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"THEY SANG WHAT THEY LIVED": RECONSTRUCTIONS OF LAKOTA CULTURE THROUGH SONGS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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Abstract

In my dissertation, I analyze Lak̇o̱ta song texts to show how songs served as a cultural and historical records. Traditionally, Lak̇o̱ta culture was oral and information was transmitted in family circles in the form of stories, songs, art, and language and from generation-to-generation. Working with three song collections (Blunt Horn et al. 1908, Goings et al. 1939, and Yellow Face et al. 1909), I found a wide variety of songs, including love songs, ceremonial songs, personal songs, songs of societies, journey songs, songs of festivities, and dance songs. For purposes of analysis, I grouped the songs by the four virtues they express: bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom.

With regard to songs as cultural documents, I explore the notion that in oral culture, songs serve as records of collective memory about social, historical, ceremonial events, structures, orders as well as of values, feelings, and emotions that were part of social life. In their abstractness, Lak̇o̱ta songs resemble rock art. Songs, like Native art, record relationships between the elements of culture and people rather than create a descriptive picture. Semantic ambiguity, indexicality, and the abundance of shifters in the text allow for the re-creation of the context so that songs maintain their relevance in the ever-changing Lak̇o̱ta world.

Chapter I. Introduction

In 2003, I came to the Rosebud Reservation with the intention to conduct a pilot project on language retention and revival in today's Lak̇o̱ta communities. To establish my presence in the community, I started taking a summer language class at Siŋ̱te Gleśk̇a University and helping at the White Buffalo Calf Woman's Shelter for battered women after school.

Negotiating my place in the community was not an easy task because of two stereotypes of visitors. First, non-Native people are seen as summer tourists coming to explore Lak̇o̱ta spirituality, and second, researchers are viewed as "relic hunters" who come to "steal" and publish family stories. As I was getting acquainted with the complexities of contemporary reservation life and working to prove my scholarly interests, the Lak̇o̱ta Studies Department asked me for help with another project, to work with old song collections, which triggered my interest in Lak̇o̱ta songs.

At that time, I was also coming to the realization that some of the social issues on the reservation would have made my contemporary language retention research too complex from an ethical point of view. Few employment opportunities, alcohol and substance use and abuse, domestic violence, both physical and psychological, and family and interest group politics organize people's lives around daily survival needs. As I was observing the life around me, I was hoping that my research would benefit

the community as well as contribute to academic scholarship. The song project perfectly fit this direction.

In 2004, I started working with Lakȱta Studies faculty to develop the song project that they expected to help restore an important part of their culture and bring ultimate benefit to the Lakȱta people and to the academic community. The Lakȱta Studies faculty consists of Lakȱta and non-Native instructors. Lakȱta instructors are from traditional backgrounds having grown up speaking the Lakȱta language. Instructors admitted that locally produced Lakȱta language and culture teaching resources that directly address the students' needs were in shortage. However, such resources are in great demand by schools and the tribal university.

Challenges of Collaboration

Research ethics and the levels of collaboration with Siŋ̄te Gleṡ̄ka University as an educational institution were the issues that I had to deal with in the planning stage. First, I was informed that the university supported only research projects and ideas that benefited the tribe and Native people in general (Siŋ̄te Gleṡ̄ka College Research Policy 2001:2). This is a valid concern based on the fact that most of anthropological research on the Lakȱta has been conducted by cultural outsiders who, without a thorough understanding of how the community functions, may misrepresent the culture by applying the dominant culture's codes and

categories to issues that belong to a completely different system of knowledge and perception. For example, jealousy behind an assassination would be more easily understood and accepted by the Euro-American reader rather than a complex story of extended family relations and their competition for leadership (Douville, personal communication).

My Lithuanian background helped me understand and respect this position. Fifty years under Soviet oppression taught us the power of the dominant discourse. As a country recently open to Western scholarship, however, we experience yet another problem. Western researchers, who express interest in field projects, have limited knowledge of Lithuanian language and culture, which hinders accurate representations of our culture in the west. For example, anthropological research today emphasizes Soviet influences on Lithuanian society. However, the fifty years of Sovietism is a short-lived phenomenon in comparison with, for instance, Baltic Crusades which lasted for two hundred years and had a far deeper impact on the formation of Lithuanian identity and mentality.

Since graduate school at the University of Wyoming, I have been involved in cultural resource management projects and Native American consultations on the northern Plains. In these projects, we used collaborative strategies where ethnographers helped Native American elders and tribal representatives document the knowledge about culturally significant sites.

The Native American consultants had the control over the production of the final report by suggesting revisions or deleting information that was culturally inappropriate. Such collaboration ensured that the information was accurate and is deemed suitable to be released to the requesting authorities or public.

Another issue that surfaced in the planning process was the ownership and availability of research products and results. Much intellectual property produced by or with the help of the tribal people ends up in the museum collections far away from the reservations, and thus, is not easily accessible. In my experience, libraries, museums, and organizations were very willing to share their holdings with the tribes when one travels to those locations. For Native people, it is painful to realize that the materials produced by one's people, which one wants to use as sources to teach language to one's children, are in a remote archival repository and that one cannot use them without obtaining permission and paying the fees.

Thus, in my research plan, I capitalized on collaborative strategies and I also had to assure the people that the products of my research will be available to the community. In the beginning of 2005, the Lak̇ōta Studies Department invited me and my advisor to a meeting during which a formal invitation to work on the song project was extended and the research process and procedures were discussed. The project was established as collaboration

between Siŋ̄te Gleśk̄a University and the University of Oklahoma. We were to form a project team that would consist of Lak̇ōta language and culture experts and me, a linguistic anthropologist. This strategy followed the collaboration pattern between Native experts and university linguists used in other Native American language programs with documented success (Linn et. al. 1998). My dissertation research was to be conducted in support of this research project, and a representative of the Lak̇ōta Studies Department, Professor William Akard, was appointed as an outside member of my dissertation committee.

Contemporary Native North American research is developing toward collaborative ethnography, where Native people are active creators of the text rather than just research subjects to be interviewed. Today, the Native people are themselves interested and active in research, and they add new dimensions and challenges to anthropology. Lassiter's ethnography of the Kiowa song is based on the collaborative method (Lassiter 1998), and he later notes that a collaborative ethnography is first of all a practice built upon collaborative reading, writing, and interpretation (Lassiter 2005:133).

My study has been a daily challenge of listening and writing, reviewing and revising. It revealed the fragility and fluidity of the accepted universal patterns and categories. I learned that in our case of studying Lak̇ōta culture, there was no absolute answer to any question, nor was there

an answer or opinion that was representative of the group. Mostly, I worked with a variety of interpretations and differences of opinion that could be negotiated in a group of people who reached a consensus on which opinion they thought represented them the best.

Documentation of Lakȱta Songs

Throughout the twentieth century, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists collected Lakȱta songs. Densmore (1992) recorded Lakȱta songs on the Standing Rock Reservation in the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority of the songs in her study deal with the ceremonial aspects of Lakȱta life (e.g., Sun Dance songs and personal dream songs), although there is a small sample of social and secular songs. Curtis (1923) recorded a small sample of Lakȱta songs and culture. Theisz's collections (Black Bear and Theisz 1976; Theisz 2003) are a significant resource for teaching and reference since they provide an overview and samples of numerous types and categories of secular Lakȱta songs. A sample of Lakȱta ceremonial songs was recorded and published by Around Him and White Hat (1983). The work of our project team offers the most extensive collection of Lakȱta secular song texts which are available in a separate volume (Cutt et al. n.d.).

Lakȱta Music in Historical Perspective

Before European contact, Lakȱta culture had an oral empahsis. Stories, music, and art played an important role in the transmission of information. This tradition and its patterns of communication are very much alive today. Singing has been a component of any community event, such as a memorial dinner, dance, or ceremony. Vestal, who did fieldwork on the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota, wrote about the importance of songs in Lakȱta life:

> They are always singing. They have songs for every situation in which a man can find himself: for courting, for feasting, for thanksgiving and mourning, for peace and for war, for welcome and farewell, for victory and defeat – even for the moment of death. Long ago they worked out the correct response to every emergency, and there was a theme-song appropriate to every occasion (Vestal 1957:22).

Songs tell stories about the daily life of the people. Their lyrics convey a message and generate emotions. Songs are also pedagogical as they teach the young the proper behavior by telling a story. They also teach Lakȱta phonetics and the structure of the language to young children. Traditionally, songs were kept in memory and passed down from generation to generation in the family.

In contrast to some powwow songs popular today, most older Lakȱta songs, that are of Lakȱta origin, have substantial texts. Constantine and Porter (2003:125-140) suggest that songs preserve and reference the

community's collective memory. While visual art in winter counts recorded the most important yearly events (Mallery 1972), songs served as records of common social activities as well as of cultural values and norms.

Lak̇ōta music and dances, along with other traditions, were banned at the end of the nineteenth century. Some cultural practices were still strong in the underground, but assimilation did affect the public perception of traditional culture.

By the 1960's, Lak̇ōta music was stigmatized and unpopular. On the Rosebud Reservation, there was only one drum group that sang at social dances at certain times of the year, and ceremonial songs were never publicly sung. Only a handful of people knew the songs. In the late 1960's, Porcupine Singers, a drum group composed of singers from Rosebud and Pine Ridge, started publicly bringing the songs back. The group traveled to various Lak̇ōta reservations and attracted a lot of young men into traditional Lak̇ōta singing. In 1972, Albert White Hat started teaching Lak̇ōta music at St. Francis Indian School in Rosebud. By the 1980's, there were seven drum groups on the Rosebud reservation and the interest in Lak̇ōta music started to grow (White Hat, interview).

Today, traditional Lak̇ōta music enjoys popularity in the reservation. Most reservation communities have annual dance celebrations called powwows, or *wac̣i̱pis*, in Lak̇ōta. The largest ones, the July Fourth Powwow at

Rosebud Casino, the Siŋ̄te Gleṡ̄ka University Founders' Day *Waċipī*, and the Rosebud Fair attract hundreds of dancers and visitors. Laḳ̇ō̄ta music, once on the verge of extinction, encompasses language, history, culture, and spirituality. Today, it remains one of the areas that Laḳ̇ō̄ta Studies Department faculty identifies as needing more research.

Project Description

My research became part of a multi-stage Laḳ̇ō̄ta language and culture revival project. Recently, the Laḳ̇ō̄ta Studies Department at Siŋ̄te Gleṡ̄ka University had obtained copies of recordings of Laḳ̇ō̄ta songs and speeches, dating from the early 1900's, from the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. The recordings consisted of three collections: James R. Walker's (Blunt Horn et al. 1908) and Willard Rhodes's (Goings et al. 1939) collections from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, and Joseph K. Dixon's collection from Crow Agency in Montana (Yellow Face et al. 1909). The collections contained seventeen and a half hours of recorded material. In discussions with Laḳ̇ō̄ta Studies faculty, we all agreed that these song collections are significant native sources of Laḳ̇ō̄ta language and culture because they provide original Laḳ̇ō̄ta texts and allow a unique glimpse at the culture in its traditional context.

James R. Walker (1849–1926) was an agency physician on the Pine Ridge Reservation from 1896 to 1914. At that time, the practices of Native

medicine men were banned (Prucha 2000:185-187). However, the people still heavily depended on medicine men, and Walker's approach in treating the sick was different from earlier agency doctors. He chose to work with traditional medicine men so Western and Lak̇o t̄a medicine would complement each other and provide the best results to the people (Walker 1980: xiv). Walker thus earned people's respect and the medicine men began instructing him in their classified knowledge. He developed a genuine interest in Lak̇o t̄a culture and collected information on various aspects of Lak̇o t̄a life. Walker's efforts were encouraged by Clark Wissler, from the American Museum of Natural History in New York, who published studies based on Walker's field materials (Wissler 1912). The song recordings of 1908 are a small part of the Walker's collection owned by the Colorado Historical Society.

