# An Analysis of "Meme Haylay Haylay and His Turquoise" using Joseph Campbell's Model of the Hero's Journey 

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At a cursory glance, the Bhutanese folktale "Meme Haylay Haylay and His Turquoise" ${ }^{1}$ might be sidelined as a simple wisdom (or idiotic) tale unworthy of in-depth investigation and analysis. A closer look, however, reveals how much the tale reflects the very psyche of Bhutan. It is only as the story is considered in light of its symbolic meaning that Campbell's 'hero's journey' framework becomes evident and allows for a fuller understanding and appreciation of the tale. In brief, the story is about a poor old man who goes to his fields and uncovers a valuable turquoise stone. On the way home, he trades the stone for a horse, the horse for an ox, the ox for a sheep, the sheep for a goat, the goat for a rooster, and the rooster for a song. He continued home feeling the happiest, richest and most successful businessman in the world.

This analysis of the tale will look at it from multiple vantage points: (a) the folktale itself; (b) the symbolism found within the tale; (c) a rendering of the story in light of its symbolism; (d) the folktale and its symbols through the structure of Joseph Campbell's 'hero's journey'; (e) a comparison of the tale with other stories of a similar type and motif; and (f) the application of the folktale and implications to its cultural setting from which it came.

## Symbols in "Meme Haylay Haylay"

One of the first questions to be asked concerning this tale is if

[^0]there is any significance to its title and the name of its principle character.

Meme in my dialect actually means grandfather while in Dzongkha grandpa is known as agay. 'Haylay Haylay' I think it is just a name like Johnny Johnson or Peter Kinney. Actually, if I am not mistaken, the name is supposed to be "Meme Khelay Khelay", which means limping grandpa. My grandmother used to tell me this story and she told me that grandfather in the story was actually lame. So he was known by the way he walked...limping...limping. That's my version. ${ }^{2}$

Next, consideration was given to anything else in the story that might have symbolic significance. There was no picking and choosing of symbols to fit personal biases and the same source was used for all. Primary symbolic meanings were identified and applied, with secondary symbolism used to infer possible but significant variations in interpretation.

Figures 1 and 2 below indicate the primary and secondary symbolic meanings found in Jobes' volumes on symbolism and applied to the "Meme Haylay Haylay" story.

Figure 1: Primary Symbolic Meanings in the Story
Old Man: happiness in a family
Lameness: ineffectiveness
Field: sphere of action or opportunity
Turquoise: wealth
Road: happiness
Horse: success, wealth
$\mathbf{O x}$ : abundance, quiet happiness
Sheep: good omen
Goat: fertility, agility
Rooster (Cock): success
Song: joy, happiness
Source: Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols by G. Jobes

[^1]Figure 2: Secondary Symbolic Meanings in the Story
Old Man: an unproductive state
Lameness: mark of a sacred king
Field: fertility, freedom, lack of restraint; [but is also be symbolic of death]
Turquoise: a sign or pledge of friendship
Road: adventure, experience, progress, knowledge, learning
Horse: endurance, freedom, fertility, generosity, strength, triumph, abundance
Ox: life-power, strength, usefulness, wealth
Sheep: emotional stability, innocence, simplicity, sacrifice, gregarious Goat:
Rooster (Cock): exaltation, victory
Song: voice of a deity, transforming magic
The Number Seven: adventure, perfection, completion, endurance, stability, victory, strength, wisdom

Source: Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols by G. Jobes

## A Symbolic Retelling of the Story

In light of the symbolic interpretations found in figures 1 and 2, it is significant to retell the story of Meme Haylay Haylay and insert symbolic meanings where appropriate.

One day poor old Meme Haylay Haylay (a grandfather-the symbol of happiness in the home, but limping, someone in an unproductive state) left home to work in the fields (a place of opportunity, freedom and even fertility; and possibly a place of death). While digging, the poor old man discovered an immense turquoise stone (a symbol of great wealth). No longer poor, but rich, he walked toward home (down the road of happiness and adventure, the road of experience and knowledge, the road of progress). He traded his immense wealth for a horse (symbolic of success, wealth of another kind, generosity, freedom, endurance, strength and even fertility). He then traded this for an ox (abundance, strength, usefulness and quiet happiness). He traded the ox for a sheep (symbol of a good omen, emotional stability, innocence, simplicity and an object of sacrifice). He traded the sheep for a goat (agility and, even, fertility), and traded this for a rooster
(success, victory, exaltation). Meme Haylay Haylay finally heard a song (the symbol of transforming magic; the voice of deity, the voice of the divine, the epitome of happiness) and traded the rooster for this ultimate happiness and joy.

