CHAPTER IV - TRANSMISSONAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEDIATED PERFORMANCES AND ORAL FORMS OF FOLKLORE IN THE CULT OF ÇAKICI MEHMET EFE.

Among the representative elements of the cult of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe, transmissive relationships can be demonstrated as particularly important. These transmissive relationships will be investigated in this chapter in two parts. First, the general characteristics of the transmissive relationships between mediated performances and oral forms of folklore will be outlined. Second, these relationships will be analyzed.

I. General Outlines of the Transmissive Relationships Between Mediated Performances (Printed and Visual Media) and Oral Forms of Folklore in the Cult of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe.

Though an exploration and analysis of transmissive relationships between oral and mediated forms of folklore is the purpose of this work, it was equally important to explore these relationships within the context of the transmissions which occur not only from oral forms of folklore to the mediated performances but also between all the others—for it is clear that the cult of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe is itself an interrelationship inasmuch as transmissions occur in these connections: from oral forms of folklore (stories) to newspapers from newspapers to oral forms of
folklore (stories); from oral forms to popular literature (e.g., Zeynel Besim’s, M. Şertoğlu’s books); from popular literature back to oral forms of folklore (stories); from popular books to the movies; e.g., Faruk Kenç’s and Metin Erksan’s movies; from the movies to the oral forms of folklore (stories, folktale and traditional village theater); from oral forms (stories, folktale) to traditional village theater plays; from artifacts (pictures, the konak of Çakırçağa, postcards, statues, and company logos) to the oral forms of folklore (stories); from oral forms of folklore (folksongs and folkdances) to the mass mediated performances (television and radio); from the mass mediated performances (Çakıçı movies on television) to oral forms of folklore (stories).

It can be seen that these transmissional relationships do not restricted to two elements of the cult; indeed, at times these relationships continue as transmissional chains in particular elements of the cult of Çakıçı—for example, the story of Çakıçı’s protecting his name against a gang’s misuse of it while committing atrocities—or means of connections among titles for narratives: "the story of the yörük’s daughter" or "Çakıçı’s burning of nine Albanian Turks". The traditional village theater play which was shaped around that motif by Hasan Özdemir is an excellent example of the such a transmissional chain, from oral sources to popular books (Zeynel Besim Sun’s Çakıçı Efe
(Sun: 1934), to Faruk Kenç’s Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe (Kenç: 1950), and back to oral forms of folklore (Hasan Özdemir’s traditional village theater play).

The version of "the story of the yörük’s daughter" which was collected from Süleyman Yalçın also demonstrates such transmissional chains from oral forms of folklore to popular books to the movies, and back to oral forms of folklore (his version of the story), also: from oral forms of folklore to Sun’s Çakırcı Efe (popular book) to another popular book (Murat Sertoğlu’s Çakırcalı Mehmet Efe), and back to oral forms (his version of the story).

How can such transmissional relationships be explained? Perhaps the most telling aspect of this subject can be understood within the context of "intertextualality" which includes, among other aspects, larger scale elements such as genres of both mediated performances and oral forms, as well as smaller scale elements, such as individual versions of oral stories or motifs within stories in addition to the motivations lying behind the individual orientations toward the stories. Moreover, the Çakırcı cult itself as whole has interactions with other efe cults--and with the Köröğlu cult, for example--and interactions with other larger scale socio-cultural contextual elements and their socio-historical and geographical dimensions.

Whether on the level of the smallest scale such as a motif or the largest scale such as the whole Turkish socio-
cultural context, the interactions among the cult’s representative elements and between them and the other elements that interact each other take place in "the form of dialogue" (Bakhtin: 18:68 cited in Todorov: 1984: 44). As Bakhtin formulates verbal interactions:

"Verbal interaction is the fundamental reality of language. Dialogue, in the narrow sense of term, is but one form, albeit the most important to be sure, of verbal interaction. But dialogue can be understood in a broader sense, meaning by it not only direct and viva voce verbal communication between two persons, but also all verbal communication, whatever its form (12: 13, as cited in Todorov: 1984). It could be said that all verbal interaction takes place in the form of an exchange of utterances, that is, in the form of a dialogue" (Bakhtin: 18:68, cited in Tzvetan Todorov: 1984: 44).