Willard Rhodes (1901–1992) was a professor of music at Columbia University and a co-founder and first president of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Between 1939 and 1952, Rhodes conducted fieldwork recording Native American music. He visited various tribes including the Lak̇o t̄a, Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, Taos, Kiowa, Choctaw, Bannock, Shoshone, Cheyenne, and Comanche (McAllester 1993:255). Rhodes's recordings from Pine Ridge are a small part of his 358 sound tape reel collection at the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive.

Joseph K. Dixon (1856–1926) was a former Baptist minister who became a photographer and led photographic expeditions, sponsored by Rodman Wanamaker, to Indian country in 1908-1913 (Britten 1999:32; Krouse 2007:8-9). In 1908, the group arrived at the Crow reservation in Montana, where they shot still and motion pictures. The goal of the expedition was to preserve the "Vanishing Race," which is reflected in the highly romanticized and staged pictures of Native American pre-reservation life. Dixon's song collection that we worked with was recorded in 1909 and consisted of six items, five songs and one speech.

The goals of our project were to transcribe, translate, analyze and re-record the selected songs in the three collections. We decided to manage the project by dividing it into stages and applying for funding for each stage separately.

Stage I of the project entitled "Preservation of the Lak̓ōta Language: Translation of Songs and Speeches" became a collaboration project between Siŋt̄e Gleśk̄a University and the University of Oklahoma to transcribe and translate the texts of the songs and speeches in the collections. We selected a team of three people who had expertise in Lak̓ōta music, language, and culture to implement these goals while I was to provide linguistic and technical assistance. Funding for Stage I from August 15, 2005 to June 15, 2006 was provided by the Hans Rausing Endangered Language

Documentation Project at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Stage II of the project was designed to restore selected songs in the collections that have passed out of use. The songs were to be re-recorded by professional traditional singers of the Rosebud Reservation and the CDs distributed to the communities, schools, academic institutions, and interested individuals as language and culture teaching tools.

Stage III involved more research on the songs by the students at Lak̇o̱ta Studies Department and development of further research projects working with the collections. My task in Stage III was to analyze the songs and use them as documents to recreate and research the picture of Lak̇o̱ta life at the time they were recorded, which resulted in this dissertation.

The non-Native collectors usually edited the English translations of the songs according to the canons of English poetry (cf. Curtis 1923) while the existing anthropological studies noticeably filter Lak̇o̱ta text through a non-Native value system (Paige 1970; W. Powers 1986:70-102). Such translations lose the uniqueness of Lak̇o̱ta linguistic and poetic expression. Studies resulting from such translations fail to reveal the Lak̇o̱ta culture as it is perceived and practiced in the Lak̇o̱ta community.

Song texts, as part of Lak̇o̱ta oral tradition, are a significant language resource. Therefore, our project team kept the English translations as close

to the original Lak̇o̱ta text as possible. We did not provide an interlinear gloss, but we provided a word-for-word translation in English in addition to one or more free translations in English. I used the original fieldnotes for the song collections where available and revised or merged them with our interpreters' translations. Since fewer and fewer fluent speakers remain who are able to understand and interpret the language of that time period, the translations of some words and phrases were supplemented by etymological explanations or stories.

Findings and Results

The musical qualities of Lak̇o̱ta songs have been analyzed in detail by Densmore (1992). In my study, rather than analyzing the songs from an ethnomusicological perspective, I read them as multi-layered text. My interests were to analyze the song texts to find out how song poetry is used to create a historical and cultural document in Lak̇o̱ta thought.

In my studies of the song texts, I found a high degree of abstractness. Instead of describing an event or story, Lak̇o̱ta songs build a network of references to the context. This mode of expression most resembles visual sources of documentation, including rock art, pictorial calendars, and even Meso-American hieroglyphic writing. For example, a rock painting of a buffalo and two human figures most probably signifies the fact that people used to hunt in the vicinity of the site. However, in contrast to Western

historiography, such documentation provides us neither the specific date when the event happened, nor the specific place where it was done. The identity of the authors of the work or actors of the event is often lost with the passing of time. Given the lack of these types of information, how do songs document culture, or, do they document culture at all?

Johnston (1976:26-28) emphasized the central role of music and songs in the construction of Native identity due to the cultural context that is embedded in them. I used Bakhtin's (1984:18) concept of the dialogic organization of language and the interdependence between language and the context in which it is produced. The Lakȱta language teaching methodology developed at Siṇ̄te Gleśl̄ka University aims to contextualize and revise linguistic studies by explaining the philosophy inherent in the language (White Hat 1999). Analysis of indexicality in the song texts, such as discourse markers and shifters, which Silverstein (1976) theorized being linguistic devices linking language and culture through the social relationships that they document, will demonstrate the interaction of the textual and contextual planes.

The goal of my study was to show how songs document culture and how they can be used as a Native source in cultural studies. Lakȱta songs record relationships that structure the culture. A relationship, for purposes of this study, is defined as a connection between entities such as individuals,

between an individual and an object, between an individual and a spiritual entity, and between an individual and the past based on their experience with each other. As context changes with the passing of time, the relationships and their nature remain constant. The song texts are short and concise and they contain shifters that index the relationships between contextual elements. Therefore, the songs allow the individual to fill in the context, which may vary depending on his/her experience. As a result, many interpretations of the same song are possible, and interpretations produced during different time periods may also differ.

The analysis of the texts revealed that we documented five hundred forty-one pieces: fifty-five in Walker's collection, four hundred eighty in Rhodes's, and six in Dixon's. The collections contained songs, speeches, church hymns, and demonstrations of Laƙo̱ta sounds. Most of the songs and speeches are in the L-dialect (Laƙo̱ta), except three songs in Rhodes's collection which are in Daƙo̱ta. Sixty songs in all the collections contain only vocables. Ten pieces in Walker's collection and one in Dixon's contain speeches that are longer than a simple introduction to a song. In Rhodes's collection, we found thirty songs that had English words and fourteen Episcopalian hymns with Laƙo̱ta words.

The collections presented a wide range of songs. There were love songs, Rabbit Dance songs, children's songs, warrior society songs, World

War veteran songs, personal songs, memorial songs, honoring songs, ceremonial songs (traditional and Christian hymns), journey songs, and social dance songs.

For analysis, I intended to group the songs into categories that have been used by other scholars, for example, love songs, war songs, and ceremonial songs (Densmore 1992; Paige 1970; Powers 1990b). However, a recent work by R.D. Theisz (2003), instead of categorization, presents a variety of songs, sampling them one by one. My initial attempts to organize the songs were challenged by song variation within one potential category and the fluidity of categories. For example, men's society songs and some personal songs, honoring songs, and journey songs deal with war-related subjects. However, they belong to different genres. Also, a traditional love song might cross the category boundaries and be performed as a Rabbit Dance song or even an Omaha song. Thus, in my analysis, it proved to be useful to group the songs by the topic and organize them using the four Lakȱta virtues: bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom. I used the earlier categories where appropriate, speaking of a certain type of songs in a general way (e.g., love songs would include all songs dealing with romantic topics, such as *wioyus̄te olowaŋ, mas̄tiŋc̄ala olowaŋ, s̀uŋk̄ah̀ olowaŋ*, and '49 Dance songs).

In the next chapter, Chapter II, "Theoretical framework and methodology," I will discuss the theoretical framework of the study as well as the methodological approaches and challenges. Chapter III, "Record systems, documentation, and Lakȱta culture," reviews Native American record systems and summarizes the research in Lakȱta ethnohistory and ethnography in order to situate the songs in the context of Native society.

The next four chapters are dedicated to the ethnography of the songs. As mentioned above, the songs are grouped into complexes according to the virtue they express.[1] Thus, each of the four chapters is titled after a Lakȱta virtue and discusses the appropriate songs.

Chapter IV, "Bravery: The Journey Song Complex," deals with the songs of a man's life journey and personal development, including a search for experience, education, and achievement. Chapter V, "Fortitude: The Love Song Complex," is dedicated to fortitude as expressed in a couple's relationships in songs that deal with romantic subjects. I did take some creative freedom in interpreting fortitude in this way. However, as the discussion will later show, a couple's relationships required a lot of fortitude to create a union and to make it last. Chapter VI, "The Generosity Complex," groups various songs from leader's songs to certain ceremonial songs that

[1] There are various systems of the basic Lakȱta virtues: some of them name four, while others count seven and more. The system I used in my work is modern and it is accepted by the Siŋ̄te Gleśka University.

express the virtue of generosity. Chapter VII, "Wisdom: Ceremony and Leadership," is based on the last Lakȱta virtue, wisdom, which is achieved as a result of life experience. The chapter discusses the songs that communicate this ultimate achievement, primarily the ceremonial songs and songs of leadership.

Chapter VIII, "'*Wacėkiyapī*: They Address all Creation as Relatives': Songs, Language, and Relationships in Lakȱta Society," applies structural and discourse analysis to show the multiple layers of Lakȱta culture and the song text as a means of interaction and as a timeless cultural document.

In the Conclusions, I will summarize the findings of the study and the implications of the project for further research and community life. Appendix I contains a Lakȱta Pronunciation Guide which will orient the reader, both academic and non-academic, to Lakȱta sound system and orthography used in this study. Lakȱta song titles and their translations are compiled in Appendix II.

Chapter II. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This work builds on the scholarship in linguistic and cultural anthropology, especially theories of performance and discourse, as well as ethnography and structural anthropology. First of all, my research is informed by the Americanist Tradition, which descends from the Boasian practices of text collection and analysis and which is committed to the study and preservation of oral literatures and to the inseparability of language and culture (Hymes 1981; Valentine and Darnell 1999:6).

The first ethnographic descriptions of Lak̇o̱ta/Dak̇o̱ta people were produced by travelers and missionaries (Schoolcraft 1884; Riggs 2004). The latter also created the writing systems, wrote grammars and compiled dictionaries of Dak̇o̱ta and Lak̇o̱ta in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Riggs 1852; Williamson 1902; Buechel 1939; Buechel 1983).

The collection of Lak̇ota texts was another vivid trend in the early twentieth century. A major source from that era is J.R. Walker's collection which contains stories of Lak̇o̱ta history and culture as told by Lak̇o̱ta elders to Walker and also writings by literate Lak̇o̱ta men such as George Sword. Walker's texts have been edited and published (DeMallie 1999; Walker 1980; Walker 1982; Walker 1983) and they are a significant primary source on Lak̇o̱ta pre-reservation culture.

Boas hired his student Ella Deloria, a Lak̇o̱ta who grew up on the Standing Rock Reservation, as a translator and field anthropologist in 1927 (DeMallie 2006: ix). She collected stories and recorded conversations in Lak̇o̱ta in addition to the translation of the documents from Walker's and other collections. Her ethnographic work resulted in a bilingual collection of stories (Deloria 2006) and *Waterlily,* a novel which today is read as ethnography of a Lak̇o̱ta woman's life (Deloria 1988). The female Native perspective in Lak̇o̱ta anthropology was continued by Bea Medicine, whose research, among other works, produced an ethnography on Lak̇o̱ta sobriety and drinking (Medicine 1983).