Here is now a journey of restoration, completeness or wholeness, a journey back to a rightful and productive state of happiness. On the journey, Meme Haylay Haylay shed the material and assumed the ethereal or spiritual. Sobol said, "The hero's journey is the hero called on a journey to redeem a loss or good and to bring it back to community". ${ }^{3}$

Figure 3: Meme Haylay Haylay's Call to Adventure


[^2]It is interesting to note that there are seven 'objects' involved in the trades: turquoise, horse, ox, sheep, goat, rooster, and song. In many cultures seven is a number of significance and is considered auspicious, and this is true of the Buddhist Bhutanese culture. Here the number seven symbolized adventure, perfection, completion, endurance, stability, victory, strength and wisdom. The series of trades involving seven objects culminated in a sense of completion, victory, perfection and wisdom, among other things.

The standard path of the mythological adventure of the hero is a magnification of the formula represented in the rites of passage: separation-initiation-return: which might be named the nuclear unit of the monomyth.

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from the mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man. ${ }^{4}$

Meme Haylay Haylay, representing the very psyche of the collective, is the symbol of happiness, but he is limping-old and unproductive-so he heeds the call to adventure not knowing whether he faces a field of opportunity or the field of death. If of opportunity, how shall he return? Wealthy? Strong and virile? Or shall he return the bearer of renewed happiness, once again whole, complete, and no longer limping. On his journey-his road to happiness-Meme Haylay Haylay encountered helpers who guided him along the way-not pointing out the direction, but presenting him with various material and/or physiological options. He always bartered for something of lesser material value, but his happiness increased with each trade. Finally, Meme Haylay Haylay encounters the divine bearer of happiness encapsulated within a song, who bestowed this 'inner wealth' of ultimate, extreme and renewed happiness upon him,

[^3]dispensing of any material satisfaction he had been receiving or any physical rejuvenation that might have been implied.
"The effect of the successful adventure of the hero is the unlocking and release again of the flow of life into the body of the world," Campbell said. "The miracle of this flow may be represented in physical terms as a circulation of food substance, dynamically as a streaming of energy, or spiritually as a manifestation of grace". ${ }^{5}$ In a sense, through Meme Haylay Haylay's call to adventure and his successful return, the collective psyche is restored and that which has been thrown off balance was once again put on even keel. The all-important ethos of happiness was once again 'circulating' within the embodiment of the Buddhist cosmos.

> The first stage of the mythological journey-which we have designated the "call to adventure"-signifies that destiny has summoned the hero and transferred his spiritual center of gravity from within the pale of his society to a zone unknown. This fateful region of both treasure and danger may be variously represented: as a distant land, a forest, a kingdom underground, beneath the waves, or above the sky, a secret island, a lofty mountaintop, or profound dream state; but it is always a place of strangely fluid and polymorphous beings, unimaginable torments, superhuman deeds, and impossible delight. The hero can go forth of his own volition to accomplish the adventure.... ${ }^{6}$

Why would a limping old man go to the fields to prepare it for planting? Could it merely be that he was poor and had no choice if he was going to eat? Maybe. It might be, however, that his call to adventure was more of an emotional or spiritual tug rather than a physical one. Maybe he went to the field in order to feel useful and productive, to see what he could do or accomplish in spite of his age, physical condition and limitations? Even though the field meant either opportunity or death, Meme Haylay Haylay still had to go,

[^4]regardless of the outcome. What he couldn't do is stay where he was, maintaining the status quo, or worse, see all that was important to the emotional and spiritual well-being of the 'collective' diminish and slip away.

> Once having traversed the threshold, the hero moves in a dream landscape of curiously fluid, ambiguous forms, where he must survive a succession of trials. This is a favorite phase of the myth-adventure. The hero is covertly aided by the advice, amulets, and secret agents of the supernatural helper who he met before his entrance into this region. Or it may be that he here discovers for the first time a benign power everywhere supporting him in his superhuman passage. ${ }^{7}$

At this point in the story, Meme Haylay Haylay has heeded the call to adventure and entered into the "zone unknown", as Campbell calls it. He then encountered a series of 'helpers', who led him further down the road of happiness by exchanging with him that which symbolized not only wealth, but strength and virility as well-all things that would be appealing to a 1) poor, 2) old, and 3) man.

