscious intellectual and sensitive civilian it was inevitable for him to turn his back to these problems of the country and continue his life. Despite knowing the danger, he took the charge of being a voice for his people and country through his plays, with the hope of contributing to the solution of the problems.
Ayşegül Yüksel’s words below both summarize the political, social and economic conditions of Turkey in 1980s and give an idea about how they were reflected in Baydur’s plays:

For Turkey, 1980s is the beginning of a period taking the country to the economic and moral collapse in which besides the political and social oppressions that September 12 brought, a distorted “liberal economy” understanding gave the society a signal of “lack of discipline”; in which both in the government (management of the state) and in the functioning of society, the anxiety for self-interest indexed to “money” and “possessing the power” forestalled all values and principles; in which judicial system received a blow; in which we mixed the “virtual” with the “real” owing to the phenomenon of multi-channel television in which culture was corrupted as much as possible. Baydur theatre in a way is the stage narration of the chaos formed of these phenomena.

Besides his courage, what rendered Memet Baydur different from his contemporaries was the opportunity he had to look at his country (Turkey) both from “inside” and from “outside” owing firstly to his education abroad at a very young age and then to a life that passed commuting between “Ankara- Nairobi-Ankara-Madrid-Ankara-Washington- Ankara” due to his wife Sina Baydur’s post as an ambassador. Hence as an insider/outside, which was a priority for him, he reflected the events of 1980s in Turkey very successfully in his plays.

Political reflections

The story of the play Cumhuriyet Kızı (The Republican Girl), taking place in December 1989, revolves around the dialogues of seven academics, who were dismissed from their positions at university and left on their own to earn their life by trying to write an encyclopedia, with each other first and with a barmaid who joins them later in the middle of the night while escaping from some shady and gloomy men. Since the play takes these academics from 1980s as its basis, without doubt the play is a total reflection of the effects of the 1980 military coup on the lives of intellectuals represented by seven academics in the play, due to their political views. Nearly from the beginning, the reader begins to learn about the situation of these seven men by putting together bits and pieces of their story:

MUVAFFAK: …and then what will we remember?
ABİDİN: That Behçet went to pee…That at this December night, seven bored professors trying to ease their living difficulties by writing an encyclopedia and as every person trying to make small jokes in order to lighten the burden of life…

Both the time given as 1989 and the dialogue showing that a group of professors try hard to write an encyclopedia with financial concerns and have difficulty in leading their lives economically take us to the conclusion that there is a problem about their situation. Is that just a living difficulty? Or are they only writing to contribute to the family budget? Actually, it is not that simple, as it becomes clearer only two pages later:

ABBAS: (serves the drinks) I have neither a wife nor ulcers… I have twelve books…I have had hundreds of students… I have fallen in love a hundred times…I love the thing they call pop music…It has been twenty years since I didn’t read a novel…We have been deprived of our joy (pleasure) of teaching and we have become encyclopedia writers… [...]

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It is now more evident that they were released from their work by force and most probably because of political reasons. Their discomfort and annoyance about the situation is expressed by the academics many times throughout the play: “ÖZTÜRK: We have been well sitting and writing encyclopedia... Everything was ruined... MUVAFFAK: Everything had been ruined before we started writing an encyclopedia...”

Indeed, the play as a whole, gives almost a realistic view of the academics released from work according to the law no. 1402 and called as 1402’likler (the victims of 1402) from then on and struggled to go back to work for about twelve years. Thus, these seven professors represent all public employees who were cleared up from schools, universities and institutions they worked in during the martial law having claimed that they were leftists acting against 1980 military coup and Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu (YÖK -Higher Education Institution). In the play each academic emphasizes the situation at every opportunity:

PERİ: Congratulations... You are learned men then...
ÖZTÜRK: No honey, but we are all professors...
MUVAFFAK: We had to take a break from our actual occupation due to reasons beyond our control, thus we started writing encyclopedia...