Our understanding of the development of Lak̇o̱ta culture from the time the reservations were created until the mid-twentieth century remains limited. Anthropologists of the early twentieth century were interested in salvaging the culture of the pre-reservation period (Wissler 1912; Deloria 2006) with little attention to contemporary life. Works in anthropology and history tended to focus on the pre-reservation culture until the Wounded Knee Massacre in Pine Ridge in 1890, which was considered the end of Lak̇o̱ta resistance and thus, the end of the "classical" Lak̇o̱ta culture (Vestal 1957; Hassrick 1964; Neihardt 1932). Studies on the effects of assimilation dominated the Plains anthropology of the mid-twentieth century (Macgregor 1946; Maynard 1979; Howard 1965). Grobsmith (1981) published a

contemporary Lak̇ōta ethnography comparing a rural and an urban reservation community on the Rosebud. William and Marla Powers' work focused on the ceremonial aspects of Lak̇ōta culture (W. Powers 1977; M. Powers 1986; W. Powers 1986; M. Powers 1991). Biolsi studied the politics of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations (Biolsi 1992) and employed a Foucauldian perspective to analyze the politics of the reservation system (Biolsi 1995). Pickering studied contemporary Lak̇ōta economy on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations (Pickering 2000). Ethnic identity and gender in Lak̇ōta discourse was studied by Trechter (Trechter 1995; Trechter 2001).

There is a rich history of collecting Lak̇ōta songs, which are valuable ethnographic data. First, references to the songs describe them as part of rituals and healing ceremonies (Hutchinson, letter). Early travelers were honored by journey songs. Missionaries translated hymns from English to Dak̇ōta (Renville 1842; Riggs and Williamson 1863). Songs of culture change-related ceremonies such as the Ghost Dance, which spread among the Lak̇ōta in the late nineteenth century, were recorded by L.W. Colby (1895) and J. Mooney (1991). J.R. Walker (Blunt Horn *et al.* 1908) recorded a series of healing ceremony songs as well as war-related, travel, and love songs. N. Curtis (1923) recorded and described a small sample of various Lak̇ōta songs.

F. Densmore (1992) recorded and published the most extensive collection of Laḳoṭa songs on the Standing Rock Reservation. Her main interest was in ceremonial songs and society songs. Social songs are the smallest sample in her collection. G. Herzog recorded Daḳoṭa songs (Herzog, n.d.). W. Rhodes visited various Laḳoṭa reservations, including Pine Ridge and Standing Rock, and recorded a large collection of songs in the 1930's and 1940's (Goings *et al.* 1939). Rhodes's collection presents a wide variety of songs, including social dance, love, veterans', and children's songs, and also some ceremonial songs. J. Jurrens (1965) adapted a collection of Laḳoṭa songs from Rosebud for elementary education purposes.

R.D. Theisz, a member of a famous Pine Ridge Porcupine Singers drum group and an academic, published a few textbook- or reader-type books on Laḳoṭa music for educational purposes, which sample various categories of songs. Black Bear and Theisz (1976) published a collection of samples of various Laḳoṭa songs and dances with short interpretations. The book is bilingual. The page on the left presents Laḳoṭa text, and, on the right, the English translation. This collection was followed by a textbook of Laḳoṭa songs (Theisz 2003) developed for Laḳoṭa music courses. Theisz's work focuses on secular songs as objects of value. However, his collections are just sampling the various song categories. Around Him and White Hat (1983)

published a collection of samples of ceremonial songs which are mostly used on the Rosebud Reservation today.

Studies of Lak̇o̱ta music employ a variety of perspectives. H. Paige's (1970) study of Lak̇o̱ta songs is an attempt to use a combination of an evolutionist and a linguistic approach to produce Lak̇o̱ta song ethnography. W. Powers's study of war dance (1990b) brought attention to the issues of intertribal diffusion of Native American music and its role in the creation of pan-Indian identity. Theisz, in addition to song collection and performance, is also a critic of song poetry and its translation (Theisz 1987; Theisz 2000), while one of his recent works, an autobiography of Lak̇o̱ta singer Severt Young Bear (Young Bear and Theisz 1994), contains valuable ethnographic data on Lak̇o̱ta songs and singing. Gooding (2004) surveyed the development, change, and replacement of various Lak̇o̱ta song categories from 1600's to the present.

Oral Tradition in Ethnohistory

Boas studied the oral tradition, but was mostly interested in the origins of myths and the geographical distribution of their characteristic traits (Boas 1891; Boas 1914). Lowie was convinced of the lack of "historical sense" in oral history and believed in comparative ethnology as a method to reconstruct history and culture (Lowie 1917). According to Lowie (1917:165), the oral tradition "fails to record, or to record accurately, the most

momentous happenings." In the studies of African societies, Vansina found that oral traditions did have historical validity. He noted that African people used mnemotechnic devices, such as objects, landscapes, and music, to recall a memory and, unlike a written word, such devices could yield new information (Vansina 1985:44).

The latter view became very important in my study. Oral culture contains a variety of perspectives as it is based on individual experience. Songs brought memories to the consultants who listened to them, and these memories and interpretations reflected their own personal relationship with the culture and history. Interpretations varied according to the person's community location, family affiliation, and life experience.

Oral culture is a very fluid and varied entity. It easily incorporates new places and events so they become part of the culture and the community experience. Lak̇ōta oral tradition bridges past and present while focusing on the significance of the event or experience in the present.

There is a lack of an absolute standard or an absolute truth. Rather, standards are developed and they exist on individual, family, and group levels. Standards and truths may be developed or reversed according to a situation and are a matter of adaptation that would enable people to survive in a specific situation. Even then, the standards change as the word travels from mouth to mouth. The theory of performance suggests the

interpretations of these multiple layers of meaning and the modes of their production in oral culture.

Performance and Multi-vocality

Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, which refers to a variety of ways of speaking and expression (Bakhtin 1981), is applied by Lord (1964) to describe performances of South Slavic epic songs. Lord (1964:101) distinguishes "the song" and "songs," which also corresponds to de Saussure's *la langue* and *la parole* that refer to language as a system and its specific manifestation as an utterance. Lord's "songs" are variants of the same song which are performed differently by different performers. While the basic story is carefully preserved, variations in song performances may include line composition and linking, expansion and ornamentation, order of sequence of events, addition or omission of material, and substitution of themes (Lord 1964:123).

My fieldwork showed that the translations of Lak̇ōta songs have been ideologically influenced. Hill (1985:728) has noted that an utterance combines a variety of voices, but ideology and the language system constrain the combination. Ideology has influenced Lak̇ōta performance of culture in several ways. On the one hand, the Lak̇ōta people have been quite creative in their cultural exchanges with their non-Native visitors. Since the reservation system was imposed in the late 1870's, the people have learned to live double lives: one for the watchful outsiders, and another one for

themselves. Since the people's survival sometimes depended on this ability (for example, the people gave the agent aliases and went through the line several times to obtain more food for their families), they skillfully performed their culture and identity depending on what the context required.

On the other hand, audience has traditionally been one of the major factors shaping a performance in an oral culture. Discussing Athabaskan storytelling, Scollon and Scollon (1981:105) note that the best storytellers gear their performance towards the audience's perception. Since the listener is responsible for the interpretation of the story, the narrator shapes the story so that the listener could integrate it with his/her own experience. The same sentiment is echoed by Lord (1964:16-17) who points out that the length and elaborateness of the song performance depends on the audience.

When traditional dances and regalia were banned on the reservations in 1883 (United States, Office of Indian Affairs 1883) and the people's mobility from reservation to reservation became limited, numerous Lak̇ōta families joined the Buffalo Bill and other Wild West shows where they wore their traditional outfits, rode horses and danced as part of the show acts. They traveled across the United States and to other continents, including Europe and Australia (Blackstone 1986; Moses 1999). Thus, as participants in the world economy through the industry of entertainment, Lak̇ōta people

developed a sense of marketing of their culture and shaping their performance to fit the audience's expectations. To this day, the authenticity of performance may be questioned by the members of the same culture who remained outside of the production circle. Performers, however, are merely actors who work according to the producers' directions to entertain the audience.

Salvage anthropology of the early twentieth century escalated the issues brought about by the Lak̇o̱ta participation in world economy by depicting them as clinging to the "traditional" way of life (referring to the pre-reservation lifestyles). Traditional practices such as dances, ceremonies, medicine, housing and clothing, and, even the language, were suppressed on the reservations as part of the assimilation policy. At the same time, stories, songs, and material objects were arduously collected by anthropologists and independent collectors. The items were displayed or stored at the museums while Native American exhibits and live participation were part of the World Expositions. As a result of these salvaging attempts, there is little documentation of how Native American cultures were changing in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Native marketing strategies undoubtedly affected the collection and interpretation of anthropological data. The obscenities in the Assiniboine stories collected by Lowie (1909), which even made him switch the text of the

publication from English to Latin, appear as an example of a performer-audience play. The limited repertoire of Lak̇o̱ta songs in the early collections (Densmore 1992; Curtis 1923), focusing mainly on the war complex and ceremonial songs with an occasional love song and the translations of the song texts, have been visibly geared toward the romantic perceptions of the Native culture by the collector.

Rhodes's collection (Goings et al. 1939) is one the few primary sources that documents Lak̇o̱ta life in the early twentieth century. Rhodes recorded a wide variety of songs, from personal and men's society songs to children's and social dance songs. The collection presents a picture of changes in social practices (e.g., gender behavior) and spirituality (a shift towards dependence on the higher powers). Therefore, as a historical document, it is of cultural and linguistic significance. Walker's collection documents the songs that were mostly ceremonial and were used by the medicine men to instruct Walker as their apprentice. The recordings in Dixon's collection were made during stage shows at Crow Agency in Montana in which performers lamented the old lifestyle.

Intertextuality, ascribed to Bakhtin, refers to the fact that whenever we speak we produce the words of others. We constantly cite and recite expressions and recycle meanings that are already available (Blommaert 2005:46). Because of the heteroglossic nature of song performance, our

project team that worked with the collections was in a unique position. It was a group of Lak̇o̱ta people studying a Lak̇o̱ta performance presented to a non-Native audience. Translating the performance, the interpreters filtered the Lak̇o̱ta voice and produced meaning positioned in Lak̇o̱ta philosophy and in accordance with Lak̇o̱ta behaviors and beliefs. The process dictated a methodology that was culturally appropriate. At least two fluent Lak̇o̱ta speakers listened to the songs and negotiated their interpretations. They clarified various points with each other and sometimes with additional consultants. When they arrived at consensus on a particular issue, the accepted version was presented to me to record. I compiled all translations and interpretations to a manuscript, which we are preparing as a separate publication. Arriving at a single interpretation sometimes took minutes. At others, it took days and even months. At the time of my writing, the interpretation was sometimes re-negotiated. Therefore, in my references to consultations, rather than presenting the date and time of the interview, I simply refer the reader to the manuscript and the notes documenting negotiated interpretations.

The interpretation has yet another level–that of performance. Working with the song texts and fieldnotes, we noticed that everytime the story is told, it is told in a somewhat different way or given a different interpretation. The narrators add and omit details as they see fit. We could

compare the translation that was given by a Lak̇ōta singer or a non-Native researcher through an interpreter, or a translation of a bilingual Lak̇ōta who explained what the song meant to the Lak̇ōta as a people.

