Among the *Ojibwa Texts* collected by William Jones, two mythical sisters, referred to as *madci'gikwáwisqg*,\(^1\) appear in seven stories. In English, Jones renders their name as "The Foolish Maidens". Like Nānabushu, these sisters travel around from place to place, encountering one adventure (or misadventure) after another, and breaking a variety of behavioural rules: they live out in the open, they chase after potential husbands, and they disobey any direct instruction they are given. Many of the Foolish Maidens’ adventures are repeated throughout the seven texts, which are told by three different narrators. In no two texts, however, are the Foolish Maidens’ adventures repeated in the same order, or embellished in exactly the same way.

It has been suggested that stories such as these were subject to variation not only due to the narrator’s aesthetic preference, but also due to the situation in which they were performed. Myths told to ethnologists and other strangers may differ substantially from those traditionally told to family members, or other receptive native audiences, who "led story tellers to add details, artistic flourishes and illustrative addenda" (Vecsey 1983:87).

As speculative as these comments might be, Bloomfield seems to offer some inadvertent support for this point of view as he describes what he perceives to be the shortcomings of his informant, *ka-kisikāw-pihtokēw ‘Coming-Day’* (1930:1). In the introduction to *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*, he writes:

> Especially when fatigued, [Coming-Day] would simplify his stories or omit portions of them. Occasionally he would interrupt the dictation to tell me rapidly — by way of a footnote, as it were — the matter which he had

\(^1\)The Ojibwa orthography and the English glosses used in this paper are taken directly from Jones. A table outlining his orthographic conventions is presented in the introduction to Part I (1917:xiv–xvi).
omitted; or he would append it after finishing the dictation; he could not be persuaded to dictate these portions.

Bloomfield's comments make it clear that Coming-Day sometimes knew more of a story than he chose to have recorded. Whether his motivation was fatigue, as Bloomfield suggests, or something more aesthetically directed, it is obvious that Coming-Day was using his prerogative as narrator to choose the form that Bloomfield's written record would take.

It is impossible for us to know how the story-tellers who worked with Jones related to him as an audience, and therefore how they may have adjusted their story-telling technique. While we know that he entered their communities as an ethnologist, we might speculate that in his case, the role of outsider was somewhat mitigated by his native knowledge of Fox, the depth of his cultural understanding of that group, and by the "thorough knowledge of Ojibwa" which we are told he acquired during two seasons of field work in Ojibwa communities around Lake Superior (Boas 1909:138).

We also know that Jones felt it undesirable to record multiple renditions of a single story from any one narrator. Because his "object was not to find out how well a narrative could be told, never was a version repeated a second time by the one who gave it" (1917:xi). As a result, we can only speculate about the variations that an individual narrator might have made in another performance, or in a different performance context. The absence of multiple renditions by a single story-teller among these texts forces us to examine variation as it appears in the texts of three different narrators, from two different communities.

This variation is referred to as "structuring" by Sherzer and Woodbury (1987:9), a term they define as "the way in which narrators and other performers of discourse draw on the various resources available to them within their linguistic, social and cultural tradition and create their own personal texts." Structuring is clearly demonstrated in these texts, where the rearrangement of episodes, repetition of smaller incidents, and the embellishment of details clearly show that the shape of the narrative was very much within the control of the narrator.

The arrangement of episodes (outlined for each of the texts in the Appendix), offers the most obvious evidence of the narrator's control. For the purposes of this discussion, episodes are defined as the events which follow each new point of departure within the text. Typically, an episode begins as one or more characters decide to go somewhere, or to do something, and encounter the unexpected along the way. The only criterion that I have discovered for linking one episode to the next is that each new episode must involve at least one of the characters from the preceding one. It is not necessary for this common character be the sole protagonist involved in
every episode throughout the text; indeed, it is not unusual for the story to begin focusing on one character, who has completely disappeared by the end of the text. In three of these seven texts, the Foolish Maidens appear somewhere in the middle, and in four of them, they disappear before the end.

Perhaps the most striking example of the contrasting arrangement of episodes exists between Texts 13 and 55 (both from Part II). These two texts seem to show that the order of events can be determined by factors other than causal logic, or “contingent temporal succession” (as described in Longacre 1983:3).

