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Research Article

THE CONCEPT OF TRADITION IN PERSONAL NARRATIVE TEXTS OF FOLKLORE ACCORDING TO RICHARD BAUMAN, SANDRA DOLBY AND KAHTERINE BRIGGS

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Abstract

This study evaluates the concept of tradition in personal narrative texts of folklore within the framework of the approaches of Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby and Katherine Briggs. The research reveals that the concept of tradition is not only a set of values transmitted from the past to the present, but also a dynamic phenomenon that is reshaped in individual narratives. In this context, personal narrative texts play a vital role in the transmission, reconstruction and transformation of traditions. Narrators reinterpret and update traditional elements through individual stories by combining them with their own life experiences. Thus, folklore emerges as both an individual and a social process. The works of Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby and Katherine Briggs provide an important framework for understanding the concept of tradition in both individual and social contexts. These approaches show that personal narratives play a central role in understanding the richness and continuity of folkloric elements. Therefore, paying more attention to personal narrative texts in folklore studies will contribute to a better understanding of the dynamic nature of the concept of tradition.

Keywords: Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby, Kahterine Briggs, personal narrative, tradition.

RICHARD BAUMAN, SANDRA DOLBY VE KAHTERINE BRIGGS'E GÖRE FOLKLORUN KİŞİSEL ANLATI METİNLERİNDE GELENEK KAVRAMI

Öz

Bu çalışmada folklorun kişisel anlatı metinlerinde gelenek kavramı Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby ve Katherine Briggs'in yaklaşımları çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Araştırma, gelenek kavramının yalnızca geçmişten günümüze aktarılan bir değerler bütünü olmadığını, aynı zamanda bireysel anlatılarda yeniden şekillenen dinamik bir olgu olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu bağlamda kişisel anlatı metinleri geleneklerin aktarılmasında, yeniden inşasında ve dönüştürülmesinde hayati bir rol oynamaktadır. Anlatıcılar, geleneksel unsurları kendi yaşam deneyimleriyle birleştirerek bireysel hikâyeler aracılığıyla yeniden yorumlar ve güncelleri. Böylece folklor, hem bireysel hem de toplumsal bir süreç olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby ve Katherine Briggs'in çalışmaları, gelenek kavramını hem bireysel hem de toplumsal bağlamlarda anlamak için önemli bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlar, kişisel anlatıların folklorik unsurların zenginliğini ve sürekliliğini anlamada merkezi bir rol oynadığını

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göstermektedir. Bu nedenle folklor çalışmalarında kişisel anlatı metinlerine daha fazla önem verilmesi, gelenek kavramının dinamik yapısının daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby, Kahterine Briggs, kişisel anlatı, gelenek.

Introduction

The approach of the discipline of folklore to the concept of tradition in personal narrative texts has been studied in depth by important researchers. In this context, the concept of tradition functions as a bridge between individual experiences and social values and plays a fundamental role in understanding the dynamic structure of folklore. In this work, we tried to understand and argue the three articles in which Richard Bauman (*Tradition, anthropology of*), Katherine Briggs (*Judges report*) and Sandra Dolby (*The personal narrative as folklore*) explain the place of the tradition concept in anthropology, the historical background of the contemporary use of the concept of tradition and some thoughts, which focus on the concept of tradition in this field. Furthermore, tradition in folkloric personal narratives is dynamic rather than static. While it preserves history and customs, it also evolves with each retelling, adapting to contemporary contexts while retaining its core essence. This adaptability ensures that cultural identity remains relevant and meaningful, allowing traditions to be both a reflection of the past and a living, breathing part of the present.

The aim of the study is to explain the function and applications of personal narrative texts based on oral tradition products in the light of the ideas of Bauman, Dolby and Briggs. Bauman's performance approach explains how traditional elements are reproduced through individual narratives. Dolby's emphasis on individuality shows the balance of tradition between social and individual identity. Briggs' mythological perspective reveals how traditional story motifs are reinterpreted in individual narratives. When these three approaches are evaluated together, it is understood that personal narratives are not only a carrier of tradition but also a dynamic field that transforms it.