The elders and Lak̇ōta speakers were conscious of the intended audience of the text. Although the primary audience was considered to be the reservation community, they knew that the songs were to be used for educational purposes as well as entertainment. Working on the translations, they realized that they had to make the songs accessible to English-speakers, whether it is young people on the reservation who have grown up speaking English, or academics who study Lak̇ōta music or literature. My presence as an "ethnographic secretary" also shaped the version of translation that was recorded in the manuscript. Although I was not considered part of the dominant society, I was perceived as a representative of another–a foreign nation–rather than a *wasi̇cu*, a common description of a Euro-American person with negative connotations. On the one hand, I was still not a Lak̇ōta, and, therefore, a trainee, a learner of their culture and language. This is another factor shaping the information I received. On the other hand, I was a full-time member of the reservation community who participated in the social life and spiritual practices. Therefore, the information I received was undoubtedly more in-depth than if it were presented to an outsider who comes to visit for a summer or a weekend. In addition, the fact that I was a

young female Ph.D. candidate working on my dissertation was a social factor influencing my position in the community and my access to information. Since the very beginning, I established my identity as an alcohol- and drug-free academic who writes grant proposals. I did notice that young people tried to focus their conversations with me on educational topics and impress me with their skills and qualifications. I, although full of admiration, tried to convey the fact that I was a graduate student, and not a representative of a foundation who could award them funding for their projects.

Although my understanding of the context of the interviewer–interviewee relationship helps me position myself in the study, my goal is to focus on the referential aspects of the text that we produced to reconstruct the Native performance of culture and history and its ethnographic value. My textual analysis draws on the theories of structuralism and discourse analysis.

Structural Studies

Levi-Strauss believed in the underlying structure of human cognition and used studies of kinship, myth, and religion to uncover the elements of this structure. He incorporated the linguistic model of contrasts proposed by the Prague School and applied the notion of dualism to the study of myth (Levi-Strauss 1963c) and art (Levi-Strauss 1963b). Thompson analyzed the geographical distribution of mythic elements (Thompson 1946). Lomax

developed a comparative method of song text analysis which is based on the computer-programmed statistical analysis of lexical categories in the texts and presented an attempt to relate the elements of the songs to the levels of social complexity and sociological traits (Lomax and Halifax 1971). In Lomax's study, songs that contained more contextual references than descriptive elements (e.g., Navajo songs) were positioned at the bottom of the scale of social complexity.

Indexicality and Discourse Markers

The language of Lak̇ōta song texts contains high levels of semantic ambiguity, including multiple references and multiple ways of interpreting a reference. For example, it contains an abundance of pronouns that refer to objects/subjects without naming them, and thus, it leaves the individual composer or listener in charge of interpretation based on his or her experience. Indexicality, as a link between language and culture, has been studied by authors such as Silverstein (1976), Hanks (1990; 1999) and Duranti (1997). Shifters, linguistic devices such as pronouns or deictic references that shift their meaning, encode relationships in social interaction.

In Lak̇ōta songs, not only numerous pronouns and particles shift their meaning, but sometimes entire phrases develop into shifters. For example, at the time the song was composed, both the composer/performer and the listeners were aware of the specific meaning of the references and the

context. However, as time passes and the specific events pass out of memory with the passing of the people who experienced them, the songs gain a broader meaning as they become part of a larger cultural context and represent a certain direction or aspect of culture rather than a specific, individually-experienced event. Such a song may pass into the realm of educational songs which still hold value as they convey an event that must have happened a long time ago, but does not necessarily describe the current situation.

The inexplicitness of the text allows the flexibility of interpretation and the song's adaptation to the current community's needs. Thus, any member of the group may offer his/her interpretation of the song based on the demonstrative pronouns. The interpretations will be considered equally valid since they come from a member of the same group, with the implication of a shared lifestyle and culture. Therefore, the ambiguity of the text allows the song to be adapted to different individual experiences within the same cultural framework, or to transport it to different time periods.

Text, Translation, and the Principles of Structure

The tradition of Native American text translation was started by Sapir and Boas with ethnolinguistic texts based on literal translations (Sapir 1910; Deloria 2006). Ethnopoetic translations in the second half of the twentieth century used a typographical format to present the stylistic features of the

oral text (Hymes 1981; Tedlock 1983). Bright, working with Karok texts, used typographics to present features such as voice quality and intonation boundaries of the oral performance of the story (Bright 1978). The focus of the translations our project team produced is on the language and its semantic levels rather than on the poetics of the text.

Attempts to make a Native American text more accessible to a non-Native reader have sometimes resulted in over-poetic or grammatically incorrect translations that modify the storyline of the song. Krupat has pointed out that translators working with Native American literatures have always negotiated the line between art and science, with the production of the aesthetic effect in poetry translation being as important as maintaining the literariness of the original text (Krupat 1992:5). Deloria, who corrected Densmore's (1992) translations of Laƙo̱ta songs, noted that the latter's translations were "somewhat fanciful and poetical" (Deloria 1937a:4). Does the art of translation interfere with the conveying the meaning?

I encountered three levels of Laƙo̱ta mistranslations that transform not only the lexical meaning, but also the cultural value system. The first level is words added to embellish the English meaning of the Laƙo̱ta sentence. For example, the Song No. 3 line, "you who dwells where the sun falls (west)" (Densmore 1992:75), is brought to a literal translation by Deloria as "where the sun falls" (Deloria 1937a:4). Second, the translation is lexically

inaccurate so the meaning of the song changes. For example, Song No. 178 duplication *Ecel ṫaŋiŋyaŋ yuŋkelo,* which literally means "Accordingly/plainly/he lies" (Deloria 1937a:71), in reference to a warrior who fell in battle is translated as "well, it is widely known" (Densmore 1992:408). Third, not only the translations can be lexically misguiding, but they can change meaning of the speech act performance. *Ṫaku oṫehiṫa owale* is translated by Rhodes as "Some warriors I am looking for" (Rhodes 1939, Notebook 2), while numerous Laḳoṫa speakers that I consulted translated *oṫehiṫa* as "difficult times" and explained that "songs like this are sung by warriors, so you don't need to mention them verbally in the text, it is understood. You sing about what they do, rather than mention them [as individuals]" (Cutt et al. n.d.:66). The former translation is culturally misleading because Laḳoṫa song texts generally focus on an event or action, rather than on an individual subject with the exception of honoring songs, which honor individuals for a certain action that they performed. In this song, the action represents engaging with a difficulty and overcoming it, which is a key action in warrior philosophy.

Given these considerations, I believe it was necessary to use literal translations to present the nuances of meaning of the words, phrases, and metaphorical expressions within the Laḳoṫa context. The work of our project team showed that literal translations provided more insight into Laḳoṫa

culture and song performance than poetic ones. While the value of poetic translation would be undoubtedly enjoyed by a literary-minded reader, I consider our translations of ethnographic and linguistic value to an academic reader or Laƙōta language learner.

One of the intentions of my work was to use the language to reconstruct or revise the existing interpretations of some aspects and historical moments of Laƙōta culture. Recently, White Hat (1996) has proposed reviving the traditional Laƙota philosophy that is inherent in the language. For example, the Laƙōta word *wakaŋ*, which consists of the root word *ƙaŋ* meaning "veins in the body" and the descriptive noun morpheme *wa-,* has been translated into English as "mystery," "sacred," and "holy" (W. Powers 1986:109). In Laƙōta, the word refers to life power that the speakers explain in easily accessible layman's terms (White Hat 1999:98). In order to show these original Laƙōta meanings, it was necessary to produce word-for-word translation of Laƙōta text and add an etymological explanation where appropriate. Also, the texts were intended for language teaching and since the numbers of fluent Laƙōta speakers are dwindling, our project team wanted to record as much linguistic data as possible. Thus, for my presentation, I use interlinear translation consisting of a line of Laƙōta text, a second line of word-for-word translation, and a third line of free translation

into English which we tried to keep as close lexically to the Lak̇o̱ta text as possible.

Language, Culture, and Documentation

The relationship of language, culture and worldview has been an ongoing debate in anthropological theory (Hill 1988). The notion that languages have their own internal logic was developed by Sapir and Whorf. Whorf believed that the structure of any language contains a theory of the structure of the universe (Whorf 1956). Witherspoon (1977) found that a culture is based on a metaphysical assumption which is taken for granted by the members of the culture and which is at the core of the principles that organize the linguistic structures, art, kinship, and ritual.

The organization of the story reflects the cultural values and the principles of cognition. Scollon and Scollon (1981:100-102) discuss how the Athabaskan people structure information based on their values of non-intervention, individual respect, integration of knowledge, and entropy. Luthin (2002:35), in his discussion of the stylistic features of Native American storytelling, points out that a European-aesthetics oriented reader may find the timing of the story, the motivation of characters, and the order of development or lack of dramatic resolution unexpected and different. Lak̇o̱ta songs also express the principles of individualism and knowledge integration, and they tend to present an event or an outcome without

explaining the motivation or the development of the story. In the collections, motivation is sometimes provided by the singers to explain the context of the song to the outside visitor.

Songs follow the Lak̇o̱ta method of communication. Based on my observations, Lak̇o̱ta conversations are never wordy. Business is sometimes preceded by lengthy social encounters, but business questions or issues are resolved quickly. Usually a short presentation of the issue is followed by a discussion about possible means of resolution. Reaching a consensus on the issue will signify the final outcome. The song texts, with the exception of a few lengthy romantic and journey songs, are usually short and concise, and speak of a resolution of an event or a state.

The structure of Lak̇o̱ta song texts reminds one of the visual and metaphorical principles of ideographic writing used in rock art and Plains calendars which focus on documenting an act, an accomplishment, or a state. The pictures are rather abstract and simple, representing the basic features of objects or human and animal figures. The song texts resemble a pictograph. They are short (two to four verses), and the story is sketched using a few basic details and references to situations that are meaningful only when the context is known. Both songs and drawings focus on one event per item.

The visual method of documentation was one of the most widespread in Native North America. Mallery notes the following was common: to place a documentation of an event on bone; history on skin; representations of spiritual entities on earth; sand, mortuary records, notices of departure, and distress on wood; calendars and figurines on fictile; and, ancestral figures and patterns on textiles (Mallery 1972:208-217). Discussing the rock art of Wyoming and Montana, the areas frequented by the Plains tribes, Francis and Loendorf distinguish abstract designs (e.g., zigzag lines) and descriptive figures (e.g., anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures) and relate them to the documentation of visionary experiences and domestic daily life (Francis and Loendorf 2002:194-195).

Calendars and ledger drawings continue the tradition of rock art. Pictorial calendars known as winter counts used the visual method to record family histories. On such calendars, a picture would represent the most important event of the year. Winter counts documented expeditions, battles, migrations, and sociologically notable events, such as how the Sicȧŋġu got their name (Mallery 1972:553-569).

An individual may record his own personal story using the same method. White Bull of Standing Rock wrote his autobiography in a series of ledger drawings (Vestal 1962). His deeds are represented by the drawings and the pictures have short comments in Lak̇o̱ta (White Bull, n.d.). Biographies

contain records of particular exploits or events. For example, a hunting record relates that the man slept two nights on the hunting ground and killed three does (Mallery 1972:575).

Vansina (1985) stressed the mnemonic nature of objects, landscape, and music in the oral tradition. Picture writing served as a mnemonic device allowing individuals to remember the events or experiences that happened in a particular place. Objects fixed the concepts, facts, or other matters connected with them in people's memory. For example, knotted cords and tied objects documented trade, flocks, populations, tributes and military achievements (Mallery 1972:223-224). In a similar manner, songs, instead of describing an event, contain only brief references to an event or a story. Thus, they also serve as a mnemonic device to help one remember the full story.

Songs, like picture writing, contain a unique combination of individualism and collectivism. Each song has a composer and a singer, and speaks from one's own perspective and experience only. At the same time, the songs are group situated. The experiences or events reported always have a very specific group affiliation. For example, an individual is part of a certain family and community and his experience was formed by the experiences of that specific group.

Songs relate individual experiences. Sometimes, the name of a person is inserted into the song to whom it is dedicated (e.g., honoring songs). In addition, they speak of encounters of an individual or a group *(zuya* songs). They may also speak of an event in which the individual participated (e.g., traveling with the Buffalo Bill show). The composition of the song and its meaning belongs to the individual composer. However, as the composer is part of the group (family/nation), the song also belongs to that group and has a meaning for the members of that group.