Mikhail Bakhtin’s formulations on verbal interaction led to Julia Kristeva’s coining the term "intertextuality." The process of "intertextuality" is descriptively stated by Tzvetan Todorov:

"There is no utterance without relation to other utterances, and that is essential. The general theory of the utterance is, in Bakhtin’s eyes, but an unavoidable detour to get him to the study of this facet of the question. The term he uses to designate the relation of every utterance to other utterances is dialogism, but this key term is, as one could expect, loaded with such embarrassing multiplicity of meanings that I have preferred to proceed somewhat as I did earlier in transposing metalinguistics into translinguistics: I will therefore use, for the more inclusive meaning, the term intertextuality introduced by Julia Kristeva in her presentation of Bakhtin, setting aside the denomination dialogical for certain specific instances of intertextuality, such as an exchange of responses by two speakers, or
Bakhtin's conception of human personality" (Todorov: 1984: 60).

However, the term intertextuality since its coining by Julia Kristeva (Kristeva: 1969 has gained application mostly by literary critics, as stated by Linda Hutcheon:

"As a theoretical concept, intertextuality came to currency in late 1960's. Its most generally accepted definition is the relation of one literary text to other texts. In this broad sense intertextuality therefore encompasses allusion, parody, burlesque, travesty, pastiche, imitation and other forms of textual echoing with the important exceptions of influences, sources, or plagiarism. ... in all these types of intertextuality it is the productive and dynamic interaction of text and reader that is held to determine meaning" (Hutcheon: 1989).

These applications of the concept of intertextuality, as Richard Bauman points out, are not new for folklorists. As a characteristic of folklore material, folklorists have been aware of intertextuality for quite some time (Bauman: 1992). This intertextual character is clear either among the mediated performances or oral forms of folklore. Moreover, the transmissional relationship that takes place between the two is both one of the important reasons for, and result of, intertextuality among the representative elements of the cult.

Therefore, within the context of intertextuality transmissional relationships between oral forms of folklore and mediated performances will be investigated.

At the beginning of such an investigation, it is
reasonable to ask: What makes these transmissions possible?

In the following part of this thesis the answer to this question will be considered in accordance with formal, topical, socio-contextual, functional, contextual and semantic aspects which make such transmissions possible within the representative elements of the cult of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe.

A. FORMAL, TOPICAL AND SOCIO-CONTEXTUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSMISIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CULT:

Oral forms of folklore and mass printed media—as the earliest mediated performances have interacted—since the time that Çakıcı Mehmet was alive. Print media (newspapers) have unconsciously held a socio-psychoanalytically a priori function in the Turkish popular mind: "if it is printed it must be true." This subconscious attitude of "it must be true, I read it in the papers", and the popular hunger for news about Çakıcı undoubtedly influenced this interaction since newspapers published whatever came to hand from oral sources about Çakıcı while he was yet living. The underlying function of the news items would seem to be witnessed by the resignation of Said Pasha from his post as commander in chief of Ottoman army units, blaming the newspapers for his failure to capture Çakıcı (Köylü Gazetesi, February 10, 1910), and by the exhortation of his successor, Ali Pasha to the people "not to believe everything they read in the newspapers about Çakıcı Mehmet Efe" (Servet-i Fünun.
November 17, 1910).

Such manipulative interactions can be illustrated further because newspapers frequently published "fabricated news," followed by later retractions, and editorial admissions of the inaccuracy of previously published news items. The newspapers often published news that "Çakıcı was killed" or "wounded." News of this kind underlined the popular perception of Çakıcı as "undefeatable", possibly "immortal." As a result, many newspapers were incredulous upon the receiving the news of the actual death of Çakıcı, and they withheld the news of his death at least temporarily, in some cases.