In folklore studies, especially in European folklore studies, the dichotomy between the "savage" and the "modern" has often been used to express the tensions and transformations between traditional folk culture and modernization processes. In addition to this information, in our study, the dichotomy between the 'savage' and the 'modern' in folklore studies is being analyzed in the light of the representation of tradition in personal narrative texts. Moreover, the references and ideas of Herder, the Brothers Grimm, Tylor, and Frazer on this subject are being examined. Additionally, it is being emphasized that the idea has emerged that urbanizing and industrializing societies have been losing these traditions with modernization. However, an inductive conclusion has been reached regarding the belief that folk culture should be preserved in its pure, pre-modern form.

1. Tradition in the Context of Personal Narrative Texts

Personal narrative texts are a form of written expression in which individuals share their life experiences, thoughts, and emotions. These narratives can take different forms, such as autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, and personal letters. They serve multiple purposes: they allow individuals to reflect on and document their own lives, provide insights into historical and cultural contexts, and contribute to the collective memory of a society.

One of the most important factors shaping personal narratives is tradition. Tradition, in its broadest sense, refers to customs, beliefs, values, and practices that are passed down from generation to generation. It plays a crucial role in shaping not only an individual's worldview but also the way they construct and convey their stories. In personal narratives, tradition manifests itself in multiple ways, including language, themes, storytelling techniques, and cultural references.

Tradition influences the way people express themselves in personal narratives. The vocabulary, idioms, proverbs, and literary techniques used by an individual often reflect their cultural background. In many cultures, storytelling follows specific conventions that have been passed down through oral and written traditions. For example, in Turkish literature, a strong oral storytelling tradition influences written autobiographical works, incorporating elements such as anecdotal narration, poetic expressions, and figurative language. Personal narratives often explore themes that are deeply rooted in cultural and social traditions. These themes may include family values, societal roles, historical events, and personal struggles that align with the collective experiences of a community. For instance, memoirs written by individuals who have lived through significant historical events, such as wars or political transformations, often reflect the traditions, customs, and challenges of their time.

Tradition plays a fundamental role in shaping personal narrative texts. It influences not only the way stories are told but also the themes they explore and the cultural elements they preserve. Through personal narratives, individuals contribute to the collective memory of a society while simultaneously expressing their unique perspectives. By documenting personal experiences within a cultural and historical framework, these narratives bridge the past and the present, ensuring that traditions and cultural heritage continue to live on for future generations.

2. Representation of Tradition in Personal Narrative Texts

Personal narrative texts are literary forms in which individuals present their experiences, emotions, and life stories from their own perspectives. While these texts reflect the author's inner world, they also play a significant role in transmitting social memory, cultural heritage, and traditions. The representation of tradition is directly related to how individuals perceive and convey the cultural codes, values, and rituals they have acquired throughout their lives.

Tradition shapes social structures and cultural identities, influencing an individual's life. In personal narrative texts, tradition manifests itself in childhood memories, family structures, celebrations, rituals, and linguistic elements such as proverbs and idioms. Especially in autobiographical and memoir genres, retrospective accounts of personal experiences serve as crucial sources for understanding how traditions are practiced and how they evolve over time.

Traditional rituals play a vital role in individual lives and are frequently featured in narrative texts. These rituals include celebrations such as religious holidays, weddings, circumcision ceremonies, and mourning traditions. For example, in folklore studies, the concept of the family saga plays a crucial role in understanding how individuals and families construct their collective memory and transmit traditions across generations. Mody Boatright first introduced this concept in 1958, exploring how family stories and traditions contribute to social and cultural identity within a community (Boatright, 1958, p. 12-13).

According to Boatright, family sagas are not just narratives but also tools for shaping social identity. By turning past events into stories, family members define themselves as a

unified group within time and space, strengthening their sense of belonging (Boatright, 1958, p. 17). This process continues not only through oral storytelling but also through rituals, commemorations, and family traditions. In this context, family folklore is not limited to a single group's traditions but also includes the cultural interactions between different groups. Within American folklore studies, family narratives play a key role in preserving and reshaping traditions in the face of modernization. Folklorists increasingly examine how traditional family narratives evolve in modern society (Boatright, 1958, p. 21).

Boatright's research highlights the importance of family narratives in preserving cultural memory. While modernization transforms certain traditions, family sagas continue to reinforce social identity and cultural continuity across generations (Boatright, 1958, p. 30).

In this context, personal narrative texts serve as essential tools for understanding an individual's past and cultural roots. Tradition is represented through various elements, including family structures, daily life, rituals, and linguistic expressions. Moreover, personal narratives offer valuable insights into the relationship between individuals and traditions, particularly in the context of modernization and cultural transformation.