In sum, my study will use songs as a source to produce a reading of Lak̇ō̄ta ethnohistory and demonstrate how they link language and culture. My main tools are literal translation and semantic analysis where appropriate, discourse analysis, and investigation of relations of song elements to Lak̇ō̄ta social life and its structures. The theories of performance and language ideology will help contextualize my reading of the Lak̇ō̄ta songs in their culture. Analysis of the song texts dictated the directions for ethnographic research, which will be reviewed in the next chapter.

Methodology

My methodological strategies while working as a member of the project team echoed those recently used language revitalization projects in other Native American communities (Hinton 1994:251-252; Linn et al. 1998:75-

77). Flexibility was the main strategy that ensured our success. As an anthropologist, I was a leader, or rather, the driving force, of the team. My tasks included making the initial selection of songs for translation, typing up the texts, translations, and notes after the sessions, and preparing the drafts for the speakers' review, which usually resulted in more linguistic material or cultural interpretations.

Project Team and Participants

The project team and participants were selected at the recommendation of the Lak̇ōta Studies Department. To compose an effective project team, we were looking for participants who were fluent Lak̇ōta speakers and had the knowledge of traditional Lak̇ōta culture and songs. One needs to be an experienced singer and a fluent speaker familiar with the older language to hear the words of the songs and speeches and to interpret their meaning in the context in which they are presented.

I learned that Lak̇ōta language may be used in very individual ways and each family group has its own way of verbally expressing the same idea. Once, I asked three different speakers to translate the same Lak̇ōta sentence into English. They came up with three different English versions. One speaker noted that the same sentence may have one meaning when used in a daily conversation, another meaning if it occurred in a story or song, and yet another connotation if it was used in a prayer.

For the most part, linguistic training turned out to be an advantage to such participants because they already had an understanding of the parameters of our work. In the course of the project, it proved difficult for some speakers with no linguistic training to provide morpheme-to-morpheme translations as they would rather look for English catch phrases to translate a Lak̇ō̄ta word. Such translations lacked accuracy and had to be revised by other speakers.

Initially, the team consisted of three male Lak̇ō̄ta (Siċaŋġu and Oglala) elders and instructors and me, an anthropologist. The Lak̇ō̄ta side of the team was represented by an experienced traditional singer, a leading Lak̇ō̄ta language authority, and a teaching materials development expert. My Lak̇ō̄ta colleagues were over fifty years of age and came from traditional backgrounds. They grew up speaking Lak̇ō̄ta as their first language, but their fluency in both Lak̇ō̄ta and English turned out to be a big advantage to the project. As mentioned earlier, they were also trained in linguistics. Today, they are respected for their expertise in their respective fields and they all teach classes in the Lak̇ō̄ta Studies Department. In this way, all of our needs for experts were met.

In addition to the project team, seven other people were used as consultants to a varying extent. They included four females and three males, all over forty years of age and fluent in Lak̇ō̄ta. Since our project team is

primarily male, the female consultants provided crucial interpretations of the songs that speak mostly from the female perspective, such as love and children's songs. I worked with each of the consultants individually and our sessions were oriented towards their skills and expertise. For example, a consultant may be an experienced traditional singer and an expert in traditional culture, but he/she would have limited knowledge of the written language or unable to break down the words to the original meanings of their components. One of the skills that I developed in the process of my work was to observe and assign the right tasks to the right people at the right time, which made working with different people effective.

We agreed that the team members who made a significant contribution to the project transcribing and translating the songs would be listed as co-authors when the translation manuscript is published. The consultants who contributed stories and interpretations signed an informed consent form, but no such form was required if the consultant worked exclusively on translations. All team members and consultants were paid a standard fee per session for the number of sessions they participated on a monthly basis.

Session Schedule and Structure

Originally, we had planned to meet in weekly sessions to listen to the songs and transcribe and translate them. A few extra weeks were allocated in

the project in case of weather emergencies during winter. In the beginning of the project, we tried to schedule the sessions in advance when all three team members were available. Due to intensive teaching and travel schedules, such scheduling proved difficult at times.

After skipping a few weeks during the first months, I started scheduling the sessions on a day-to-day basis whenever the team members were available and weather permitted. Such flexible planning proved to be most effective. Also, instead of having the entire team present at the session, I started working with them individually. For example, with one team member, we transcribed the text in one session. Then, I met with another team member to review the spelling and translate the texts. Afterwards, both of them would be present at another session to negotiate the questionable parts of the text.

In the second part of the project, individual sessions were most productive. As we started working with Rhodes's collection which had a relatively good sound quality, one team member could easily transcribe the texts. Meanings and interpretations were still negotiated by the team.

To work on translations, we needed access to a CD player with speakers to play the songs and replay certain parts multiple times in order to write down the text properly. We started out using computers in the

Language Lab at the university, but later moved the sessions to the offices of the Lakȱta Studies Department.

The sessions lasted from one to several hours. We listened to the songs and the speakers used paper and pencil to write down the texts. Depending on the quality of the recording, it might take some time and effort for the team of speakers to negotiate the final version of the text. Translations were done at the end of the day after the transcriptions were completed or at the next session. Due to the poor quality of some recordings, especially in the Walker's collection, and, also because of fast contracted speech, at times it would take several speakers to negotiate the text and its meaning. After the sessions, I typed up the texts and their translations.

To transcribe the songs, we used the orthography that was created and negotiated by Lakȱta language teachers from various reservations over a twenty-year period (White Hat 1999:3-6). At Siŋ̄te Gleśka University, a font called Plantagenet Lakȱta has been developed for computer programs. The university holds the copyright to the font. The orthography uses diacritic marks and so far has been the most accurate and user-friendly representation of Lakȱta sounds.

Structure of Sessions and Interviews

Since I had lived on the reservation over a two year-period for several months at a time before the project started, I was aware of the problems that

cultural differences might present in structuring the interviews. First of all, I was aware of the "mirror" effect when Lakȱta consultants encounter a non-Native visitor and cater to his/her needs. In other words, the people have stereotypes of non-Native visitors and what types of information they want. Spiritual and cultural summer tourists and charity and church groups have swarmed the reservations of the western Lakȱta in the recent decades. The Lakȱta people have learned to market their culture to accommodate these non-Native visitors' needs and to fit their expectations.

For example, Lakȱta culture is presented as being spiritual and nature-connected. To my knowledge, non-Native visitors from overseas and other parts of the country are allowed to experience sweat lodge ceremonies and are welcomed participants at all except one Sun Dance on the Rosebud Reservation. Another strategy is to show the reservation life as poverty stricken despite the fact that many households have access to satellite television and have funds and networks to cater to their expensive addictions to alcohol, drugs, and gambling. Such marketing is effective to non-Native people who do not understand the whole cultural context.

Second, I realized that the categories and phenomena that are key issues in mainstream American life and thought might not be crucial in the Lakȱta context. For example, the Western concept of religion is foreign to traditional Lakȱta who accept the spiritual happenings and practices in their

daily life as naturally as the fact that the grass grows on the prairie. I also noticed that among the Lak̇ō̄ta, elder people are always listened to with respect. I knew that, for my research, I would have to learn how to observe and listen and be open to the local realities and codes of behavior.

Given these realizations, I decided to use the song texts, which are documents produced by the Lak̇ō̄ta people themselves, to structure interviews and keep them focused on the text or the issues mentioned in the text. A similar research technique was employed by Ntarangwi in his study of Swahili (2003) where he used song texts to understand contemporary cultural realities. He found that his consultants were more comfortable interpreting song texts since they were able to distance themselves from questions about their personal lives (Ntarangwi 2003:15). In my case, in addition to such comfort level, the songs promised to structure the conversation around Lak̇ō̄ta categories and leave less opportunity for the consultant's ideological or political marketing of culture.

The structure of interview sessions, however, varied depending on the ethnographer's personal rapport with the consultant and the degree of acquaintance. A person who had known me for two or three years reacted to my presence differently than somebody who I had just met. Thus, the types of information received at each session varied and sometimes complemented each other.

Furthermore, I chose to keep the sessions and interviews as open-ended as possible. I used the methodology that was developed at the University of Wyoming working on sacred sites projects with Native American elders from various Plains tribes. In the course of these projects, the elders are taken to the sites to examine the structures, objects, and art, after which they offered their interpretations of the site. In this case, the anthropologist led the interview by directing the consultant to the topic that needed to be discussed rather than presenting a set of structured questions.

Reviewing of the transcribed information by the interviewee is another important step in the research process in this methodology. After the interviews are transcribed, the Native American consultants are sent the draft transcriptions to review and edit. In this way, the consultant has complete control over the produced document and ensures that the information presented is consistent with the tribe's cultural codes.

I applied the latter technique to our translation work as well. After I typed up the texts, I took them back to the language experts for review of spelling and translations. Sometimes such review was performed independently by several different speakers. I believe that such collaboration adds the dimension of accuracy which is crucial in language work and the interpretation of data.

Such reviews are important to ensure the correct spelling of Lak̇o̱ta texts. The biggest challenge for all Lak̇o̱ta language learners in my environment including myself has been the diacritic marks which help distinguish aspirated and non-aspirated consonants. The level of aspiration changes the meaning of the word. For example, the word *wak̇aŋ* with a glottalized *k̇* means "energy, power" while the same word with an unaspirated *k̄* means "old." A student has to hear how the words are pronounced by native speakers of the language. Younger speakers who are not fluent in the language tend to ignore these distinctions of aspiration and glottalization. They also have trouble with sounds not found in English, such as the velar fricative *g̈*.

Analyzing the words with fluent speakers also helps avoid the common pitfalls of trying to match an English equivalent to the words or concepts of other cultures rather than understanding what the Native concepts mean in their own cultural context. For example, the entities of the Native spiritual realm were named gods or ghosts, with the most common Lak̇o̱ta mistranslation being the Great Mystery. No element in the Lak̇o̱ta compound *wak̇aŋ ẗaŋk̄a* means "mystery." These interpretations add a Hollywoodic dimension to Lak̇o̱ta culture and they serve as a fundraiser attracting visitors to the reservations who attempt to explore their spiritual secrets. However, the Hollywoodic dimension contributes little to our

understanding of the actual people and their lives. Instead of looking for an exact English equivalent for Lak̇o̱ta words, we translated song texts morpheme by morpheme when needed in order to clarify the meaning of the word. This was especially helpful to explain figurative meanings. In this way, the translations reveal concepts, actions, and feelings that are specific to Lak̇o̱ta.

The text translations are accompanied by a glossary of commonly used and mistranslated words. I recorded etymological and ethnographic explanations of words, phrases and situations which add a unique insider's view and perception of the text. Only one interview of stories and explanations was tape-recorded, while most consultants preferred the unobtrusive method of me listening, taking notes, and then revising my understanding by reviewing my notes and asking questions.

My non-Lak̇o̱ta background also proved beneficial to the project. Traditionally, young Lak̇o̱ta were trained by listening to and observing their elders. Learning took many years. However, conducting research within the framework of Ph.D. program requirements has time restrictions for each project component. Moreover, public speaking and representation have been in the male arena, while the project has placed me in a position of management and representation. I realize that as a young Lithuanian female researcher working with a team of older Lak̇o̱ta males I am forgiven for

digressions from Lak̇o̱ta codes of behavior that would not be acceptable for a young Lak̇o̱ta person. I negotiated my place on the project team as an avid learner from a different culture who is there to provide technical assistance to record and structure the knowledge of the elders.