However, though the newspapers undoubtedly played a role in shaping the form and content of oral stories, particularly in later days, it is difficult to establish the direct, shaping links.

Most of the stories presented in the news were published one by one. Occasionally more than one of them involved different events and places at the same time.

Within the printed word’s commonly perceived role of textual fixity, it is not strange that information about time and place was quite abundant in news items from the early period of the Çakıcı cult. By contrast, as can be noted from a perusal of this dissertation’s examples of oral stories, dates, and often, names of places are eliminated or lost by oral sources. In light of the same continuities.
Zeynel Besim Sun when writing his book, did not focus on dates, but the names of people and places which he encountered among his oral sources.

Interestingly, it can be speculated that a socio-cultural directive may have been partly responsible for the difficulties concerning dates: The Ottoman government used two calendar systems which the Turkish Republic subsequently banned upon its rise, taking up use of the western calendar. A day can thus be dated according to three different calendar systems: September (Eylül) 22, 1909; T eşrin-i evvel 17, 1325; or T eşrin-i evvel 5, 1909.

The non-chronological character of storytelling about Çakıç Sıvı Mehmet Efe continued in other printed and visual media which attempted to tell Çakıç’s entire life story. This is not wholly surprising, since Zeynel Besim Sun, author of the first book on the subject, turned to oral sources where time and place data had quite likely already been eliminated or lost. Such a continuation of displaced time and place dimensions quite naturally followed in other written works, such as those of Şertoğlu 1942–1943 Kemal (1956) and Asarcıklılı 1973. The only exception, from the Republican period, was Ömer Sami Coşar’s work which was primarily based upon telegrams sent from the French consulate in İzmir. Even in Coşar’s work, dates did not come from oral sources, but from the telegrams.

Oral storytellers tried to cover the entire life story
of Çakıcı Mehmet Efe by dividing it into three general parts: (1) an introduction, (2) his being an efe and adventurer, and (3) his death (Akkaş: 1991 and Tekerlekçıoğlu: 1991), that could have been an influence upon mediated performances.

Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories do not comprise a genre in the sense of "marchen" or "sacred myth narratives". Their texts are formally fluid, as is often the case with legends. The stories can be either mono-episodic or multi-episodic. The story told as mono-episode in one context can be told in a multi-episodic form in another context. Their action and functions make their transmissional relationships possible.

The actions presented in these stories are the most important elements of the oral forms of the cult, as well as of mediated performances. "Action", in this context of Çakıcı stories, has a meaning like that suggested by Todorov (Todorov: 1977: 119 "a particular action: a verb."

"Actions" are story kernels or titles of stories used by storytellers. They occur most frequently in two forms: as a full sentence which explains a given story or adventure: How Çakıcı’s father was killed by Hasan Çavuş; how Çakıcı took a blood revenge for his father; Çakıcı’s being a rebel against the state. The other form of story kernel or title appears as noun phrases which are usually related to place names where actions took place: The war (combat of Cevizalanı (Cevizalan Harbi); The war of Bayındır (Bayındır
Harbi or the yörük’s daughter. However, if a Çakıcı Mehmet story has lost these name- or action-reminders, it can be represented simply as "a story of Çakıcı Mehmet.

All the actions (adventures) of Çakıcı are not known; there is no complete collection of the events in Çakıcı’s life. This unbounded repertoire which exists among oral sources is fed by two other factors. Many Çakıcı stories remain a part of family folklore, while others have passed through the boundaries of family folklore to become part of larger circulations at local, regional and national levels.

Moreover, local, town, or regional versions are another source of stories which are not known at the national level. This aspect of the cult leads people to believe that no one knows all the Çakıcı stories. The open-ended aspect of this belief has an important function since it makes the creation and survival of multiple versions possible.