3. The Dichotomy between "Wild" and "Modern" in Folklore Studies

In folklore studies, especially in European folklore studies, the dichotomy between the "wild" and the "modern" is often used to express the tensions and transformations between traditional folk culture and modernization processes. This dichotomy became particularly prominent in Western-centric academic and cultural discourses during the 19th and 20th centuries. This dichotomy is based on the progressive understanding of history that emerged with the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. According to this perspective, humanity progresses through simple, primitive "wild" stages to reach a more advanced "modern" level of civilization. Particularly in the 19th century, anthropologists viewed folk culture and traditions as remnants of pre-modern societies. Anthropologists such as Edward Burnett Tylor and James George Frazer classified folk beliefs and rituals as forms of primitive religion and magic.

In his work *Primitive Culture* (2012), Tylor defined culture as the cumulative system of knowledge and beliefs within a society and introduced the concept of animism. According to him, primitive humans explained nature and the events around them through the influence of spirits and supernatural forces. Tylor argued that human thought followed an evolutionary process, with primitive belief systems gradually evolving into scientific thought. In this context, his understanding of dichotomy is reflected in the distinction between the supernatural and rational thought. While primitive societies perceived the spiritual and physical worlds as a unified whole, modern societies increasingly separated these two domains (Tylor, 2012, p. 71-74).

Sir James George Frazer, in his work *The Golden Bough* (2009), proposed that magic, religion, and science developed in an evolutionary sequence. According to Frazer, human thought has progressed through three stages: magic, religion, and science. During the stage of magical thinking, people believed they could control natural events through rituals; in the religious stage, they sought order by worshiping supernatural forces; and finally, in the scientific stage, they accepted rational explanations for phenomena. Frazer's understanding of dichotomy stems from this perspective he argued that human thought continuously evolves

through a tension between magic and science, the irrational and the rational (Frazer, 2009, p. 571-579).

The views of these two thinkers are significant in understanding how dichotomies such as traditional versus modern, supernatural versus rational, and spiritual versus physical have shaped human thought throughout history. Tylor's evolutionary understanding of culture and Frazer's magic-religion-science sequence contributed significantly to modern anthropology and the study of the history of religions by suggesting that human cognition develops within a framework of binary oppositions.

Romantic nationalism, particularly in the 19th century, heightened academic interest in folk culture. Researchers such as Herder and the Brothers Grimm sought to uncover a nation's unique identity through folk tales, myths, and legends. However, in this process, folklore studies often defined the "authentic" as rural, unchanged, and "wild." With modernization, the idea emerged that urbanizing and industrializing societies were losing these traditions, leading to the belief that folk culture needed to be preserved in its pure, pre-modern form.

4. Wild Culture According to Herder and the Brothers Grimm

The concept of "wild culture" has been explored by many scholars, but two of the most influential figures in shaping its understanding are Johann Gottfried Herder and the Brothers Grimm. Both emphasized the significance of folk traditions, oral narratives, and the cultural identity of communities, yet their approaches differed in certain aspects.

To summarize Herder's views on folk culture, particularly oral traditions, was an authentic expression of a nation's soul (Volksgeist). He saw "wild culture" as a natural and organic form of human expression that was not corrupted by modernity or external influences. In his view, myths, legends, and folklore carried the collective wisdom and values of a community, providing insight into the human condition. Unlike Enlightenment thinkers who often viewed "wild" or "primitive" cultures as inferior, Herder celebrated their richness and diversity. Herder rejected the Enlightenment notion that societies must follow a single linear path toward progress, from "primitive" to "civilized" stages. Instead, he proposed that every culture has intrinsic value, shaped by its environment, traditions, and historical experiences. The term "wild culture" (or Naturvölker, meaning "natural peoples") in Herder's philosophy does not imply savagery or inferiority but rather refers to societies that develop organically without external influences imposing artificial structures upon them (Herder, 2002, p. 290-294).

According to Herder, wild culture was not something to be tamed or eradicated but rather preserved and appreciated. He strongly opposed the idea of imposing a universal cultural standard and instead advocated for cultural relativism, recognizing the intrinsic value of all traditions (Herder, 2002, p. 312).