Chapter III: Lak̇o̱ta Ethnography and Ethnohistory

In this chapter, I will review Lak̇o̱ta ethnographic and ethnohistoric moments. In order to understand the songs, it is necessary to locate them in their cultural and social context. I will present a sketch of Lak̇o̱ta culture before the reservation period focusing on social and political organization, major changes precipitated by the imposition of the reservation system, the Lak̇o̱ta language documented by the songs, and the linguistic context in which they are being revived today.

Location (Past and Present)

Lak̇o̱ta tradition speaks of the origins of the people in the Black Hills in South Dakota, who then migrated to the east and back to the west (Goodman 1992:46-47; Douville 2004:3). Proto-Siouan groups spread as far east as the Atlantic seaboard where their descendants live today (e.g., Catawba in South Carolina). Linguistic reconstructions locate the earliest homeland of proto-western Siouan groups west of Lake Michigan, in the Mississippi Valley (DeMallie 2001:718). Lack of access to European trade and conflicts with Algonkian-speaking groups, such as Chippewa and Cree, forced the Sioux movement to the west and by 1736 most of them reportedly lived west of the Mississippi (DeMallie 2001:722). The Lak̇o̱ta, the western groups of the Sioux, led the migration and by 1700 they had crossed the Minnesota River and were advancing toward the Missouri River (Douville 2004:5). Oral history

depicts one group on its journey toward the Missouri when it encountered a prairie fire. Most people were burnt about their thighs, hence their name "Siċaŋġu," which means "burnt thigh."

Structure of the Nation

Oċeṫi Ṡaḳowiŋ, the Seven Council Fires, is an alliance of the seven Sioux divisions: *Mdewaḳanṫuŋwaŋ, Waȟpeṫuŋwaŋ, Waȟpekuṫe, Sisiṫuŋwaŋ, Ihanḳṫuŋwaŋ, Ihanḳṫuŋwani,* and *Ṫiṫuŋwaŋ* (White Hat 1999:182). The *Ṫiṫuŋwaŋ* in this classification incorporates the five divisions of northern Laḳoṫa (*Mniḳowoju, Sihasapa, Iṫazipčo, Oohenupa,* and *Huŋkpapa*), known collectively as *Saŋuŋ,* and the southern Laḳoṫa, the *Ṫiṫuŋwaŋ* proper, which consists of the *Oglala* and the *Siċaŋġu*. They are the speakers of the L-dialect, or Laḳoṫa.

This study focuses on two culturally and linguistically close *Ṫiṫuŋwaŋ* divisions, the *Siċaŋġu* (Rosebud Reservation) and the *Oglala* (Pine Ridge Reservation). *Oglala,* translated as "Scatter Their Own" (Douville 2004:5), is the accepted term for the westernmost *Ṫiṫuŋwaŋ* division, both in their own language and in English. Today, they live on the Pine Ridge Reservation in western South Dakota and are known as the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Siċaŋġu, their eastern neighbors, in the anthropological literature are more popularly known by a French translation, the Brule. Today, they live on the Rosebud Reservation in south-central South Dakota and are known as

the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. The Lower Brule, who originally were a division of the Siċaŋġu, are known by the Laḳoṫa as *Ḳulwiċaśa* ("Lower Man"), which refers to the fact that they lived downstream on the Missouri. Today they live on the Lower Brule Reservation in central South Dakota.

In the three collections that are the subject of this study, the majority of songs were sung by Oglala and Siċaŋġu singers. Some were from Lower Brule. Two larger collections were recorded in Pine Ridge. Dixon recorded Oglala performers at Crow Agency in Montana. Most of our interpreters identified themselves as Siċaŋġu, yet throughout their lives they had been exposed to other Laḳoṫa divisions and dialects. Thus, it was easy for them to note the dialectal differentiations in the song texts.

Social Organization

The basic unit of social organization was *ṫiyośpaye*, or a group that lives together (White Hat 1999:28), which was a four-generation extended family. Membership in a *ṫiyośpaye* was determined by bilateral descent, marriage, or adoption. A number of *ṫiyośpayes* made an *ośpaye*, and a number of *ośpayes* in turn made an *oyaṫe*, translated as a "people" or a "nation" (e.g., *Siċaŋġu Oyaṫe*), and recognized by the English term "tribe" (Douville, personal communication). The *oyaṫes* came together in an alliance, the *Oċeṫi Śaḳowiŋ* (Seven Council Fires). The people of the *Oċeṫi*

Ṡakȟowin refer to themselves as Lakȟota or Dakȟota depending on the dialect, which means "allies."

Political Organization

Each *tiyoṡpaye* had a leader called *nacą.* The leaders of *oṡpayes* were *iṫaŋcaŋ* (Douville, personal communication). The legislative responsibility was vested in the council, *Nacą Omniciya*. Four *nacą,* called *wicaṡa yatapika,* were leaders of the *oyate.* The council made decisions concerning the community, from moving the camp to international relations. All decisions were made by consensus. Women were present in the council meetings to support the men, but they did not usually speak in public. Maintaining order and reinforcing the council's decisions was the responsibility of the men's societies who were called to perform the *akicita*, or police duties.

Men's societies were grouped into civil and warrior societies. The most important civil society was *Nigȟe Ṫaŋka Okolakiciye,* the Big Belly Society, named in reference to the wisdom and achievements of its members. The society included traditional respected leaders, former headmen, achieved hunters and warriors, and distinguished religious specialists. Warrior societies included the *Ṫokala* (Kit Foxes), *Sotka Yuha* (Plain Lance Owners), *Iȟ'oka* (Badgers), *Caŋte T'iŋza* (Brave Hearts), *Ḳangi Yuha* (Crow Owners), and *Wicinska* (White-Marked Ones) (Hassrick 1964:16-17). The warrior societies could also be assigned for the *akicita*, or community police duties.

Spirituality

At the center of Lakȱta philosophy is the concept that all creation is related, and, therefore, kinship terminology is extended to refer to the creation as relatives. All creation is *wakȧŋ*, translated as "power" or "energy." *-kȧŋ* refers to the veins in the body, and *wa-* is a descriptive part of the word meaning "something that is *kȧŋ*" (White Hat 1999:98). Specialists called *wiċaśa wakȧŋ* ("a man who has power") worked with this spirit power and the spirit world. Another group of specialists, *pejutā wiċaśa*, were healers who used plants to cure ailments.

Ċanupa, the pipe, filled with tobacco mixed with the inner bark of the red willow, provides the means for prayer. Lakȱta had a complex of seven ceremonies that were brought by the White Buffalo Calf Woman, including keeping of the soul, releasing of the soul, sweat lodge, the Sun Dance, the making of relatives, womanhood, and the throwing of the ball (Brown 1953).

The main ceremony of the year was the Sun Dance, which was conducted once a year in the summer. The men danced for four days without food, water, or sleep at the same time undergoing body lacerations. Also, there was a purification ceremony known as *inipȭ̄,* or sweat lodge. *Haŋbleċeya*, or a vision quest, was a personal ceremony by individuals who were seeking direction or help from the spirit world. The sick were treated in ceremonies conducted by appropriate specialists.

The Black Hills are the ultimate sacred place for the Lak̇o̱ta associated with creation. According to oral tradition, the sacred pipe was brought to the Lak̇o̱ta in the Black Hills. The Black Hills are also the place where a race between the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds took place. The red clay valley that encircles the Black Hills is interpreted as the Race Track, *K̄i iyanḳa oc̣anḳu* (Goodman 1992:7).

Overview of Culture Change, 1880's – 1930's

While anthropologists of the first decades of the twentieth century were working to collect the stories and material culture of the pre-reservation period, there are virtually no studies of Lak̇o̱ta life from 1890 to 1930. The common view during that time was that Native American cultures were on their way to assimilation, resulting in the "disappearance" of the culture. This view was perpetuated by Native American's loss of their land base and the drastic changes in subsistence and material culture. Thus, the discussions of Lak̇o̱ta life in the early twentieth century focus on its economic aspects and political reforms (Biolsi 1992; Gibbon 2003:134-161). It was not until late in the twentieth century that Native people were perceived as the active agents in culture change and the survival of their social institutions was studied (Fowler 1982; Foster 1991). However, there are no studies of social behaviors and practices which would help us understand the

patterns of Lak̇o̱ta response to the Euro-American domination and the roots of contemporary reservation cultures.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were critical to Native American cultures in many ways. First, as mentioned above, there was a change in subsistence and material culture. The buffalo herds, the primary source of Lak̇o̱ta subsistence, were largely gone by the 1880's. Since the land was unsuitable for agriculture, the people depended on the government rations for food. As Lak̇o̱ta houses and many domestic items were literally made from the buffalo (from lodge coverings to bedding and spoons), the people had to move into log cabins and frame houses, while some families continued to live in tents. Cloth clothing replaced buckskin clothing.

Second, the US government imposed intense pressure to dismantle Lak̇o̱ta social institutions and undermine the political leadership. Courts of Indian Offenses were created on the reservations at the initiative of Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller in 1883. Rules for the Indian courts listed the "sun dance," the "scalp dance," and the "war dance" as offenses along with "plural or polygamous" marriages, the practices of medicine men, destruction of property (part of mourning rites), traditional marriages by gift exchange, and intoxication or liquor sales (United States, Office of Indian Affairs 1883; Prucha 2000:185-187). Thus, Lak̇o̱ta social celebrations and

giveaways as social and economic activities, and spiritual practices were forbidden.

The institutions of Lak̇o̱ta family and marriage were undermined as well. While the law stated that the Lak̇o̱ta should have one wife and either a church or civil wedding ceremony in an attempt to maintain long Lak̇o̱ta marriages with the father providing for the offspring, it overlooked the fact that it was the sororate system that ensured that the wife's family is provided for. It also overlooked the importance of extended family members in a couple's life. The gift exchange that was performed at marriage solidified the agreement between two families. Also, the woman's relatives played important roles in educating and even providing for the child. In other words, the new marriage regulations undermined the functions of the extended family and pushed the Lak̇o̱ta social organization toward the nuclear family system.

Limited mobility and the end of warfare challenged the functions of the traditional male achievement system and thus blocked the ways to achieve leadership and recognition. The passing of recognized traditional leaders (Red Cloud in 1909, Two Strike in 1915) added to the political confusion. The formation of an Indian police force subordinate to the agent replaced the functions of men's societies. Women's lives, however, and their

responsibilities that consisted mainly of maintaining the household and raising their children, did not change substantially.

The changing lifestyle, the contact with Christianity, and contacts with other tribes in search of accommodation of material changes within the framework of the Native spirituality brought new ceremonies and trends to Lakȱta spiritual practices. Traditional Lakȱta spirituality viewed all creation as relatives and thus the practitioners' relationship to the rest of the creation was based on the principle of equality. The new ceremonial practices, such as the Ghost Dance and the Native American Church, emphasized the reliance on a being more powerful than the humans (the prophet, or father, in the Ghost Dance, and the Savior, Jesus Christ, in the Native American Church) to whom, especially in the latter, they relinquished control of their lives. The conversion to and practice of Christianity represents the extreme end of these developments, where working with the spirit relative was replaced by worshipping the omni-potent higher being.

Lakȱta concepts of health and well-being were also inseparable from spirituality and spiritual practices. An individual's well-being was a spiritual state, which implies the psychological aspect of health as well as the physical. Thus, Lakȱta doctors had battled diseases and restored an individual's well-being on the spiritual plane. Plants were used to relieve physically manifested ailments such as burns. Western medicine was

effective in relieving the physical symptoms of the diseases that the Lak̇o̱ta had no exposure to before the European contact (e.g., tuberculosis). The Lak̇o̱ta approach to medicine integrated various levels of well-being and extended beyond the patient's physical state.