Text 13 begins with the Foolish Maidens wishing for star-husbands. After making the wish, they fall asleep out in the open and awaken to find themselves, literally, ‘in the sky’ (*icpiming*). Their dissatisfaction with the husbands they chose and their longing for home lead them to look for a means of escape. They meet a grandmother who offers to help them, but who explicitly forbids them to look down during their descent. Being Foolish Maidens, they look anyway, and the rope by which they are being lowered breaks. As a result, they drop into a nest at the top of a tree, where they get stuck, and have to ask various animals for help in getting down. In this sequence of events, each new occurrence is contingent upon the event which immediately precedes it.

In the third episode of Text 55 (pp. 458-459), the elder sister sings a song expressing her wish to ascend to the fish-hawk’s nest:

\[\text{Mitcigwanawasiswaging nindąpagicinà,}
\text{‘In a fish-hawk’s nest would I fall}
\text{Nindąpq cinà, [sic]}
\text{Would I fall,}
\text{Nindąpagicinà,}
\text{Would I fall,}
\text{Nindąpagicinà,}
\text{Would I fall.’}\]

Through the power of her wish, the sisters are lifted into the air. As in Text 13, they get stuck in the nest, and have to ask various animals for help in getting down. Once they are out of the tree, instead of meeting Diver as they do in Text 13, the sisters are visited by Nānabushu, whom they eventually wish to escape. Once again, they try to ascend, and this time the younger sister possesses the power (1919:466-467):

\[\text{Misa’mänäckut wî’kwatcitowat icpiming wi-i-cawat.}
\text{‘Therefore in turn they tried to go up.}
\text{Midac ‘a’a’u ucîmā-i-mā kâcki’têt umbickawat.}
\text{But it was the younger sister that had the power [for them] to ascend.’}\]

It is there, in the world above, that the sisters see the stars in the sky and wish for them as husbands.
As in the previous example, we may see "contingent temporal succession", here but the narrator clearly has added something different to build this contingency: *kāčki'tōt umbickāwāt*, literally 'the power to ascend'. Whereas in the first example the sisters were taken up into the sky while they slept by a power other than their own, in Text 55, the sisters themselves are able to ascend when necessary. Thus we can see that the "contingent temporal succession" of Text 55, the power which dictates the order of events within the narration, is itself contingent upon the sisters' ability to ascend. Instead of landing in the fish-hawk's nest by accident, they arrive there through their own power. It is interesting that Text 55 ends just as the sisters discover their new star-husbands. Since their eventual descent to their own world seems inevitable, it is tantalizing to speculate how the narrator of this text might have continued the story.

This particular episode, involving two young women and the star-husbands, is reported by Stith Thompson (1946:345ff) to exist in 80 or 90 different versions from all over North America. Among the dozen or so which I have examined (including Assiniboine, Kaska, Micmac, Cree and others), Jones's Text 55 is the only one in which the story ends while the women are still up in the air. It should be noted, however, that the majority of these other tales were published in English only, presenting nothing more than a paraphrased version of the text and making it impossible to say whether the story-tellers in these other languages might also have had the opportunity to end their narrations at this point.

Perhaps the Ojibwa narrator of this text was content to leave the Foolish Maidens there in the world above, or perhaps the formulaic ending with which this text closes provides evidence that the story isn't really over.

Typically, within the Jones texts, when a narrator has completed a story he or she says so, closing with a phrase such as *misa' ākōsit*: 'that's as far as (the story) goes' (1919:189); however, the ending which occurs here, and in many of the other Jones texts is much more puzzling. It is a sentence which has no apparent connection to anything that has gone on in within the story (1917:340–341):

*Misa pināwitcit āgātāg*

'And so now the buttocks of the ruffed grouse hang aloft.'

Neither Jones nor Truman Michelson (who prepared the manuscripts for publication after Jones's death) offers any explanation for this curious closing, nor have I been able to find one anywhere else. After examining a

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2 Perhaps Jones's ethnographic notes would have offered an explanation for this as well. Richard Rhodes (personal communication) suggests that this expression is used to refer to the grouse's mating display, although, clearly, this has nothing to do with the story either.
number of texts which include this ending, or its exact counterpart which
involves the ruffed grouse's gizzard, \textit{pinàwidis} (1919:148), it seems that this
ending is used when the narrator has not necessarily reached the story's ul­
timate conclusion, but has simply decided to conclude his story-telling for
the day. In this particular text, the narrator doesn't even give the complete
form of the ending. The following phrase is all that appears at the end of
the story (1919:466-467):
\begin{quote}
\textit{Mi-i 'u pinàwicidit} . . .
\end{quote}
'Whereupon the buttocks of the ruffed grouse . . .'