The forest, a recurring motif in Grimms tales, embodies both danger and transformation. It is a liminal space where characters face trials, meet magical beings, and undergo personal growth. In Hansel and Gretel, the children are abandoned in the woods, reflecting the wild, unpredictable nature of survival outside societal norms. Similarly, Little Red Riding Hood (Rotkäppchen) portrays the forest as a place where innocence encounters the untamed, represented by the wolf. Wild culture in Grimms' tales often includes anthropomorphic animals and supernatural creatures that blur the lines between the natural and the mystical. In The Six

Swans (Die sechs Schwäne), the transformation of the brothers into birds suggests a deep connection between humanity and nature. The Frog King (Der Froschkönig) illustrates the magical potential hidden in wild creatures, emphasizing nature's unpredictability (Grimm, J., & Grimm, W., 1857, p. 79- 87).

5. Richard Bauman's Perspective on Traditional Society and Authority

In his article he mentions that in 17th and 18th centuries anthropological interest in tradition relies on epistemic challenges of the empiricism of Enlightenment. According to Bauman, the source of constructing tradition against modern is in the philosophy of Enlightenment. Emphasizing the rational empiric knowledge, the philosophers of Enlightenment reject traditional authority, which is assumed that prevents independent thought. The progression ideology of this period considers the ways of thinking and acting of the past as the remnants, which are maintained until today without criticizing, and challenges them. Enlightenment project asserts that these irrational remnants of old traditions can be eliminated by profound historical research (Bauman, 2001, p. 15821-15822).

During this period, it was observed that both reformists and antiquarians believed that relics and superstitions should be erased from modern life by the people through "tradition," "custom," and "hearsay." In this sense, certain segments of society, particularly rural people, the uneducated, the elderly, and women, were regarded as the "crude" classes that perpetuated the mistakes of the past.

As Bauman mentions, this is a sociologically important point. Enlightenment project is based on such dual oppositions as I and the other, rational and irrational, modern and traditional. In these dual oppositions the later ones are established as the inferior ones in the hierarchical array. Tradition is considered as the opposite of modern, and the particular groups, people who are the bearers of this tradition, are considered as "others" in contemporary society (Bauman, 1992, p. 117).

Referring to the second part, enlightenment is a period when human-subject's trust to its own intelligence has reached the peak. Moreover, the "scientific knowledge" which the reasonable subject has reached through experiment, is accepted as the only real knowledge and as truth. This understanding refers to society as follows: With universal laws, which have been found through science, a reasonable order can be established in society. The history of humanity is nothing else than a process of progress. In this process of progress, Modernity project marks the other societies, which are excluded from the "West" as underdeveloped, and dependent not on reason but on tradition. And these societies are expected to progress by following the western model. Thus, enlightenment project excludes both the societies that are out of the West and all the knowledge that these societies have.

Bauman argued that until the second half of the 19th century, many approaches explained social and cultural developments through categorical schemes based on evolutionary stages. A category of "traditional society" was formed in these approaches; traditional society was marked as conservative, unrealistic, irrational and submitted to traditional authority. According to Bauman, this approach has been maintained even until today. Thus, lack of an analytic frame, which would do research on the empirical cases, makes the explanation of the dynamics of tradition in modern society difficult (Bauman, 2001, p. 15825). So, the role of traditional dynamics in sustaining domination politics could not be understood. In these terms, it

can be seen that to consider tradition in such a dichotomy is problematic in various aspects. For example, it would be impossible to discuss the phenomenon of tradition in another context except "modernity". Furthermore, in the tradition fiction of modernity, tradition is seen as an unchanging, death category and objectified. The contextual, conjunctional dimension of tradition is neglected (Bauman, 2001, p. 15826).

Bauman points out the lines of thought that research "the social organization of tradition" and their problematic dimensions. For example, while researching this, a view uses a typological model that assumes traditional society as homogeneous and undifferentiated and assumes that tradition is shared collectively in the community. But, according to Bauman, different actors and different roles must be defined in institutional and situational contexts. For example, in terms of cultivation, formulation or communication, the roles of ritual specialists, elders and reciters are different (Bauman, 1992, p. 121-122).

According to Bauman, the research of "the social organization of tradition" overlaps with the research of the processes of socialization and enculturation where knowledge and behavior models are acquired within. So, as the cultural specialists do not consider the ethnographic method as a basic data resource, studying the social organization of tradition would be insufficient and incomplete (Bauman, 1992, p. 123).