Thus, outlawing Lak̇o̱ta spiritual practices and the practices of medicine men were essentially an attack on people's health and well-being. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was neither an adequate nor reliable substitute available for Lak̇o̱ta medicine. Although doctors who practiced Western medicine were sent to the reservations (e.g., J.R. Walker in Pine Ridge), their services were insufficient to the populations that were going through major physical and psychological stress brought about by colonization. The people continued practicing their spirituality, including their medicine, underground. They also became susceptible to new ideas and ceremonies that they perceived as having the potential to restore their well-being.

Songs reflect these changes in Lak̇o̱ta culture. Songs about traveling overseas with a Wild West show extended the horizons of the Lak̇o̱ta educational journey and achievement system. Love songs speak about imprisonment for a love affair. Leadership songs introduce the *k̇amī̱e*, which is the Lak̇o̱ta term for committees that provided leadership in organizing community events. Ceremonial songs started depicting elements

of domination as they introduced the authority of the Ghost Dance prophet (*aṫe*, "father") or Jesus Christ.

At the time, Laḳoṫa secular songs maintained their structure, while their textual content reflected the expanding range of Laḳoṫa experiences. Thus, for example, the *oṡḳaṫe olowaŋ* continued the tradition of the *ozuye olowaŋ.* However, *ozuye* signifies a journey for the purpose of learning, which may include traveling to an enemy country for war, while *oṡḳaṫe* means a journey for the purpose of entertainment. Songs of the warrior societies developed into the general category of the *aḳiċiṫa olowaŋ*, commonly translated as veteran songs and sung to honor the veterans of the two World Wars and other contemporary military conflicts. Love songs, *wioyusṫe olowaŋ*, traditionally sung with a hand drum or with no accompaniment, maintained their distinct genre but also became adapted to new social dance experiences such as Rabbit Dances or Omaha style songs. Songs of leadership added the new meanings of elected leadership but the genre essentially remained the same.

Ceremonial songs have become the most diverse category because each ceremonial complex has developed its own genre of songs. The songs that accompany traditional spiritual practices have undergone little or no change. For example, the interpreters pointed out that the Sun Dance songs heard today are the same songs that are recorded by Walker in 1908.

However, each new ceremony or ceremonial complex brought their unique genre of songs, and certain genres were borrowed from other cultures. The songs exhibit the musical features of the tribes or nations which taught the spiritual practices to the Lak̇ōta. For example, the Ghost Dance songs are made in the musical tradition of the Great Basin and the Native American Church songs comply with the southwestern traditions (e.g., Navajo and Pueblo). Since some of those songs had texts in languages that the Lak̇ōta did not understand, through time they became vocable songs that used the syllables which did not have any lexical meaning in Lak̇ōta. Christian hymns are another separate category characterized by the translation of the text from English into Lak̇ōta, but maintaining Western musical characteristics.

Lak̇ōta Language and Dialects

The Siouan language is spoken in the northern Plains region of the United States and Canada. Linguistically, the Sioux are divided into three divisions, D-, N-, and L-. The three divisions spoke mutually intelligible dialects of the same language, called "Dak̇ōta" in the middle and eastern dialect, and "Lak̇ōta" in the western dialect. The Yankton and the Yanktonnais tribes speak the central, or the N- dialect, but they call themselves "Dak̇ōta." The dialects are distinguished on the basis of consistently alternating consonants *d-n-l* as well as other consonant clusters (Parks and DeMallie 1992:240-242).

The dialects also had vocabulary differences which reflected the group's adaptation to the environment. For example, the names for the months of the western dialect were associated with the buffalo hunt and plant gathering seasons, while the calendar of the eastern dialect reflected the fishing and wild rice gathering seasons.

The Lakȱta language belongs to a larger Siouan language family along with the Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Otoe, Missouri, Iowa, Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kaw, Assiniboine, and several extinct languages. Today, Lakȱta speakers reside in northern Nebraska, southern Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and northeastern Montana. This project focused on the Lakȱta language spoken in southern South Dakota, home to the Sicȧŋġu and Oglala Lakȱta.

Literacy

Traditionally, the Lakȱta language was unwritten. The first writing systems for the Sioux dialects were created by missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth century (Buechel 1939; Riggs 1852; Riggs 1890; Williamson 1902). At least two other orthographies were added in the second half of the twentieth century. Rood and Taylor's work (1976a; 1976b) laid the groundwork for the writing system developed by the Committee for the Preservation of Lakȱta Language and published by White Hat (White Hat 1999), a faculty member at the Lakȱta Studies Department at Siŋ̄te Gleśk̄a

University. White Hat's orthography remains the only Lak̇o̱ta orthography developed by the native speakers of the language.

The structure of the Lak̇o̱ta language has been described in several grammars (Boas and Deloria 1941; Buechel 1939; teaching grammars in Rood and Taylor 1976a and White Hat 1999). Lexical resources are compiled in dictionaries (Buechel 1983; Rood and Taylor 1976b; Ingham 2001). Descriptive studies analyze Lak̇o̱ta phonology, morphology, and syntax (Carter 1974; Lungstrum 1995; Shaw 1980; Shaw 1985; Van Valin 1977; guides to Lak̇o̱ta linguistics in Reuse 1987 and Reuse 1990). White Hat's work (1999) represents an attempt to bridge language and ethnography and employ ethnography in language teaching.

Lak̇o̱ta Language Today

Currently, there is little reliable data to produce an accurate evaluation of the sociolinguistic status of the Lak̇o̱ta language. The language tends to be better maintained in more remote reservation communities which for geographical and social reasons may not always be readily accessible to the outside surveyors. A language survey on the Rosebud Reservation was conducted by Siŋ̱te Gleṡ̱ka University in 1984, and another survey was conducted by the Lak̇o̱ta Language Preservation Project in 2007.

According to the Census 2000 American Indian and Alaska Native Summary File, about 8% of the total Sioux population (including all three

Sioux dialects) between five and seventeen years of age speak the language in the home. The percentage doubles for the population group between eighteen and sixty-four (16%) and reaches 42% for the elders (Table PCT38). According to US Census 2000 sample data for the Todd County of South Dakota, which is solely within the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, only 16% out of a population of 7,932 speak Lak̇o̱ta at home (Table DP-2).

According to the survey of 1984, 30% of Rosebud households listed Lak̇o̱ta as their home language (Whirlwind Soldier 1993). The results of the latest survey in 2007 have not been publicly released. From observation and interaction with the reservation residents, I expect this survey to yield similar, if not lower, results. Long-time reservation residents note that they never hear Lak̇o̱ta children or young people speaking Lak̇o̱ta among themselves, and most speakers are over the age of fifty.

Native American languages expert Michael Krauss noted that at the end of the twentieth century there were one hundred seventy-five indigenous languages spoken in the United States, out of which about twenty are still learned by children and spoken at home (Krauss 1996). The Lak̇o̱ta language is one of the twenty languages still spoken at home by some families. The survey and census data confirms the trend that home use of the Lak̇o̱ta language has been steadily decreasing through the twentieth century.

Today, the Lakȱta language still survives in the context of historical trauma due to land loss, the generational effects of forced assimilation, stigmatization of Lakȱta language and culture through boarding schools, substance abuse, and domestic violence. From 1877 to 1920, the Federal government spent an estimated $200 million on boarding school programs aimed replacing the Lakȱta language with English (Kent 2002). Today on the reservation, English is used at work, school, meetings, and community events. The reservation residents who can afford cable or satellite TV have access to standard TV stations in English. The local radio station KINI, which broadcasts primarily in English, also has a time dedicated to the traditional music of Lakȱta and that of other tribes. It is common to hear a public service announcement or a prayer said in Lakȱta on KINI. Lakȱta remains the preferred language of ceremony and prayer. Songs and occasional speeches are delivered in Lakȱta at public events. Thus, English has secured the status of the public language, while Lakȱta language tends to be used in private settings such as the home and religious ceremonies.

Today, the tribal colleges and universities in Lakȱta country are leading the language and culture reclamation movement. Siŋ̄te Gleśk̄a University has taught the Lakȱta language since the 1970's. Now, the Lakȱta Studies Department offers a two- and a four-year degree in Lakȱta language with the focus either on teaching or research. The Lakȱta language is also a

university graduation requirement. The department, in addition to Lakȱta language, offers courses in Lakȱta history and culture, thought and philosophy, and arts and crafts. The Lakȱta language is also taught in the reservation schools (K–12).

Lakȱta Language in Songs

Lakȱta language is a significant element of traditional Lakȱta songs. Most songs of Lakȱta origin have a Lakȱta text, while the songs of foreign origin, even if they had words, eventually turned them into vocables. Many social dance songs today composed and performed by the singers of the younger generation who do not speak Lakȱta, have vocables instead of Lakȱta text. Thus, the songs in our collections have a linguistic value because they are documents of the Lakȱta language of the late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries. The song texts, although they record the poetic version of the language as opposed to conversational, documented the lexical and syntactical features of the language that characterize that time period.

The language of the songs also recorded social practices and their changes. For example, the teasing between a brother- and a sister-in-law is a common theme in love songs. Also, the switch from the address of *ċepȧŋsi* ("female cousin" in female speech) to *dearie* ("dear" as addressing the lover) in Rabbit Dance songs signifies the women taking a bolder attitude in their

search for a mate as they start talking directly to a man rather than traditionally sending a message to him through a third person.

In sum, the songs are a cultural and linguistic document that traces vocabulary, linguistic structures, social and spiritual practices, and political developments. In this capacity, they can be used as a tool for language learning. However, it is paramount to work with them now while we still have the Lak̇o̱ta speakers who can understand and interpret the language of that period.

Chapter IV. Bravery: The Journey Song Complex

In the process of re-recording the songs, our project team was preparing one compact disk of war or warrior songs which we called *Akiciŋta Olowaŋ* in Lakȯta. *Akiciŋta* is the term that was applied to the societies of warriors that kept order in the camp. In the modern context, war veterans are called *akiciŋta*, and the term also appears on the police badges. As we were grouping the songs and selecting a small number of them for re-recording, our final list had *ozuye* (journey) and *akiciŋta* songs which referred to World Wars I and II, *wakŋtegli* (kill-and-came-home songs), *iwakiciŋpi* (Victory Dance), *ṫokȧla* (Kit Fox Society), and memorial songs. Everybody seemed to have agreed on the title of the compact disk, *Akiciŋta Olowaŋ*. Nevertheless, whenever we would try to use the title in translation, our English title acquired a wide range of descriptions, including war songs, warrior songs, veteran songs, and they all seemed interchangeable.

Then, we started discussing the themes of the war songs. Our discussions led to the understanding that the category of war songs cannot be easily applied in the Lakȯta case. With the wide range of war songs which we analyzed, it became obvious that war was not an indigenous Lakȯta concept. Rather, other themes and values, such as journey, seeking and facing difficulties, and honoring achievements were the themes to be highlighted, especially as they developed and changed through time.

The literature on Laḳo̱ta music lacks a consistent definition of war songs. Densmore recorded eleven songs of military societies and thirty songs of war expeditions *(ozuye)*. She classified the other twenty-five songs as "personal narratives concerning the war" (Densmore 1992: xvi). In modern context, Black Bear and Theisz (1976) classify most songs related to male political functions both inside and outside the community into the "Omaha" tradition, which is the basis of today's competition powwow traditional dance. However, war songs are absent from Theisz's (2003) educational song portfolio.