Apparently, the formula was so well known that either the narrator or
possibly Jones as editor considered it unnecessary to complete the sentence.
In another incomplete occurrence of this phrase (1917:362–363), a note
indicates that the last word has been supplied by the editor (Michelson).

As much as the arrangement of episodes is considered to be within the
control of the narrator, perhaps in this case, where the next logical episode
has already been told, the use of this formulaic ending might be a means
of getting out of a corner into which the narrator had figuratively painted
himself.

In addition to the rearrangement of entire episodes, another aspect of
the structure which the narrator may vary is the repetition which sometimes
appears within episodes. As illustrated in the appendix, Text 69 (Part II)
includes little information about the Foolish Maidens that is not included in
Text 13. Closer examination of the outline of Text 69, however, shows that
although similar incidents (labelled with lower-case letters) are repeated,
they are arranged in a different order. For example, when the Foolish
Maidens and Diver go hunting together in Text 13, they encounter one
animal after another, whom Diver tries to catch. In Text 69, when they go
hunting, their encounters with Bear and Caribou are separated by other,
unrelated, episodes. Whereas the narrator of Text 13 emphasizes hunting
by including multiple occurrences of the same basic incident, the narrator
of Text 69, by separating the encounters with different animals, seems to
make the hunting incidents into separate, smaller episodes which blend less
noticeably into the texture of the story.

Another example of repetition occurs in Text 20 (of Part II) where
Clothed-in-Fur tries to outrun the sisters who have been chasing him to
make him their husband. In his attempt to escape, we are told that Clothed-
in-Fur climbs a "tall birch which was very thick with foliage." Clinging to
a single leaf from the tree, he floats away in the wind. The Foolish Maidens

Douglas R. Parks (1977:3) presents what may be a parallel example with the
Arikara word \textit{tire:oka?At} 'The gut went in', which he identifies as the standard
ending to a fairy tale in that language; however, in at least two examples, it
follows the word \textit{no:wetuhná:nu?} 'That's all'.
arrive at the site and fell the tree. When they are unable to find Clothed-in-Fur, the elder says to the younger (1919:210-211):

"Taga, nicĩmä! agindadā ändasobaga'k o-o wįgwsə" Kągą'tidac kā-a-ginda-
mowəd, pąjk kāwĩn gągo qınıbic. Mī-i-dec kĩngədawābəndəmowəd 'įɨ-ru
qınıbic..."

"Come my little sister! let us count how many leaves there are upon this birch!" And truly, after they had counted them, there was one leaf missing. Whereupon they started looking for that leaf...

As the sisters start to catch up, Clothed-in-Fur next climbs a spruce and then a poplar while the sisters repeat the entire process of felling the tree and counting all the leaves. The fourth time, Clothed-in-Fur hides himself in a ball near a little birch. The Foolish Maidens once again fell the tree and count the leaves. This time none are missing and they pounce upon the ball in which he is hiding, but are still unable to find him. Eventually he escapes, and the story continues with other adventures in which the Foolish Maidens do not appear.

In his *Morphology of the Folk Tale*, Propp discusses some of the aspects of "trebling" — the importance of three repetitions in Old World folk tales (1968:74). In Algonquian stories, the significant number for repetition is frequently four. Propp suggests that one purpose of this sort of repetition is to create suspense, and to build up tension in the process of coming to a more significant event; however, we also recognize this sort of repetition as an important element of joke-telling in which a pattern is established by repetition and laughter is generated when that pattern is broken. In this case the repetition magnifies the silliness of the Foolish Maidens' task — who could ever count the leaves of a tree, and who would know if one were missing?

A third way in which a narrator might change the shape of a text involves the embellishment of some of the smaller incidents. For example, in Text 13 the Foolish Maidens meet a grandmother who agrees to help them escape from the sky. Before instructing them in the means of their escape, the old woman pauses to feed the sisters a meal of *pidcigiwənə wiyəs*, fish-hawk flesh, which she herself has caught by dangling a cord into the sky of the world below her (1919:152-153). In this telling of the story, the narrator has obviously stopped to consider how things must have been done in the world above, and pauses to tell us something about it. How could there be water to fish in for the people who live in the sky? If they did fish, what would they be most likely to catch?