In the play it is not only the government that is criticized harshly, but also the intellectuals because of their corruption. This criticism towards them is achieved by using a key figure, Peri/Pakize, a barmaid apparently who is not expected to talk so wisely: “PAKİZE: Neither what you wanted, nor what you didn’t want...neither of them is important...You as grown up guys don’t feel uncomfortable with leading your life as the big brother dictated you...moreover you call it ‘life’!”

Here Peri/Pakize, a strange figure though, causes a kind of illumination revealing by several dialogues she has with each of the academics, what actually they have turned out to be. Baydur through Peri/Pakize’s voice criticizes the corruption (not resisting, sitting passively and also being shallow) of the intellectuals besides attacking the system that left many intellectuals, including actually many playwrights, primary school teachers as well as academics, helpless. This is perhaps one of Baydur’s plays in which the political reflections of the 1980s are seen quite overtly.

Social reflections

Although the play Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları (The Toys of Loneliness) gives a dystopic picture of a country in 2002, it still has some implications of the consumer society with its frozen food culture created in 1980s owing to Turgut Özal’s admiration for America and American life style and inherited from his time:

NAZLI: I feel like eating aşure.
ARİF: You tell this, and then you put these stinky biscuits in front of us!
NAZLI: I bought them from the Big Store last week...From the freezer number four. Why should they be stinky?
ARİF: They freeze everything. We buy them and wait for them to melt all day... Then something stale and shity appears under that very hard frozen thing...

[...]

It is such an era that they cannot even find fresh fruit and vegetables, everything is packaged and frozen. This actually is an ironic criticism of the consumerism, fast food etc. dominating the Turkish culture both as a result of taking the American life style as an
example and the result of the great impact of media and especially television advertisements on people. However, this dramatic and gloomy picture does not end here, the portrayal of the era continues:

ARİF: [...] Even a dog doesn’t eat this!
MURAT: It has been long since dogs vanished. Such an expression is no longer valid... (lights a cigarette and coughs lightly) I wish there was a chicken soup at least... Chickens vanished too. All we have is biscuit... linden tea-tea- cocoa.
ARİF: Have you seen the new hospital?
NAZLI: The one made of glass? Yes, [...] [...]
ARİF: [...] There is a turtle, too.
ARİF: A turtle walks around in the saloon in the middle of the first floor. It is the last one they say. [...]22

Thus, the gloomy atmosphere dominates the whole play, with the extinction of animals like chickens and dogs, and only one turtle left, which seems like the end of the world. These two dialogues among the three characters, given successively draw a whole picture of the era they live in.

Besides, Murat’s words, “It has been long since the books vanished”23 emphasize the idea of both the prohibitions in that period and also a society addicted to television instead of reading books. There are many prohibitions in this dystopic country: “MURAT: Can’t anybody go on a journey? ARİF: It has been half a century since this was forbidden entirely for everyone you know.”24 As the play continues, the reader learns about stricter rules in this country. One of these examples pointing out to the restricted lives of people is seen when Nazli says: “Don’t start it again please... [...] Also you know it has been years since the old were banned to go out. They said nobody over 60 could go out after sunset... you know...”25 Apparently there is the curfew order imposed on people who are above 60, reminding the reader of the ones practised under the martial law during 1980s. Throughout the play only Arif attempts to leave the house once: “ARİF: [...] I am... leaving. NAZLI: Despite the prohibitions? ARİF: Because of the prohibitions... [...] You interpret everything wrong! You don’t understand anything! You are a fossil!”26

However, when Arif returns home wretchedly exhausted after some time, we understand that he has to face the consequences of his action:

ARİF: (Sitting takes off his jacket and throws it to the floor) I couldn’t go far away. They caught me at the top of our slope before I could take the corner... They put me into a car and took me somewhere... There were a lot of demented, terrible, old people there... A horrible view...! [...]27