Another point that Bauman problematizes, the relation between tradition and creativity. According to him this is another kind of tradition and modernity opposition. Traditional art is either considered as "primitive" or as inherently conservative as in Herderian notion. The point he emphasizes here is the interest in the interaction between individual artist/performer and tradition-creativity, which occured in anthropology after 1960s. To study and evaluate the material art, successes of individual artists, situated practices of artistic production brought about the re-evaluation of tradition-creativity relation. Bauman asserts that, after that, creativity would include not only the innovations, but also the use of traditional forms in new methods. At the same time the developments in the study of verbal art to consider performance as a communication practice have underlined this issue. On the one hand, performance provides a traditional oriented framework for the production and interpretation of discourse, on the other hand the emergent, creative dimensions of performance are studied. And this leads to comprehending the relation of tradition-creativity in a different way (Bauman, 2001, p. 15825-15827).

6. Tradition in Personal Narrative Texts of Folklore According to Katherine Briggs

Kahterine Briggs explained that folklore texts, namely oral tradition products, provide information about the lifestyle, political and social views of the society and stated that authority and contemporary discourses create a serious contrast in personal narrative texts. This situation affects the content of subjective narratives and prevents the formation of original folk narratives even in performance-based texts (Briggs, 1996, p. 119). Another issue emphasized in the article is that tradition and authenticity notions are being used for a ground for any kind of nationalism. Defining a particular, meaningful past, particular groups, communities and nations constitute authenticity (Briggs, 1996, p. 123).

Bauman argues: "What are the foundations of a viable polity? A legitimate authority? A national culture? What are the bases of inequality? Who is authorized to intervene in the

management of these formations?" (Bauman, 2001, p. 15823). Asking these questions, Bauman points out that anthropology should realize its own subjectivity while searching its central study case, "traditional peoples".

Also, Briggs investigates tradition, focusing on authoritative discourse. He inquires, "how discursive authority is constructed in invention of tradition". Briggs argues some of the practices taking up role in creating and legitimating in discourses that "invent traditions". He studies the political-economical positions of these activities, subjective positions of the ones who invent tradition and control their re-presentation in text and performances. Thus, he focuses on "meta discursive practices" and compares the meta discursive techniques which different subjects use in "traditional" and "contemporary" discourses. He studies both the "inventors of traditions" and scholars of "invention". He concerns the operation of social power in this process. According to him, the practices within the process can be the same or different but it is clear that this process continues in cultural political field through real contestations. In reaching to different meta discursive practices, there are differences between subjects because of political-economical restrictions. Thus, some subjects are privileged in terms of inventing cultural forms and possessing discursive authority (Briggs, 1996, p. 123-124).

Kahterine Briggs, critically examines, first the literature related to "invention of tradition" by several scholars, anthropologists, sociologists, folklorists etc. A group of scholars in his examination argues that "traditions are created in the present, thus reflecting contestations of interest more than cultural essence of a traditional group. Affirming authenticity of traditions, or their distinctiveness from other cultural forms. This group of scholars may be called nationalist (Briggs, 2009, p. 435).

As an example of the view of this approach, he refers to a discussion related to the origin of the Mother Earth among the native Americans. Sam Gill, a historian of religion argues that:" The notion of Mother Earth as native American Goddess has been created to meet various needs of Americans of European ancestry." A number of native American Indian scholars were very critical of that claim, because this view "supports a range of social, economic, and political relationship, very likely oppressive" (Briggs, 2009, p. 436). Thus this imposes the power of superior, white American into the native culture. This is "cultural imperialism "to the native scholars. The author forwards the opinion of Keesing to support that the invention of such cultural traditions works: "seek to promote the Western domination, and used to cover up the real battle lines of class and interest" (Briggs, 2009, p. 437). The native American scholars argue that the invention of traditions is a part of their native experience.

In order to gain a better sense of these issues, Briggs undertook a field work in Venezuella which took ten years and examined some cultural representations, folk dances, musical performances and rituals. He selected Ms. Medina and Ramon Gomez two natives, and the organizers of such cultural activities to examine the invention of tradition within the native culture. Ms. Medina claims that her knowledge of these native activities derives from her parents and the observations of such dances and musical activities in various places, and the publications of scholars. Ramon Gomez, a community organizer, advocate of the political rights of the native group is better familiar of the native culture and the government burocracy. Participating several performances organized by these two native individuals, interviewing them intensively Katherine Briggs forms his opinion of the invention of tradition from a different angle (Briggs, 2009, p. 428).