It is also at the level where details are embellished that the narrators sometimes take the opportunity to work in didactic lessons in the consequences of inappropriate behaviour. To the children and grandchildren of the story-tellers the lessons would have been quite obvious. For outsiders
almost a century later, it is necessary to rely on the observations which some of those children and grandchildren later made to ethnologists like Frances Densmore, Inez Hilger and Ruth Landes as they spoke about their childhood, and the lessons they were taught.

Frances Densmore (1929:61), for example, reports that:

A girl was taught to make little birchbark rolls like those which covered the wigwam, her mother saying, “You must not grow up to live outdoors and be made fun of because you do not know how to make a good wigwam.”

But as the Foolish Maidens tramped about over the country, we are told that they made it “continually their custom to sleep in a clear open place in the forest” (1919:151). As the two sisters are introduced in a text collected by Speck (1915:48), we are told even more directly that these were two girls,

who were very foolish, talked foolishly and were in no respect like the other girls of their tribe, made their bed out-of-doors, and slept right out under the stars. The very fact that they slept outside during the winter proves how foolish they were.

Densmore’s teacher Nodinens relates how her mother had “told the girls to conduct themselves” (1929:61):

She told me that I must live a quiet life and be kind to all, especially the old, and listen to the advice of the old. She said that people would respect me if I did this and would be kind to me.

Certainly young people are expected to learn from good examples, but sometimes a negative rôle-model can be equally instructive. Dunnigan et al (1988:1) point out the importance of “the sometimes implied criticism and ridicule” that is contained within humourous stories: “Humour provides the means of teaching through examples of what not-to-do.” The Foolish Maidens provide numerous examples of inappropriate or scandalous actions which may have permitted the listener to laugh at their foolishness, yet learn at the same time that certain behaviours were inappropriate. In this regard, their actions and adventures seem to parallel those of Nànabushu, who often serves in a similar rôle, providing examples in a humourous way of the consequences of culturally inappropriate behaviour.

These texts also raise the question of the relative importance of Nànabushu and the Foolish Maidens in those stories where they all appear. In Texts 16 and 33 (of Part I), Nànabushu is the central character, and the Foolish Maidens appear only incidentally. In Text 55 (of Part II), the Foolish Maidens appear in the majority of episodes, and Nànabushu appears only as a secondary character. In fact, Texts 33 and 55 even present the
same episode (from two different points of view) in which Nānabushu tries to marry the younger sister. Thus we see that the importance of even the greatest culture hero can be diminished to suit the purposes of the story. In the same way, characters who may seem to be of little importance (like the Foolish Maidens as they appear in Part I), can be made the heroes of their own tales.

The number of episodes outlined in the appendix indicates that there are many more adventures of the Foolish Maidens in Part II than are incorporated into the Nānabushu series given in Part I. Perhaps this suggests that the stories of the Foolish Maidens might form a cycle of their own, linked to the Nānabushu cycle through the mutual involvement of the characters, but nonetheless independent. It may be that the collection of episodes presented by Jones in these seven texts could be supplemented by stories that are still told in certain Ojibwa communities. The availability of additional renditions would surely shed additional light on many of the questions left unanswered here.

Perhaps the presentation of similar episodes from differing points of view is one more manifestation of the control exercised by individual narrators, who chose the elements of their stories one by one, drawing from the wide inventory of characters and events available within their own system of linguistic, social and cultural traditions.

APPENDIX
Philological Note

In working on these texts, it is a frequent source of frustration that Jones’s ethnological notes, which Truman Michelson was preparing as a separate volume in 1916, remain unpublished to this day (1917:xxi). One point on which his comments might shed light is Jones’s use of “Foolish Maiden” as a gloss for Mātchiki’kwāwis. In some texts, the term is glossed instead as ‘eldest daughter’ (1917:134–135), although in that example a footnote identifies that woman as “The Foolish Maiden”. Josselin de Jong, whose Red Lake Minnesota Ojibwa texts appeared in 1913, uses the same term, Madzigikwewis, which he also glosses as ‘eldest daughter’. The same gloss also appears for mjikwewis in Richard Rhodes’s Eastern Ojibwa-Chippewa-Ottawa Dictionary, where it is contrasted with the pejorative, Mjikwewish ‘the Silly Maiden’.