As is seen in the quotation from the play, in that country if you are over sixty and if you try to leave your house breaking the law, you are caught by the officials and imprisoned into a place together with other old people and treated as if you were insane even if you are not. Despite appearing like a science-fiction that can take place at any time and any place and thus gaining universality, the play still has many implications of 1980 military coup with all these prohibitions. Yüksel summarizes this local-universal characteristic of the play as in the following:
More than one discussion take place in the same play. For instance, Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları discusses not only the transformation of the world into a ‘science-fictional’ environment by the 20th century civilization on the social-universal level, but also the oppression September 12 period created on Turkish society and the individuals and the eradication of the thousands of years of ‘nature’ by human hand.28

Although the author, in stage directions, expresses that the play takes place in somewhere like Moda in an Istanbul-like city and refrains from giving an exact place name or location, a watchful eye can still catch several clues scattered throughout the play about the concept of time and place implied in it.

Although the play takes 2002 as its time, it is possible to find many reflections of the 1980s in it including curfews, disappearance of books, a recently adapted life style with frozen food. Besides, it presents a gloomy picture of the future world which seems to be coming to the end with the extinction of living beings day by day.

**Economic reflections**

Baydur’s another play Kamyon (The Lorry), is completely devoted to the economic reflections of the 1980s in Turkey: consumerism and consumer society created due to an economic policy based on import and export; foreign (English/American) words imported together with the imported products; the gap between the big and small companies and between the rich and the poor; migrations from villages to big cities as a result of new economic system and thus the creation of the slums. In the play The Lorry the damaged lorry is a big symbol on its own indicating this corrupted order in Turkey in 1980s.

In this play Memet Baydur flirts with Samuel Beckett’s Waiting for Godot 29 both in respect to the situation of “waiting” and some characters and character names in the play, like the messenger boy and the repairman called “Angut” reminding the reader of Beckett’s “Godot”. Actually both the lorry driver in the play The Lorry and Vladimir and Estragon in Waiting for Godot are hoping and waiting for somebody, a savior-like figure to come and fix everything.

Though between the lines, does Baydur’s play give the summary of Özal’s “policy of liberal economy” depending on export and especially import and thus the consumer society getting used to every kind of imported products making their lives “more comfortable”, “more luxurious” and “easier” although it is at the expense of many debts and loans.

Just at the beginning of the The Lorry the author stresses in a stage direction that Necati, Recep, Abuze and Şaban, four characters of the play have been working in cities for years and living in the suburbs of the city (as Necati mentions later, NECATİ: Of course I am a townsman… Didn’t you like it? I have been living in the city for forty years. (Hesitates) Of course not in the centre of it... a little bit on the edge of it but... it’s Ok...city is city anyway!)30 and ironically mentions that they have almost preserved their characteristics as villagers31, as it is seen in the next parts of the play. These migrants from villages have to construct slums at the periphery of the big cities since they cannot afford to live in the central parts of them. This situation changes the structure of the cities, distorts them and becomes a big problem as time passes.

Apart from the four chests loaded to the lorry and filled with mechanic teddy bears, globes in different sizes, lifelines, flippers and goggles, the most striking example indicating the changing lifestyle in Turkey is the one where one of the characters Şaban eats chips with
coca cola even when he cannot pronounce their names properly: coca cola as kakala and chips as cıbıs. This event shows the effect of media and television advertisements on people to foster consumerism as is seen in a dialogue between Şaban and Necati: “NECATİ: (Gets off the lorry with difficulty) What do they say? ŞABAN: They say there is nothing like coca cola [Drinks]. NECATİ: Do you watch television? ŞABAN: Not all of them. I never miss the advertisements. […]” Similarly, each attempt of Zeynel and Zülfü, two men from a nearby village, to buy some of the stuff loaded on the lorry is another sign of consumer society. These two examples indicate a kind of economic and social transformation that is still unripe. This kind of life style does not seem to fit with the Turkish culture and people who are in between, leading a kind of double life both as a villager and a townsman, and at the same time desiring to eat and live like Americans.