As can be seen regarding the Çakıcı cult, basic events in one form or another tend to fare better through most media, than do the time and place dimensions. By virtue of their more obvious and directly impactive nature, events (actions) serve well as socio-cultural points of reference; time and place serve as reminders and reference points of clarification, and therefore, of the veracity and believability of their accompanying events. It is natural in the printed media that time/place dimensions fare better.
than in the oral media. But basic event/action dimensions often survive in one form or another in the oral storytelling tradition also. As stated earlier, they are used as story kernels for the creation and potential survival of stories and all possible versions of a given story. But time/place dimensions are often lost or displaced, becoming more completely the servants of the individual memory, and of the individual socio-semantic needs of the moment when they do come into use. Within this construction, "socio-semantic" refers to the general meaning of an entire story within a given socio-cultural setting.

However, though oral storytellers often do not tell their stories in the chronological order of actual events, Çakıcı’s "first and second trips to the mountains" (dağa çıkışı) are used as a general outline and time order for the stories.

The displacement or loss of time factors within the body of oral stories is a fairly simple matter. However, though place names functioned as reminders for storytellers as reference points of clarification and for enhancement of believability, they were also subject to various other influences. Though place names were most frequently kept, many changes in them did occur. A large part of the explanation for this is related perhaps to socio-cultural changes in the Turkish nation. Many of these changes had political implications. The language use and concepts differ
between older and younger generations, in accord with nationalistic state policies about the Turkish language.

During the Ottoman regime, many words and concepts were borrowed from other languages, particularly Arabic and Persian. Beginning in 1911, continuing with the rise of the Republic, and continuing until the present, a nationalistic denial of former language culture increased, and a shift from borrowed words and concepts towards words based upon their old Turkish roots occurred. This ideology was circulated by the mass media and propagated by formal education. The gap between older and newer forms of language is so great that a present day high school student needs a dictionary to understand the national anthem.

With regard to the case at hand, the ability of a Çakıcı storyteller to use both the older and newer words and concepts yields knowledge which makes a story more accessible, understandable and, therefore, more believable. That such a semantic transformation is necessary is pointed up by the fact that since the time of Murat Sertoğlu (1942, 1943) mediated performances have been required to explain local terminology in their productions.

The various changes which occurred with the rise of the Republic had socio-semantic ramifications beyond the mere verbal syntax of the Çakıcı cult. An interesting cultural aspect of the changes concerns the "supernatural" perspectives within some of the earlier oral stories about
Çakıcı Though Zeynel Besim Sun collected stories from oral sources, he rejected those which regarded Çakıcı as an immortal saint. He selected stories according to his own perspectives of rationality which, simultaneously, were also apparent at a political level with the attempt of the Republic to step more completely into secular, scientifically-oriented, western-style industrialization. Islam and the religious nature of the Ottoman regime were viewed in the Republic’s ideology as the most important causes for Turkey’s status as an undeveloped and unindustrialized nation. In its drive toward secularization, religious education of any kind was forbidden between 1928 and 1949. Even tours to the most traditional holy shrines and other ritual practices were banned, while religious leaders came under strong state criticism.

Still, at the time of intense secularity there were plenty of legendary stories, particularly about Çakıcı’s supernatural powers of survival; as Sun himself wrote:

"In those years, there were such legends among the people which could give a person horror... for instance, according to one of them... Çakıcı met with Hızır (an ancient prophet who was supposed to be immortal, and who must have been either Elijah or St. George) and Hızır gave him a magic amulet (muska); for this reason, no bullet could kill him, and no sword could touch him. However, every one of his bullets by the help of God could easily find its target... These nonsensical and "ridiculous" oral stories circulated not only among the people, but also
among the police... Actually, they were fabrications of Çakıcı himself... he made up those stories, but by their circulating from mouth to mouth, they became accepted as truth in the peoples’ minds..." (Sun: 1934: 110).