It is here, though, that the "Meme Haylay Haylay" folktale deviates a bit from Campbell's standard 'hero's journey'. Instead of encountering "strangely fluid and polymorphous beings, unimaginable torments, superhuman deeds and impossible delight", Meme Haylay Haylay encountered normal men with normal possessions. However, two elements of the 'hero's journey' are still evident, even within the deviation: trails or tests; and the assistance of 'helpers', folks familiar to him. Every potential trade is a temptation to keep that which is of greater material or physiological value and is a test, as well, to see if he would indeed make a trade that would lead him one step closer to the ultimate 'prize', that which initiated the call.

The series of tests and trails, aided by the helpers along the way, epitomized the "purification process" described by
${ }^{7}$ Ibid., p. 97.

Campbell:
And so it happens that if anyone-in whatever societyundertakes for himself the perilous journey into the darkness by descending, either intentionally or unintentionally, into the crooked lanes of his own spiritual labyrinth, he soon finds himself in a landscape of symbolical figures (any one of which may swallow him).... In the vocabulary of the mystics, this is the second stage of the Way, that of the "purification of the self," when the senses are "cleansed and humbled," and the energies and interests "concentrated upon transcendental things"; or in a vocabulary of more modern turn: this is the process of dissolving, transcending, or transmuting the infantile images of our personal past. In our dreams the ageless perils, gargoyles, trials, secret helpers, and instructive figures are nightly still encountered; and in their forms we may see reflected not only the whole picture of our present case, but also the clue to what we must do to be saved. ${ }^{8}$

Meme Haylay Haylay was in the process of shedding the material and physiological in favour of the spiritual. He was refining his motivations, balancing his psyche, to be more in tune with the cosmic collective. He entered the land, was put to the test and underwent the purification process. By these standards, he favoured well, but the journey was not complete, for he hadn't fully achieved what he has set out to do. "The ordeal is a deepening of the problem of the first threshold and the question is still in balance: can the ego put itself to death?" Campbell said. ${ }^{9}$

The question now arises: Could Meme Haylay Haylay truly accomplish the final leg of the journey on his own, even with the aid of the helpers he has encountered along the way? Obviously, the answer is "no". Meme Haylay Haylay was merely at the point or stage in the journey where he was ready to take the next, but all important, step.

The ultimate adventure, when all the barriers and ogres have

[^5]been overcome, is commonly represented as a mythical marriage of the triumphant hero-soul," Campbell said. "This is the crisis at the nadir, the zenith, or at the uttermost edge of the earth, at the central point of the cosmos, in the tabernacle of the temple, or within the darkness of the deepest chamber of the heart. ${ }^{10}$

At this point in the story, Meme Haylay Haylay heard the song and was struck by its beauty and emotional impact it had on him. The song-the symbol of transforming magic, the voice of deity and the divine, the epitome of happinessintervened as the final test and as the ultimate prize. It completed the purification process, rejuvenated and empowered the enfeebled old man, and sent him on his way as a bearer of a renewed ethos of the psyche. "The hero in his triumph wins the blessing of the goddess or the god and is then explicitly commissioned to return to the world with some elixir for the restoration of society," Campbell said. ${ }^{11}$

## Genre, Tale Types, Motif, Versions and Variances

The genre of the folktale "Meme Heylay Heylay" probably falls under the 'fool' or 'idiot' stories category, but with opposite emphasis. In many cases wisdom is seen in the guise of foolishness, while sometimes the opposite is true-foolishness cloaked as wisdom.

There is one such story, a "Jack Tale" from the American Appalachian Mountains, called "Jack Seeks His Fortune", where the boy Jack headed out to seek his fortune and received a lump of gold in payment for work. Because it became too heavy, he traded it for a horse. A series of trades then took place until Jack finally ends up with a flat rock, which he determined can be used as a doorstop. While drinking water from a well, the rock fell in and Jack lost it for good. "That's great," Jack thought, "now I have nothing to

[^6]weigh me down as I seek my fortune!" ${ }^{12}$
There is another traditional folktale motif from England called "Hedley Kow". This story is classified as tale type 1655 (The Profitable Exchange) and/or 170A (The Fortunate Exchange) by Aarne-Thompson. It is in MacDonald's motif index as E 427.1. Hedley Kow stories originated in the area of Hedley, and the motif refers to a mystical creature with magical powers known as Hedley Kow. He is thought to bring good luck, and to encounter him is considered auspicious. The story "Hedley Kow" tells of a poor old woman who discovered a pot of gold on the side of the road. As she travels home with it, the pot of gold changed into a lump of silver, which changed into a lump of iron, then into a large stone. With each change the old woman considered herself better off (for various reasons told in the story) than she was with the more valuable preceding object. Finally the stone turned into the Hedley Kow, and the woman exclaimed, "I do be the luckiest body hereabouts! Fancy me seeing the Hedley Kow all to myself...." She returned to her cottage, sat down by the fire, and contemplated her good luck.