Since most of these men migrated from their villages to cities because of economic problems long time ago, they try to adapt to the city life but without success. However, they cannot return to their own “selves”, and their roots either. Therefore, they are doomed to live in between, neither a villager nor a townsman, which is the beginning of an arabeque culture. Throughout the play Abuzer is the only person who gains awareness and refuses to continue such a life deciding to return to his hometown.

When Şaban reads an article on politics and economy talking about Robinson Crusoe in the newspaper and quotes that “[…] In the Medieval time everybody was in need of each other and the ones who made a profit were only a small part of everyone…” it directly reminds the reader capitalism and the rule of survival of the fittest which were adopted during the Özal government and dragged many small companies, which were unable to survive among the bigger ones, to disaster.

Thus, Baydur’s play Kamyon gives the portrayal of the economic transformation of Turkish society in 1980s depending especially on the “liberal economy system” based on import-export relations that Turgut Özal persisted to follow. This economic policy caused Turkey to meet a new life style including television, media, television advertisements, a new food and drink culture changing the structure of the society into a consumer society negatively. Because that consumerism lasted leaving a huge heap of debts and loans behind.

**Conclusion**

As there is an unbreakable bond between life and art or society and literature, it is inevitable for a literary work to carry the traces of the social, political and economic conditions of the period it was born in. Therefore, a literary work can be considered as a record book reflecting the history of a country or nation. Surely, this can’t be expected to give an exact reflection of everything, since it includes the standpoint of the author, his imagination and some originality. Yet a literary work might be quite useful for understanding the society it was moulded in. Therefore, three plays of Memet Baydur have been analysed in this study in order to trace the reflections of 1980 military coup and also the reflections of the Özal government in Turkish theatre. To summarize, one of the three plays Cumhuriyet Kızı has been analysed in relation to political traces of 1980s and has been said to focus on the problems of the academics who were cleared up from the universities having held responsible for the acts of leftist students. Yalnızlığın Oyuncakları has been claimed to reflect several social problems of the 1980s, such as introduction and integration of the American lifestyle to the daily life of Turkish people and the cruel practice of curfew on elderly people. Finally, Kamyon has been considered to draw a whole picture of the economy in 1980s, on its own, concentrating on issues of consumer society, debts and loans, the gap between the rich and the poor, migration, slums as a result of irregular
urbanization. As a result, Memet Baydur’s three plays handled and examined in this study, justify the notion that there is a strong link between society and the works that were created at a specific time in that society; and the political, social and economic conditions of the society affect and shape these works created by the writer.

**Note:** All translations in this article have been done by the author, Arzu Özyön.

**Notes**

2. See. Ahmet Turan, Darbe Arası Türkiye. 27 Mayıs-12 Eylül Anılar Gözlemler Tanımlıklar, 119.
3. Feroz Ahmad, Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu, 218.
4. Ibid.
5. See. Feroz Ahmad, p. 221. See also. George S. Harris, “Military Coups and Turkish Democracy, 1960-1980”, 211.
6. Feroz Ahmad, Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu, 224.
15. Ibid., 171.
16. Ibid., 179.
19. Ibid., 191.
20. The word for “ashurah” or “Noah’s pudding” in Turkish.
22. Ibid., 90-91.
23. Ibid., 91.
24. Ibid., 89.
25. Ibid., 104.
26. Ibid., 106.
27. Ibid., 108.
30. Memet Baydur, Kamyon, 352.
31. Ibid., 321.
32. Ibid., 326.
33. Pronounces it wrongly as kakala instead of “kola” in Turkish.
34. Pronounced wrongly as tilivozyon instead of “televizyon” in Turkish.
35. Baydur, Kamyon, 327.
36. Ibid., 336, 352.
37. Ibid., 357-358.
38. Ibid., 364.

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