Two concepts, discursive, or metadiscursive practices and the politics of inventing culture have basic importance in understanding that invention. To him the politics of inventing the tradition covers a wide range in the social and political life of the promoter of the native culture. Reference to the distance past, the interactions of past culture and the modern life which threatens the survival of culture, the claim of historicity and authenticity of the native culture, the relationship of the group with the policy of dominant culture, all play an interacting role in the invention of traditions (Briggs, 2009, p. 419).

Although a comprehensive understanding of the concept of "meta-discursive authority" in this study has not yet been fully established, as discussed in Briggs' article, the concept is further clarified throughout the text. To enhance comprehension, various dictionaries were consulted. However, a clearer understanding of the term emerged through a detailed analysis of the article itself.

Individuals engage in the documentation of a diverse range of representational practices, including dance choreography, musical styles, introductory remarks in urban performances, indigenous perspectives on rituals, and academic interpretations of cultural performances. These elements are classified as "meta-discursive practices focused on intertextuality." If the representation of tradition consists of discourses that refer to other discourses, encompassing narratives of tradition, critiques, comparisons, and deconstructions, these create intertextual relationships between various discursive forms (Briggs, 2009, p. 451).

Such discourses can be distinguished based on temporal, geographical, and cultural contexts, among other factors. However, intertextuality remains a continuous process, reinforcing connections across different discursive traditions. It can be inferred that the author refers to these intricate relationships collectively as 'metadiscursive'. According to Briggs, perceiving culture through a meta-discursive lens leads to the formation of "meta-discursive authority", a crucial concept in the discussion of the construction or invention of traditions. This theoretical framework highlights the role of discursive practices in shaping perceptions of authenticity and legitimacy within cultural expressions (Briggs, 2009, p. 457-459).

Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA), one of the important studies on intertextual and metadiscursive practices, is an approach to how metadiscursive practices focused on intertextuality, one of the concepts developed by technology, circulate and produce between texts and contexts. Fairclough argues that texts and narratives are not only the result of an individual production, but rather a combination of elements that are flawed and reshaped in different ways. Fairclough's concepts of intertextuality and metadiscursive practices are used to understand how discourse is constructed and reproduced as a social process (Fairclough, N., 1993, p. 47-49).

Metadiscursive practices focused on intertextuality are analyzed in different areas such as media discourse, political discourse, institutional discourse. For example, a politician's quotation from academic research or religious texts in his speech is an intertextual strategy used to legitimize the discourse. Similarly, the reproduction of neoliberal economic discourse as a natural form of discourse in everyday media news can be given as an example of metadiscursive practices (Fairclough, N., 1993, p. 51).

In addition to Fairclough's views above, if we were to make a conclusion on the subject, Fairclough's approach focuses not only on the linguistic analysis of texts but also on how they

function within the social context. Metadiscursive practices focused on intertextuality help to understand how discourse is shaped, transformed and assumes certain ideological functions. In this context, the systematic examination of intertextual and metadiscursive practices in discourse analysis reveals how discourse reinforces or transforms social structures.

Katherine Briggs intertextually focused metadiscursive practices are discursive strategies that are addressed within the framework of the relationships that texts establish with each other. These practices are used to examine how narrative interacts not only within itself but also with other texts, narratives, and cultural contexts (Briggs, 2009, p. 459-462).

Briggs argues that narratives interact directly or indirectly with other narratives, that meaning does not remain fixed in this process, and that each new interpretation expands the world of meaning of the narrative. In this context, metadiscursive practices are methods that examine how narrative is reproduced and given meaning through intertextual connections rather than its internal dynamics. These metadiscursive practices help us understand how texts are shaped and changed not only by their own internal dynamics but also by their cultural and historical contexts. These complex relationships that texts establish with each other enrich the world of meaning in the narrative and offer different perspectives to readers (Briggs, 2009, p. 463).

To the author, the discursive authority is created by the techniques of shaping the distance created by intertextual links and gaps. These techniques play an important role in determining how discursive authority is constructed in invention of traditions (Briggs, 2009, p. 441).