The Traditional Ballad Index cites several ballads with motifs similar to the "Meme Haylay Haylay", "Jack Tale", and "Hedley Kow" stories. The Swapping Song by Richard DyerBennet and The Foolish Boy by S. Baring-Gould are two such ballads. At least a dozen others are listed, including the German Hans in Luck tales and songs.

A Yiddish version of the story tells of a son-in-law entrusted with some money to make purchases in town and spends half of it on an incomplete song. He then spends the remaining funds to learn the rest of the song. When he returned home with nothing but a song, the father-in-law said, "What an idiot". ${ }^{13}$

[^7]In addition to the differing versions of "Meme Haylay Haylay" discussed above, there are differing variations of it as well. One is cited earlier in this paper, differentiating between the name "Meme Haylay Haylay" and the name "Meme Khelay Khelay". One variance, published in India, has the valuable stone being a ruby rather than a turquoise, which speaks to Indian culture and values. Bhutanese researcher and folklorist Dorji Penjore said that some locally told variations of the story have Meme Haylay Haylay walking down the road with his last trade-either singing the song or playing a flute-and he steps in cow dung, falls to the ground, and either forgets the song or forgets how to play the flute. Meme Haylay Haylay then becomes the fool or idiot who ends up with nothing. "The audience's reactions to the story are mixed since there are many versions of the story," Penjore said. "Variations resulted more from how people preferred to interpret and less from their frail memory." ${ }^{14}$

One final observation should be made in this section on genre, tale types, motif, versions and variances. Campbell listed several roles from which the hero could play on his hero's journey, including that of warrior, lover, emperor, and tyrant. The last one mentioned, though, is saint, aesthetic, or world-renouncer [sic]. ${ }^{15}$ In many ways, Meme Haylay Haylay filled that role. At the end of the story he was still old and feeble, still materially poor, but he returned spiritually rich. Sobol said, "The unconscious is liberated within the sphere of the divine." There is interplay between "the wisdom of the earth and the knowledge of the divine," he said. ${ }^{16}$

## The Royal Kingdom of Bhutan and Its Folklore

The art which the folktales are narrated could be the same all over the world but what is interesting on the Bhutanese context is that the stories, strictly speaking, are not narrated.

[^8]In Bhutan, the folktales are not told but released (tangshi in Dzongkha). Here, it is very significant to note that the verb tang can mean to "release", "untie" or "set free". In effect, if the folktales of Bhutan are not told or narrated but released, set free or untied it is tempting to assert that it is tied or attached to the collective memory of the Bhutanese. This could then imply that the Bhutanese and the folktales are inextricably interwoven that it wouldn't be wrong to comment that they are found one inside the other. The folktales contain the traits and aspects of the Bhutanese. In the memory of the people dwell the folktales ready to be "untied" at an appropriate time. ${ }^{17}$

Bhutan is a Buddhist kingdom nestled in the Himalayan Mountains, founded in the eighth century A. D. It is known as the Land of the Thunder Dragon. A dragon is emblazoned across it national flag, its dominant people are the Drukpa or People of the Dragon, and its king is known as the Dragon King.

According to Bhutanese history, in A.D. 747 the Guru Rimpoche flew from Tibet to Bhutan on the back of a tiger and established the Tantric school of Buddhism still followed in Bhutan today. It is said that he subdued a dragon spirit that dominated the country through the construction of numerous strategic monasteries and fortresses.

Today the Drukpa tell countless stories about Guru Rimpoche and Pema Lingpa, a saint and a reincarnate of Rimpoche. These stories include those of demons being harnessed by magic to build the many dzongs or fortress-monasteries around the country. There are numerous evidences, as well, that indicate a centuries-old endeavour to appease and subdue the dragons and demons. Painted on every house are the symbols designed to assure this, resulting in happiness, peace and harmony of all: colourful yet freakish faces of demons painted on walls; astrological markings above doorways; and graphic phallic renderings (along with carvings

[^9]hung on the four outer corners of the homes) which supposedly drive away demons.