While the pejorative mādci’ki’kwāwicag does appear in Jones’s Text 69 (Part II, 1919:674–675), it is used to refer to other women, and never to the “real” Foolish Maidens. For the pejorative form, Jones provides the English phrase, ‘foolish maidens of no account’. The fact that the narrator makes a distinction between mātchiki’kwāwis and mādci’ki’kwāwicag seems to indicate that, at least in his own dialect, the term mātchiki’kwāwis may have been conventionalized. The pluralized form, mādci’gikwāwicag (1919:210–211) provides further evidence since it is a logical impossibility to have sisters who are both “eldest daughters”.

It is also interesting to note that Bloomfield, like Jones, also uses the English term “Foolish Maiden” in the titles of two of the Sweet Grass Cree texts.
(1930:310, 314); however, no equivalent term appears in either the Cree text, nor in the English translation. Perhaps Bloomfield recognized the similarity of the characters, and was alluding to Jones. The two texts entitled “Hell-Diver” also include episodes in which the adventures of Jones’s mādci’gi’kwāwisqg are recognizable, but in this case, there is neither a title nor a note to identify them as anything other than “two women”.

In using the phrase ‘Foolish Maidens’, it seems that Jones may have chosen his own conventionalized phrase to refer to these characters. Jo Anne Bennett (personal communication) suggests that Jones may be alluding to the biblical parable of the Wise and Foolish Maidens which appears in Matthew 25.

Outline of Episodes in William Jones’s “Foolish Maidens” Texts

Jones Part II: Text 13³

- “The Foolish Maidens and The Diver / Mādci’kikwāwisqg Cingibis Gayā”
- Told by Penesi, Fort William.

1. FMs are sent off by their parents.
2. FMs desire stars for husbands and are taken up into the sky.
3. FMs meet grandmother who will help them escape.
   a. FMs are instructed to make a cord and basket with which to be lowered.
   b. FMs are instructed not to peek during descent, but disobey.
   c. FMs land in Fish-Hawk’s nest.
4. FMs are stuck in Fish-Hawk’s nest.
   a. FMs try to convince various animals to get them down — promise to be animals’ wives.
   b. Wolverine gets them down but is tricked: FMs leave their hair ribbons in the nest, sending him back for them while they escape.
   c. Wolverine catches the FMs whom he seriously injures.
5. FMs meet Diver in canoe, convince him to take them as wives. Diver masquerades as Arrayed-in-Wampum (Loon).
6. FMs and Diver go hunting.
   a. meet Bear who runs away.
   b. meet Caribou who runs away.
   c. meet Moose whom Diver kills.
7. Diver gets sliver in foot which elder sister refuses to look at.
8. Diver hunts beaver.
9. Diver takes FMs to meet family, describing beauty of his sisters.
   a. FMs meet their sisters-in-law.
10. FMs forbidden to go to dance at home of Loon.

³Text 13 has been chosen as the standard of comparison in the Appendix because it is the longest narrative, and because it includes the largest number of episodes. Episodes which appear in more than one text are cross-referenced in square brackets. Lower case letters indicate episodes which are composed of a number of smaller incidents. The numbering scheme is arbitrary, intended only to provide a point of reference. For texts which begin without the Foolish Maidens, the numbering begins with their first appearance.
a. FMIs trick Diver and his grandmother, leaving firewood in their places in bed.

b. FMIs leave Diver to become wives of Loon.

c. Diver kills Loon and flees, leaving FMIs to bury him.

11. [Story continues without Foolish Maidens.]

Jones Part II: Text 55

“%The Foolish Maiden and her Younger Sister / Maććiki’kwäwis mänawä ucimäyan”

— Told by Wäsägunäックänk, Bois Fort.

1. FMIs live with their dog who hunts for them. Dog is killed by wolves.

2. FMIs meet a porcupine, and want some of its quills.
   a. Porcupine tricks elder sister and sticks quills in her buttocks.

3. Elder sister wishes to be in nest of Fish-Hawk [elder sister has power to ascend].

4. [Text 13:4] FMIs are stuck in Fish-Hawk’s nest.
   a. Sisters beg Lynx to get them down promising themselves as wives. Lynx says he cannot climb the tree.

   b. [Text 13:4a] FMIs try to convince various animals to get them down, promising to be animals’ wives.

   c. [Text 13:4b] Wolverine rescues them, but is tricked, FMIs escape.