Since he considered his work about the life of Çakıcı to be factual, Sun did not include any of these legends in his book, and later writers who used him as a source followed suit.

It is also interesting that I did not encounter any Çakıcı stories in my fieldwork which included tales of Çakıcı’s immortality of the kind mentioned by Zeynel Besim Sun. (My fieldwork, however, was limited to only the two western Anatolian cities of Ödemiş and Ayvalık and the villages around them.) It can be speculated that interactions between mediated performances and the general secular-oriented socio-cultural development in Turkey eliminated these aspects of the stories in the regions of Ödemiş and Ayvalık. The storytellers who have been quoted in this work, projected an attitude which displayed a rationalization regarding such legends: These stories are fabricated. Çakıcı had an amulet. There was a copy of the Koran inside the amulet. The amulet was covered by thick leather. For this reason, bullets could not pass through it; also, most bullets of the time were not machine made; they were handmade. Therefore, they were not very effective. And you know, zeybek costumes included a lot of strong leather
material. Sometimes those ineffective bullets couldn’t kill or injure a person. When such things happened to Çakıcı ignorant people believed such things. Never mind, such stories are fabrications *palavra*, (Çakırcalı: 1991 and Yalcıın:1991). It is useful, here, to note that to be a teller of "fabricated stories" (*palavracı*), is the least esteemed of storytellers within the Turkish rural tradition.

**B. FUNCTIONAL, CONTEXTUAL AND SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSMISSITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CULT**

The nature of oral forms, primarily stories, and the transmissional relationships between them and mediated performances, now will be outlined in accordance with the structure of their performing contexts and their functional and semantic characteristics.

It will be useful here in considering the tradition of western Anatolian storytelling and Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories to discuss the tradition of storytelling from Çakıcı’s general, geographical area of operations in Turkey, for one of the most outstanding aspects of everyday life in Turkish society is the widespread interest in, and it might be said, almost a reverence for, the tradition of storytelling throughout the populace, storytelling often takes place at coffeehouses as centers of social interaction. These traditional stories are almost the most common chain of
narration among the Turkish people. They are known at a national level; for example, in the tradition of the stories of Nasreddin Hoca or Bektaşi (a sufi subculture). Or it can be regionally restricted as in the case of efeler, or pehlivan (wrestling) stories. Stories can be told by anybody on any occasion in everyday life, though there are some special occasions: wrestling stories are likely to be told during traditional wrestling events or festivals, efe stories are most often told upon independence days which commemorate western Anatolia’s liberation from Greek occupation forces during the War of Independence (these independence days have been observed by local authorities since 1922).

The Çağcık Mehmet Efe stories are one sub-topic of a large canon of stories about efeler in general which are known as Efe Hikayeleri. However, as a result of the effect of mediated performances upon the subject and because of other cultural changes which have taken place in Turkey, they have gained preeminence as one of the most important representatives of the entire canon of efe tales among the Turkish populace.

In its entirety, traditional storytelling has aspects which vary from one region of Turkey to another: The tradition of story-telling by professional storytellers (ashiks), ”folk poets” or ”minstrels” which has been strong in eastern Turkey, and it has been revitalized in the
central part of the nation, and it has attracted much attention from Turkish folklore scholars such as Pertev Naili Boratav, İlhan Başgöz, Fikret Türkmen, Dursun Yıldırım, Umay Günay and others.

The western regions of Turkey have generally been neglected by Turkish folklorists because of a lack of epic traditions such as exist in the central and eastern portions of Turkey. Yet, it can be speculated that the regions where Çakıcı lived have a common storytelling tradition which perhaps has spread to, and been performed in the other regions. The western tradition may not be restricted to the western portions of Turkey. However, the western tradition is not "professional," and its body of stories are not comparable to stories and folktales presented by central and eastern ashiks. The western stories may be anecdotes which contain only one motif, or they may be much larger stories or narrative chains within which the storyteller can couple together more than one Çakıcı action or adventure together. Their form is completely flexible in the context within which these stories are told.