Happiness, peace and harmony have been the ethos or psyche of Bhutan for centuries. The national folktale, "Four Friends", a tale where four animal friends (elephant, monkey, rabbit, bird) quarrelled and disrupted the harmony of the community, agreed to devise a way restore the peace. Regardless of size, it would be the oldest who would be in charge and oversee the maintenance of peace and harmony. The bird ended up being the oldest, therefore the wisest, and was put in charge, even though it is the smallest of the four. This Buddhist philosophy, along with appeasing the dragons and demons, has been the very soul of the nation for centuries, from its very inception. Countless folktales reflect these themes.

In 1972, the present king, Jigme Singye Wanchuck, ascended the throne at age 16 . At that time Bhutan became an official nation for the first time and was placed on the roster of the United Nations. It opened its borders to outside influences for the first time ever. Tourists, a market economy, and Western media and entertainment flooded the kingdom, instigating a shift in the values of the country's citizens.

In 2008 the king will abdicate the throne in favour of the Crown Prince Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck. But, in his waning years as king, His Majesty instituted a program of Gross National Happiness, emphasizing that happiness is as important to the kingdom as its Gross National Product, or more so.

One can ask, is this just some wild-hair idea of an aging king? Probably not. The King of Bhutan seems to be the very embodiment of the psyche of the Kingdom, the product of generations and centuries of the Buddhist concepts of peace and appeasement, but he feels all of this slipping away. As with folktales, Sobol said, "The king is usually a collective
dominant whose job is to resist the new". ${ }^{18}$ Here is the hero's journey being lived out in real life, even paralleling the "Meme Haylay Haylay" story.

Could it be that the national folktale will shift from that of "Four Friends" to the one of Meme Haylay Haylay? Many recognize that the nation's folklore should have a role in revitalizing the kingdom's collective psyche, but most want to take the folktales, pin them to a board like a beautiful butterfly, put them under glass, gas them, and preserve them. The collection, compilation and publishing of Bhutan's folktales only began in the mid-1990s and there are only a half dozen books or so in the market. This endeavor to preserve only, however, goes against the very soul of the Bhutanese folktale, if what was said is true: Stories are not told-they are released; the folktale is in every Bhutanese and every Bhutanese is in the folktale.

It is in the releasing of the story that national happiness can return.

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[^10]Penjore, D. (2005) "Folktales and Education: Role of Bhutanese Folktales in Value Transmission." Journal of Bhutan Studies, 12 (2005): 47-73. ["Meme Haylay Haylay and His Turquoise," pp. 48-49]
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## Appendix

## Meme Haylay Haylay and His Turquoise ${ }^{19}$

Once upon a time, there lived a poor old man named Meme Haylay Haylay.
One day he went to his fields to prepare them for planting, and as he uprooted a clump of very stubborn weeds, he found a huge, round, bright blue turquoise stone in the dirt. It was so heavy that a man his age could hardly lift it with one hand.

Well, because of his good fortune, he decided to stop working the fields and go home. So he put the heavy valuable stone in the basket on his back that so many of the common working people used.

On the way he met a man leading a horse with a rope. "Hey, what are you doing there, Meme Haylay Haylay?" the horseman asked.
"Today I am no longer a poor old man," Meme Haylay Haylay replied, "because today I struck it rich! As I was digging in my fields, I found this huge valuable turquoise." But before the horseman could utter a word in response, Meme Haylay Haylay put forth a proposal, "Will you exchange your horse for this stone?"

The horseman stood speechless, for who in the world would barter a valuable turquoise stone for a plain ol' horse? "Don't joke with me, Meme Haylay Haylay! Your turquoise is priceless, and in comparison my horse is worthless," the horseman replied.
"Priceless or worthless, you talk too much. Let there be less talk. If you are for the trade, take this stone and hand over the rope," Meme Haylay Haylay said. The horseman lost no time in throwing over the rope and went his way carrying the stone, feeling happy. Meme Haylay Haylay went his way

[^11]feeling happier than the horseman.
But that was not the end of Meme Haylay Haylay's business. On the way, he met a man with an ox. "Hey, Meme Haylay Haylay. What are you doing there?" the ox-man asked. "Today I am no longer a poor old man, but a rich man" Meme Haylay Haylay replied. "As I was digging in my fields, I found a huge valuable turquoise stone and I traded it for this horse."