5. Sisters visited by Nänabushu who pretends to be sick.
   a. Sisters warned by Mouse that Nänabushu intends to marry them.

   b. Mouse chops wood to cover for sisters as they escape.

   c. Nänabushu starts in pursuit of FMIs.

6. Sisters escape to another world. [younger sister has power to ascend].

7. [Text 13:2] FMIs desire stars for husbands, and are wake up in the world of the stars.

8. [Narrator ends story.]

Jones Part II: Text 69

“Hell-Diver, the Foolish Maiden, and Winter Maker / Cingibis Maććiki’kwäwis kaya Käbibönu’kä kaya

— Told at Bois Fort by Wäsägunäックänk, or by Midäsuga nj.


2. [Text 13:6a] FMIs and Diver go hunting for Bear who runs away.


8. [Text 13:10] FMIs are forbidden to go to dance at Loon’s home.
   a. [Text 13:10a] FMIs trick Diver, leaving firewood in their beds.

   b. [Text 13:10b] FMIs leave Diver to become wives of Loon.


9. [Story continues without Foolish Maidens.]

Jones Part II: Text 19

“Clothed-in-the-Garb-of-a-Turkey / Wämisisä’kunä”

— Told by Penesi, Fort William.

[beginning with first episode involving FMIs]
1. Younger sister finds the body of Clothed-in-the-Garb-of-a-Turkey, who asks her to make a sweat-lodge
2. Younger sister builds lodge, in which she puts the body, restoring it to life.
3. Younger sister becomes wife of Clothed-in-the-Garb-of-a-Turkey
4. FMs go to meet their husbands sister
5. "And after it was all over, then they lived together. And as time went on, they continued to multiply."

Jones Part II: Text 20
- "Clothed-in-Fur / Wāmīsāʾkwā"
- Told by Penesi, Fort William.
1. Clothed-in-Fur is playing games in a town when he is annoyed by the FMs.
2. Clothed-in-Fur instructs his grandmother to coil a net around their lodge to prevent the FMs from entering during the night.
3. same as episode 1.
4. same as episode 2.
5. Clothed-in-Fur tries to escape, with FMs in pursuit.
   a. Clothed-in-Fur climbs a birch, which FMs fell.
   b. Clothed-in-Fur climbs a spruce, which FMs fell.
   c. Clothed-in-Fur climbs a poplar, which FMs fell, FMs continue the search.
   e. Clothed-in-Fur hides in a ball beside a tree, which FMs fell.
6. [Story continues without FMs.]

Jones Part I: Text 16
- "Nānabushu and the Buzzard" (no Ojibwa title given)
- Told at Bois Fort by Wāsagunāckānk.
[Story begins without the FMs] Nānabushu goes flying with a bird, falls to earth.
1. Nānabushu encounters FMs approaching, looking for a Gray Porcupine.
   a. Nānabushu hides and claims to be the Gray Porcupine.
   b. FMs try to fell the tree in which Nānabushu is hiding: whichever of them finds him may have him as a husband.
   c. Younger sister's axe breaks, and elder sister declares herself the winner.
   d. Elder sister finally splits tree; Nānabushu escapes, laughing.
2. [Story continues without the FMs.]

Jones Part I: Text 33
- "Nānabushu Feigns Death to Marry His Sister" (No Ojibwa title given)
- Told at Bois Fort, probably by Midāsugaŋj.
1. Nānabushu lives with his younger sister (younger FM), wonders how to marry her.
2. [Text 55:5] Nānabushu pretends to be ill, gives instructions for his burial, then pretends to die.
   a. [Text 55:5a] FM warned by Mouse that she is being tricked by Nānabushu, who intends to marry her.
   b. FM prepares Nānabushu for burial, digs a grave.
   c. [Text 55:5b] Mouse chops wood to cover for FM as she escapes.
   d. [Text 55:5c] Nānabushu chases FM.
3. a. FM meets "her father", Coot, who hides her in his home.
   i. Nānabushu meets Coot, who kills him.
ii. Nanabushu, recovered, comes to Coot’s home, uses Coot’s flute to call buffalo.

iii. FM is carried away on the horn of a buffalo.

b. Coot follows to the home of the buffalo, takes the FM back home.

i. Nanbozho comes to Coot’s home, takes FM away again.

ii. Coot plots her return, and kidnaps her when she goes out for water.

iii. FM and Coot are once again pursued, this time by son-in-law whom Coot kills.

4. [end of story.]

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