Briggs applies his finding to the discussions related to the invention of traditions by native scholars and scholars who form their view studying the tradition from archives, libraries, past and present publications. Briggs believes that the native scholars objects the finding of anthropologist and sociologists because they undercut the discursive authority of native scholars of subcultures and sees their view a Western hegemonic control over the native culture. On the other hand anthropology and sociology scholars believe that they have such authority of creating or inventing the traditions because they are in a position of scholarly investigation of all sources concerning traditions.

The author does not clearly support either view. But just says "the politics of the invention" literature must be analyzed primarily not in terms of the epistemological value of opposing academic positions but in terms of the broad range of metadiscurcive practices that constitute it, as well as those used by indigenous scholars and activities and by institutional authorities" (Gill, 1987, p. 463).

Following this line of thought, I think that we con not mention absolute knowledge of social reality but we can do the interpretation of social reality from one position of subject. In this sense, human scientists should not control on the representation of "traditional" people, on the contrary they should try to understand them and their representation mechanism.

7. According to Sandra Dolby the Personal Narrative as Folklore

Sandra Dolby explained the conceptual and functional definition of folklore in her article "The personal narrative as folklore" published in 1977. Dolby quotes Francis Lee Utley, who recognizes the tradition as an essential element of the definition of folklore. Then she

quotes Dan Ben-Amos who challenges those who accept tradition as a criterion in the definition of folklore. To him, tradition is not a cultural fact but an analytical construct in the definition of folklore. Dolby objects to that assumption and believes that the interplay between tradition and innovation is "the most exciting aspect of folklore research" (Dolby, 1977, p. 31).

Dolby, referring to H.G. Barnett and Henry Glassie, explains and analyzes the relationship of traditional and innovative in the following way: If a thought, a behavior or thing is qualitatively different from existing forms, it is innovative, not traditional. However, all innovations have antecedent parts. That is some parts of innovation existed earlier. This means tradition plays a part in innovation. On the other hand, as Barnett says: "Everything is innovation because two things are not exactly alike. And innovation may become traditional by repetition. Today's innovation may be tomorrow's tradition" (Cited by Dolby, 1977, p. 27).

Dolby, continues to explain her own view: To her "significant innovation is relatively rare. The major part (bulk) of any communicative act will be traditional. Tradition in this instance, refers to all aspects of the act (The performer's competence, the actual performance, the reaction of the audience, content and stylization of the text). From that point of view personal narrative is more traditional than innovative. (Traditional definition of tradition is recurrent items of content passed on orally from one person to another.) Seeing the traditional aspects of personal narrative will require a looking at tradition as a function of continuing time (past, present, and future, not simply past) (Dolby, 1977, p. 29-30).

An example: Henry Glassie investigates a seemingly nontraditional song, Take That Night Train to Seelma "composed by Dorrance Weir. However, the reliance of that song upon traditions, concept that guide the actual performance, and reaction to the song may be considered as folk song. In that song, certain elements in personal narratives reveal a high level of equivalency with analogous elements in various models." (Glassie, 1968, p. 39). We could say that some elements become increasingly traditional the first time the story is told. Other elements become increasingly traditional as the story is repeated by the teller, and still others may become traditional if the story is adopted as a whole item by another teller and circulated in oral tradition.

Dolby examines critically the performance concepts and understandings of Roger Abrahams, Henry Glassie, Robert Goerges, and Richard Bauman, Lauri Honko, John Mc Dowel. Then she formulates her own view of personal narrative continually referring to some aspects of the above-mentioned performance studies.

According to Dolby "a personal narrative by conventional standard, would be considered a new story rather than the old one. The personal narrative does not involve a traditional resource of "class tale type" or traditional plot. But the performance will involve a number of other traditional aspects such as traditional structure, use, attitudes and idioms. The newness and oldness of the story is a relative matter then, dependent upon the degree of traditionality exhibited by the totality of performance. The plot of any personal narrative is however, nontraditional by definition. Nevertheless, the plot of personal narrative is not entirely "new" even though it is based on an experience that is seemingly personal and developed a story that is seemingly idiosyncratic (Dolby, 1977, p. 27). There are certain aspects of personal narratives performances that will be characteristically traditional. To see old components that are used in the performance of a personal narrative, we should examine the meaning of tradition

as used in traditional plot. Traditional has two interrelated aspects; the first is continuity as opposed to change, and the second is collectivity as opposed to individuality. Why would a teller choose to tell a story based on a personal experience rather than one that relates to a traditional plot. The fact is that the teller may not see the two kinds of stories as opposite but rather as alternates in a single functional slot. The experience related in a personal narrative is not exactly like the plot of any traditional story but its formation into a story plot could and probably does depend upon a model for plot resource as contained in traditional narrative.