Nonetheless, despite this flexibility of the western tradition, it includes a larger form which, it might be said, applies to the tradition in general ways: first, it is important to consider the audience often, but not exclusively to, people locally called meraklılar, "curious" or "meticulous" amateur connoisseurs). Second, it is
important to consider the major purpose for telling and listening to stories, and the manner in which they are handled in discussions. There are debates about, and reference to highly regarded meraklılar who "decide" debates, and accumulate further knowledge. Third it is important to know the locations where the stories are told, such as coffeehouses and even certain sections of coffeehouse where given meraklılar gather. Further, some stories are more likely to be told upon certain occasions.

It will be useful to define the meraklılar, the tradition’s outstanding storytellers (Dègeh: 1988:166). To have a reputation as a meraklı of something means being first reference source about a top community. Meraklılar are people who, as a hobby, maintain a dedicated curiosity about, and interest in discussing, debating and gaining further knowledge about a topic within a particular realm of interest. They might be likened to the "aficinados" of bullfights in Spain, and they can be perhaps further delineated as amateur connoisseurs, or experts within the area of their particular interests. They may also be collectors of material items within a given area of interest, in the same way that an American antique collector might be styled an antique meraklı. Meraklılar of a storytelling tradition, therefore, are dedicated to an interest in telling, listening to, discussing, debating and learning more about stories within the tradition of their
particular interests. There are Turkish meraklılar of wrestling stories who are very knowledgeable about the topic; it is their pleasure and special pride to share and discuss, and debate this knowledge with others who share the same interest.

Meraklılar can, then, be classified as "speech communities" (Hymes: 1972: 53-55). Not only are there groups of meraklılar who are dedicated to an interest in a common topic, but also, often those within a given group who are a kind of specialist of certain aspects of the common topic of interest. Within a group of meraklılar of wrestling in general, there may also be meraklılar 'specialists' who are particularly interested in, and knowledgeable about kirkpinar (the oldest traditional wrestling festival and event in Turkish history). Moreover, a person can be a meraklı of more than one topic.

In addition, it is useful to emphasize that the western Anatolian storytelling tradition is not restricted to the meraklılar. Anybody can be a storyteller. Meraklılar simply are considered to be the most interested in and knowledgeable about their particular topics of interest. As will be discussed later, storytelling is also not restricted to coffeehouses; there are a wide variety of occasions and places where the western storytelling traditional may occur as a part of everyday life.

When a circle of meraklılar congregate, regardless of
location or occasion, the general topic of discussion may be anything--until "the topic" happens to arise which is more remarkable than everyday chit-chat by its form, content, and function. "Form", here, refers to the inner, as well as overall structural aspects of the group’s behavior; it is a common feature of storytelling behavior for the storyteller to begin his venture with "I am the only one who has true knowledge of this topic..." or by humiliating the other’s knowledge of the topic by saying, "What do you know about this?..." (Sen ne bilirsin?... or, "Sen ne anlarsın?...").

Within the context of the entire group’s behavior, the form of such storytelling is otherwise argumentative and debative, and serves personal needs in a kind of "game of intra-personal politics." In other words, it is a function of the tradition for the storyteller to gain acceptance and a degree of "power" from his peers by virtue of the acceptance of his stories as "true", or by virtue of his having a reputation as being "more knowledgeable."

Nonetheless, for the purposes of the "game" which is being played, it is often less important for a storyteller to present stories which are entirely factual or than it is to present a story in such a way that it can be accepted as such by his fellow meraklılar. As can seen from the oral story presented in this section, a storyteller can rely upon any resource: a storyteller can relate an oral story using material from a movie, which, in turn, was originally based
upon oral tradition. Within the context of the discussion at hand, it is through such interactions between oral media and mediated performances that the influences of intramedial transmissions can occur.