He then asked the ox-man, "Would you barter your ox for this horse?" "I certainly would," the ox-man replied, and the ox-man went away with the horse feeling very happy. Meme Haylay Haylay went his way feeling happier than the ox-man.

Then, Meme Haylay Haylay met a man with a sheep. "Hey, Meme Haylay Haylay. What are you doing there?" the sheepherder asked. "Today I am no longer a poor old man, but a rich man" Meme Haylay Haylay replied. "As I was digging in my fields, I found a huge valuable turquoise stone and I traded it for a horse, then I traded the horse for this ox."

He then asked the sheepherder, "Would you barter your sheep for this ox?" "I certainly would," the sheepherder replied, and the sheepherder went away with the ox feeling very happy. Meme Haylay Haylay went his way feeling happier than the sheepherder.

Then, Meme Haylay Haylay met a man with a goat. "Hey, Meme Haylay Haylay. What are you doing there?" the goat-herder asked. "Today I am no longer a poor old man, but a rich man" Meme Haylay Haylay replied. "As I was digging in my fields, I found a huge valuable turquoise stone and I traded it for a horse, then I traded the horse for an ox, and the ox for this sheep."

He then asked the goat-herder, "Hey, would you barter your goat for this sheep?" "I certainly would," the goat-herder replied, and the goat-herder went away with the sheep feeling very happy. Meme Haylay Haylay went his way feeling happier than the goat-herder.

Then, Meme Haylay Haylay met a man with a rooster. "Hey, Meme Haylay Haylay. What are you doing there?" the man asked. "Today I am no longer a poor old man, but a rich man" Meme Haylay Haylay replied. "As I was
digging in my fields, I found a huge valuable turquoise stone and I traded it for a horse, then I traded the horse for an ox, and the ox for a sheep, and the sheep for this goat."

He then asked the man, "Hey, would you barter your rooster for this goat?" "I certainly would," the man replied, and the he went away with the goat feeling very happy. Meme Haylay Haylay went his way feeling happier than the man.

At last he met a man singing a beautiful song. Tears of happiness swelled Meme Haylay Haylay's eyes as he listened to the song. "I feel so happy by merely listening to the song. How much happier I would be if only I knew how to sing it myself," he thought. The singer spied Meme Heylay Heylay. "Hey, what are you doing there?" the singer asked.
"Today I am no longer a poor old man, but a rich man" Meme Haylay Haylay replied. "As I was digging in my fields, I found a huge valuable turquoise stone and I traded it for a horse, the horse for an ox, the ox for a sheep, the sheep for a goat, and the goat for this rooster. Here, take this rooster and teach me how to sing. I like your melody so much."

After learning the song, Meme Haylay Haylay gave away his rooster and went home singing the song, feeling the happiest, richest and most successful businessman in the world.


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    ${ }^{1}$ The folktale in its entirety can be found in the appendix of this paper.

[^1]:    2 Ngawang Phuntsho, Personal Communication, July 10, 2006.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ Dr. Joseph Sobol, Personal Communication, July 26, 2006. should Dr. Joseph Sobol be identified as a storytelling professor of East Tennessee State University.

[^3]:    ${ }^{4}$ Campbell, J. (1949) The hero with a thousand faces, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 30

[^4]:    ${ }^{5}$ Ibid., p. 40.
    ${ }^{6}$ Ibid., p. 58.

[^5]:    8 Ibid., p. 101.
    ${ }^{9}$ Ibid., p. 109.

[^6]:    ${ }^{10}$ Ibid., p. 109.
    ${ }^{11}$ Ibid., p. 197.

[^7]:    12 Sobol, Personal Communication, July 27, 2006.
    ${ }^{13}$ Sobol, Personal Conversation, July 27, 2006.

[^8]:    ${ }^{14}$ Penjore, Dorji (2005) p. 49.
    ${ }^{15}$ Campbell, 1949, pp.334-354.
    ${ }^{16}$ Sobol, Personal Conversation, July 27, 2006.

[^9]:    ${ }^{17}$ Dorji, Tandin, 2002, p.7.

[^10]:    ${ }^{18}$ Sobol, Personal Communication, July 26, 2006.

[^11]:    19 Read Dorji Penjore: "Meme Haylay Haylay and His Turquoise," p.48-49, in "Folktales and Education: Role of Bhutanese Folktales in Value Transmission", Journal of Bhutan Studies, Vol. 12, Summer 2005.