Sandra K. Dolby, in her works, explores how personal narratives serve as a crucial aspect of folklore. She emphasizes that these narratives are more than just individual stories; they function as a means of cultural expression, conveying shared values, beliefs, and experiences. Dolby argues that personal narratives, though rooted in individual experiences, are shaped by and contribute to the larger cultural context in which they are told. Through her analysis, Dolby illustrates how such narratives often follow recognizable patterns and employ specific rhetorical strategies that make them relatable and meaningful to others (Dolby, 1977, p. 29). These stories are not merely self-referential but are deeply intertwined with communal knowledge and traditions. They offer insight into how people make sense of their lives and their social worlds, providing a bridge between the personal and the collective works.

Moreover, Dolby highlights the performative aspect of personal narratives, where the act of telling the story is as important as the content itself. The teller adapts the narrative to the audience, crafting it to elicit emotional responses, convey lessons, or foster a sense of connection. In this way, personal narratives serve as a dynamic and interactive form of folklore, continually evolving as they are shared and reshaped over time. By examining personal narratives through the lens of folklore, Dolby sheds light on their significance as tools for understanding human experience, identity, and culture. They are, in essence, a mirror reflecting both the individual storyteller and the broader society to which they belong (Dolby, 1977, p. 29).

The actual telling of a personal narrative would represent the use of a model abstracted from examples of traditional plots. We might say that given traditional plot as an item, there has been a change in tradition or a decrease in the degree of continuity; the basic theme and structure are retained while character and situation are changed. This change is considered as creativity existing within traditional guidelines.

The second aspect of tradition, that is collectivity, would seem to be entirely absent from the personal narrative. A personal narrative is after all made up and told by one person only. But if we consider again the performance resources used by the teller, we will see that even content resources used in personal narrative performances are to some degree collective as well as individual. Neither experience nor experience story can ever be entirely individual. "Individuality is always a function of the generality of some components of the relevant code system" (Parsons cited by Dolby, 1977, p. 29-30).

As folkloric performance, the personal narrative is more traditional than innovative. It relies upon some individual resources, but most of these are influenced to some degree by collective models.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

Studies by Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby and Katherine Briggs, which address the concept of tradition and approaches to the concept in personal narrative texts in the discipline of folklore, it is seen that the concept should be comprehended by thinking it in a social context. The people who invent traditions and adopt them are social entities that have economical, political and social power relations between them. The normative characteristic of tradition has an important role in the relations of people who have different social, economical and political positions. And because of this characteristic mostly it serves to the legitimating of the power. But all the classes and layers of society refer to tradition in order to negotiate their positions. Also, folklore studies provide an important framework for understanding how individuals reproduce and transform traditional knowledge through narrative texts. Richard Bauman argues that folkloric narratives both reproduce social norms and express individual creativity in the context of performance. According to him, personal narratives enable the transmission of traditional motifs and symbols by blending them with individual experiences.

Sandra Dolby, on the other hand, states that personal narratives focus on the subjective dimension of folklore and that individuals both establish their identities and strengthen their sense of belonging to their communities through their narratives. Dolby's approach reveals that personal stories are not only an individual expression but also a tool through which cultural values and norms are reflected.

Katherine Briggs, on the other hand, addresses the concept of tradition more through fairy tales and myths. According to her, traditional elements of folklore can gain contemporary meanings by being reshaped in personal narratives. Briggs emphasizes that this process is not only an individual but also a social restructuring.

What the three researchers have in common is that they argue that traditions can both be preserved and changed through personal narratives. Tradition, in this context, is not just a reflection of the past, but also a dynamic process that is reshaped by the active contribution of individuals. The approaches of Richard Bauman, Sandra Dolby and Katherine Briggs treat the concept of tradition in personal narratives of folklore as not only a static heritage but also a dynamic phenomenon that is reshaped through the creativity of individuals and social interaction. This shows that traditions do not only reflect the past but are constantly reproduced and transformed through the narratives of individuals.

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