During these verbal "duels of meraklılar" sides can be taken upon disputable aspects of a given story, just about any resource can be referenced for the story teller to achieve acceptance as a "truthful teller", or "the true teller" of a given story. Real fights can occur over disputed points. Often, not all of a group of meraklılar takes sides, and upon most occasions, duels end in accordance with the opinion of the nonaligned. If that does not work, knowledgeable meraklı might be called in to render judgement. Nonetheless, sides rarely change their opinions; they simply continue to garner further information to use as weapons of argument in other debates on future occasions.

As noted earlier, the western Anatolian storytelling tradition is not restricted to particular locations, occasions or persons. However, coffeehouses have served as important places of traditional social interaction in Turkey over the years, and they have been the battleground for many a "duel of meraklılar." It is, in fact, common for a group of meraklılar to have their own coffeehouse, and the coffeehouse owner might, himself, be a meraklı belonging to a group who would gather at his establishment. It is also common for an owner to tolerate the gathering of a group at
his place of business, and it is common for owners to orient their coffeehouses around the interests of a given group of meraklılar. For instance, a coffeehouse might commonly be known as kuşçular kahvesi, (the coffeehouse of the people who are interested (meraklılar) in pet birds, such as pigeons). Sometimes meraklılar might gather in a certain section of a coffeehouse; such a section might become known as the hazineciler köşesi (the corner for the people who look for, or like to talk about buried and recovered treasures). Such designations depend upon the various groups' size or influence in the community. Nonetheless, these coffeehouses are open to the public, and function to serve not only groups of meraklılar.

Since anyone can be a traditional storyteller anytime and anywhere, if someone nearby overhears the storyteller, there might be a disagreement. A dispute might arise over aspects of the storyteller's rendition which might lead to reference to a meraklı more knowledgeable on the subject.

Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories are one genuine part of the communicative dynamic of everyday life in the region. As pointed out earlier, they comprise a sub-group of efe stories, though they are also the most powerful or representative sub-group of the efe stories to be found in the Turkish storytelling tradition.

Before drawing classifications, it will be useful to note that by the process of classification, the natural
interconnectedness of all stories will thereby be broken down. Any attempt to examine parts of the whole to determine their functions and meanings, the greater meaning—that of the parts combined into a whole—will be lost. This is a very important dimension that eventuates from the stories’ being "performed" as a normal part of every day life; in other words the functions and meanings that we will attempt to describe are interwoven with each other and their characteristics are easily interchangeable.

As part of the communicative institution, Çakıcı stories have two basic functional and semantic meanings along with their transformal sub-functions and meanings (Honko: 1985). These functions and meanings in general areas as common references with referential meaning; and as creators of intimacy among the populace with associational meanings.

Stories functioning as common reference with referential meanings include stories about Çakıcı Mehmet as a "true efe" which have traditionally been stored as standard references for almost all facets of everyday life. Being a "true efe" has conceptual applications to a person as being perfectly exemplary as "leaders, friends, fighter for the 'people' --and within a positive connotation of the idea-- "tough guys", as well as "wonderful elder brothers or ağabeyler in a kinship sense. In addition to his fame as an excellent marksman, Çakıcı also is a model of
intelligence and quickness which are other outstanding referential characteristics of the efe

By telling or referring to Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories, a person’s particular attitude or behavior is often criticized. This criticism takes the form of comparison—by either coupling similarities of a present situation with a particular Çakıcı story to create a positive conclusion and evaluation of the situation at hand, or by coupling dissimilarities of a present situation with Çakıcı’s behavior resulting in a negative conclusion and evaluation of the current situation. Çakıcı’s behavior is not changed by the application, but the meaning of each story changes from context to context. After telling how Çakıcı Mehmet ordered a wealthy person to build the mosque of Ekinciler in Ödemiş, and then mentioning the bridge of Adagide which Çakıcı built in the same manner, then telling another story about how Çakıcı did not harm the people who industrious and prosperous so long as they shared their wealth to help the poor, Recep Bilgin, during an interview, compared Çakıcı to present-day Turkish politicians using these stories as a social base of comparison and criticism:

"...Çakıcı was a man who was delivering social justice (sosyal adaletçi), my son. Çakıcı could buy all this city of Ödemiş with the money that he stole (soydugu) from the rich, but he served the people with that money...whatever the people needed. Çakıcı built a fountain, bridge, mosque, road...

"The people who lead us now (şimdikiler), as soon as they become just
members of parliament (milletvekili), if they can, they are going to rob all the world for themselves. They are buying apartments and yachts in America (the United States)" (Bilgin: 1991).

It is clear that Recep Bilgin judged the corrupt, larcenous, selfish behavior of the country’s present rulers by using Çakıcı stories as a reference for excellent governmental behavior; he compared the members of the Turkish parliament with Çakıcı, emphasizing that their motivations were not equal to those of a true efe by saying ...
as soon as they become just members of parliament

His comparison between the two extremes was based on "stealing" and "robbing", versus "leading" and "ruling" the people and the country: Çakıcı served the poor people with "that money", but "members of parliament are buying" luxurious things "in the United States for themselves"; they are not working for people; they are selfish

However, versions of the same Çakıcı stories which Recep Bilgin used as a standard of comparison, have been told in different contexts with different meanings. The story of the "bridge of Adagide" (Adagide Köprüsü) was once told in celebration of Çakıcı’s cleverness. By building the bridge, Çakıcı actually reaped great advantage when the police were chasing him while the river was in flood, and by using it was able to escape to another range of mountains (Telli: 1991). In another context, "the story of the bridge
of Adagide" celebrates Çakıcı’s strong social conscience by virtue of his building the bridge for the people at a time when not even the government was caring for its constituents in such ways (Kuran: 1991).

Çakıcı Mehmet Efe stories, with their associational meanings, function as creators of intimacy among the populace. Such creation of popular intimacy will later be outlined in a number of different contexts; for the present, it is useful to return to the subject of meraklılar which was discussed in detail earlier.

Within the framework of social intercourse of the meraklılar, Çakıcı stories function as an interactive glue to shape the behavior of these groups of meraklılar. Moreover, beyond the stories’ function as an interactive glue at the level of the meraklılar, any person, whether claiming to be, or having a reputation as being a meraklı can tell Çakıcı stories in any related context.

Further, the intimacy-creating function of telling Çakıcı stories can be divided into three categories of sub-function and meaning by exploring their pragmatic purposes in any given performance. However, again it will be useful to re-emphasize that classification of these functions and meanings is interwoven, and can easily change their characteristics under the influence of interactional effects in a performance. These pragmatic purposes, as sub-functions of intimacy-creation, and their meanings are Çakıcı stories
as a part of local oral history; Çakıcı stories are frequently told as a part of local oral history, functioning as creators of intimacy among those who relive the past of the region with its connection to the present.

Within this socially interactive context, the form of storytelling is more or less congregational. When stories are told by local elites (those with university degrees), or anyone accepted by others in the group as having superior knowledge on the subject, the form of storytelling, as a part of local history, more than likely takes the form of a monologue. If not, the storytelling event can easily evolve into an argumentative storytelling duel, as will be seen in the following section.

An example of interaction between the local elite and the people in regard to local history can be offered in the case of Behiç Galip Yavuz, a history teacher in the Ödemiş high school. He has published a few local history booklets. The publication of a book is not common for high school teachers in Turkey and he is an outstanding teacher. As a result Behiç Galip Yavuz has a superior status when he discusses Çakıcı Mehmet. His esteem is great even among the most widely accepted of local merakılılar, such as Salih Yalçın, also of Ödemiş. Because Behiç Galip Yavuz mixes h