Our project team discussed the development of songs on war-related subjects through time. There is a series of songs that are attributed to the pre-reservation period. Among the oldest songs are the *ozuye olowaŋ*, journey songs, which refer to a life journey and individual's achievements. *Ṫuŋweya olowaŋ*, scouting songs, refer to looking for buffalo and protecting the camp. These functions have always been important in nomadic life, and thus, *ṫuŋweya olowaŋ* also belong to the oldest layer of songs.

Men's societies, or warrior societies, were created in the times of need to protect the people, with regard to the geographical changes and migrations after the European contact (Douville 2007:3). The main functions of society songs were to encourage and honor warriors. In addition, these songs also uplifted the morale of the community.

Wakȟegli olowaŋ ("kill-and-came-home" songs) and *iwakȟiċiṗi olowaŋ* (victory, or honoring dance songs) developed after European contact when the people were exposed to large-scale, territorial warfare. *Iwakȟiċiṗi* are honoring songs composed to commemorate and celebrate an individual's brave deeds. Their performance is accompanied by a giveaway. *Okiċize olowaŋ* (battle songs) are the songs that describe a specific battle or conflict. Some personal songs (*ic'ilowaŋ*) also related stories of journeys, conflicts, encounters, and achievements. Thus, they will also be included in this discussion.

Oṡkaŋe olowaŋ was a group of songs that appeared in the late nineteenth century, when the Laḳota started working on the Wild West shows. These songs celebrated a journey for purposes of entertainment. During the two World Wars, all of the abovementioned songs were used for Laḳota soldiers and merged into the *akiciŋa olowaŋ* group.

My analysis of the songs will help delineate the main concepts, values, and actions in Laḳota life as they relate to warfare and will trace their historical development in the songs.

First, the earliest songs speak of *zuya*. The dictionary definition of *zuya* is "to go on war party, to make war, to lead out a war party" (Buechel 1983:659). Densmore (1992:332) translates *ozuye olowaŋ* as songs of "a typical war expedition." Laḳota speakers explain that *zuya* refers to a journey which

might imply the individual's travel away from home into the enemy country (Cutt et al. n.d.:271). The word also implies the educational and spiritual aspects of a journey. A young man who went on *zuya* learned individual survival skills, cooperation in a small group, fighting skills, and about the aspects of environment. Thus, *zuya* was understood as an act of education and it signified the person's journey into maturity. *Zuya* may also provide spiritual guidance for the individual. For example, Oglala leader Crazy Horse, on his *zuya*, had a vision that guided him for the rest of his life.

White Hat (1999:88-89) distinguishes four stages of growth in Lakota life. The first stage is children, called *hoksila* and *wiciŋčala* in Lakȟota, meaning "boy" and "girl." The second stage begins after puberty, with the term *kȟoskalaka* used for a young man and *wikȟoskalaka*–for a young woman. The third stage denotes that the individual has achieved physical and mental maturity and has demonstrated responsibility. The titles *wicasa* and *winyaŋ,* at this stage literally mean a "man" and a "woman." Reaching the age of wisdom as a result of life experience denotes the fourth stage. The terms *wicahȟčala* and *winuhčala,* used at this stage, literally translate as "man in bloom" or "woman in bloom," implying the individual's wisdom, experience, and skills. Thus, *zuya,* in its broadest sense, is the process of growth, maturity, and experience. It is the journey of a Lakȟota individual into wisdom.

Men continued going on *zuya* throughout their lives. Going on *zuya* meant seeking hardships, facing them, and overcoming them. This was a way to earn honors which defined the man's social status, and a way to continuous growth.

The fact that the men continuously went on a journey complicated the relationships between men and women. Both sexes spent much time apart. However, because of the risky nature of the men's undertakings, their families had to live with the possibility that they might not return from the next journey. Thus, men were treated with respect as individuals who risked their lives. The following song refers to the stress that female relatives experience when the warrior goes on a journey. The song speaks of a young man who lives with his grandmother and is her only provider:

62.27 *Ozuye Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

Zuya	*bla*	*ċa*	*he*	*uŋċi*	*uŋyana.*
Journey/war	I.go	then	she	grandmother	left.behind

"Every time I go on warpath, grandmother stays."

Wakȗ	*ċaŋna*	*he*	*yastȃŋyela*	*he.*
I.return	whenever	she	stops.crying	that

"Only when I return does she stop crying."

In the next song, a warrior is going on a journey and he is telling the women to paint his daughter-in-law's cheeks red to prepare her for his victorious return with gifts. Red paint is a symbol of adornment. In pre-reservation culture, Lakȱta women painted their cheeks and the parting of

her hair red. Red paint, in this song, also symbolizes a *huŋkā,* or a high esteem relationship, with the in-law.[2]

64.5 *Ozuye Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

Kȯla	*lecȯi*	*blelo.*
Friend	over.here	I.am.going

"My friend, I am going over here."

Ozuya	*iblable*	*kī*
Journey	I.leave.for	when

"When I leave for the journey,"

Wiwoȟa	*ṫapȯuŋ*	*sȧyapō!*
Daughter-in-law	cheeks	make.red

"Paint the daughter-in-law's cheeks red."

Iŋsȧe	*ozuye*	*kī*	*le*	*miṫawa*	*yelo.*
It.seems.like	journey	the	this	mine	<emphasis, male sp.>

"It seems like this journey is mine."

The motive of the journey, seeking hardships and overcoming challenges appears in a number of songs collected by Densmore (1992).

No 130. Adventures I Seek

Makȧ sitomniya wicȯohȯ'aŋ owale.
"In all lands adventures I seek."

He iyotiyekiya omawani
"Hence amid hardships I have walked."

Although Densmore's translation (1992:340) seems to focus on the adventurous nature of the journey, Deloria's interpretation implies the pursuit of achievement rather than an adventure:

[2] Collection notes document this item as a "dirty song." According to Lakȯta social rules, a man and his daughter-in-law showed each other respect by avoidance.

I seek throughout the world a chance to do war-deeds,
And that involves hardships, as I roam (Deloria 1937a:52).

Scout songs also belong to the original journey song group. The songs accompanied the scouting activities to protect the people or while camping during a journey. The scouts were always observing.

58.16 *Ṫuŋweya Olowaŋ*. High Horse

Wi	*Wanbli*	*waŋ*	*najiŋyo!*
Sun	Eagle	one	stand.up

"Sun Eagle, stand up!"

Īte	*sabye*	*oyale.*
Face	blackened	you.look.for

"You look for a blackened face."

The use of the color black, and in particular black face paint in war, appears in numerous songs. Densmore comments that painting a face black was a symbol of achievement in battle:

> It was said that if a party of warriors attacked the enemy and killed several men, the first warrior who killed an enemy had the right to wear the "black face paint"; thus many of the war songs contain the words "the black face paint I seek." […] This paint was worn by the man in the dances which followed his return from war. Usually it covered only the face, although a man might paint his entire body if he so desired (1992:359).

Thus, to Densmore, a black face paint was an honor that the individual sought in his journey:

No. 8 "The Many Lands You Fear"

K̇ola ot̄a mak̇oc̄e koyakiṗaṗi waŋ
"Friend many lands you fear"

Hena kokiṗe ṡni omawani
"In them without fear I walked"

It̄e sabye owale
"The black face paint I seek"

Lak̇ot̄a speakers interpreted the issue in a different way. Black paint was used as a spiritual protection by an individual who has killed. Thus, the hero of the song is looking for such an individual in order to prove his own strength by challenging him (Cutt et al. n.d.:121). That speaks of a person's readiness to face and fight somebody who has killed, which signifies both danger and the highest achievement when one faces such a person.

According to Lak̇ot̄a philosophy, if somebody in a returning war party took a human life, the party would stop outside of the main camp and paint the face of that individual black. Before the returning warrior was allowed into the main camp, he had to be purified of the death that occurred on his journey. Therefore, the families would come out to meet them and they would take him into a sweat lodge (Cutt et al. n.d.:53). Our interpreters explained that even today, if people have been exposed to death (e.g., coming back home from an area of a natural disaster where many people died), they are taken to the sweat lodge for cleansing before they are allowed to enter their homes (Cutt et al. n.d.:79, 229). Some families, however, are more lax

about this practice and may allow the people back into their homes, but would take them into the sweat lodge at their earliest convenience.

Society songs are another significant body of songs. They speak about serving the people and about the readiness to face the difficulties, including death, in such service. According to Douville, societies were created during the migrations to the Plains (Douville 2007:3) when the people needed protection as they entered unknown territories. They also needed to maintain order in a migrating village.

Lakȯta men's societies were civil and military. Civil societies were the organizations of men of advanced age who had life experience and war records. They provided the leadership for the tribe. The Lakȯta had four civil societies: *Nacā Omnicȯiye* (the Leaders' Society), *Skā Yuha* (White Horse Owners), *Miwatȯani* (Mandan, or Tall Ones), and *Iyuptāla* (Owl Feather Bonnet) (Douville 2007:11).

Military societies were associations of able-bodied men who worked to protect the people. They called for *akicīta* duty, which was a police service mostly associated with maintaining order during camp movement and buffalo hunts (Wissler 1912:13). The *akicȯīta* also maintained order in the village and ensured that the needy were provided for. The following societies performed the *akicīta* service: *Tȯokȯala* (Kit Fox), *Kȯaŋgȯi Yuha* (Crow Owners), *Cȯaŋte T'iŋza* (Strong Heart), *Ihȯ'okā* (Badger), *Sotka Yuha* (Bare Lance

Owners), and *Wiċiśka* (White-Marked). Societies were created as a result of spiritual experiences, and each society had a spirit guardian.

Society songs express the virtues of bravery to face the enemy and of helping people. They are sung for encouragement and honoring of their members. Society members made their own songs (Cutt et al. n.d.:119).

Densmore (1992) recorded eleven military society songs: Fox society – 2, Strong Heart society – 4, *Miwaṫani* – 1, and White Horse Riders – 2. Densmore noted that she found only these four societies on the Standing Rock Reservation at the time of recording (Densmore 1992:313). In our collections, eleven songs were identified as *Ṫoḳala olowaŋ*, 5 – *Ċaŋt̄e T'iŋza*, 1 – *Śka Yuha*, and 1 – *Ḳaŋġi Yuha*. Two songs were identified as *Kat'ela* women's society songs. Eight out of eleven *Ṫoḳala olowaŋ* and all *Ċaŋt̄e T'iŋza olowaŋ* are in Rhodes's collection, which shows that in the late 1930's the traditions of these societies were still active.

The following song recorded by Dixon summarizes the functions of the *Ṫoḳala* society. *Ṫoḳala* protect their people, and are ready to give their lives in such service. In the times of camp movement, or battle, the *Ṫoḳala* society will serve as a rear guard ensuring the safety of the women and children. "I live helping others," is their motto.

2. *Ṫoḳala Olowaŋ.* Runs the Enemy

Ṫoḳala	*k'uŋ*	*ḳawīta*	*au*	*welo.*
Kit.fox	the	together	they.come	<male sp.>

"The Kit Fox society is coming together."

Naḳe	*nula*	*wauŋ*	*welo.*
Always	ready	I.live	<male sp.>

"Always ready I live."

Miye	*ehaḳe*	*wauŋ*	*welo.*	
Me	the.last.one	I.am	<male sp.>	

"I am always the last one."

Ṫoḳala	*k'uŋ*	*miye*	*welo.*
Kit.fox	that	is.me	<male sp.>

"A Kit Fox, that is who I am."

Wawoḳiya	*wauŋ*	*welo.*
Helping	I.live	<male sp.>

"I live helping others."

Society songs are laconic. Much is said in just a few words and boasting was never a virtue. The following song speaks of Laḳota *Ṫoḳala* society countering a Crow attack:

52.1 *Ṫoḳala Olowaŋ*. John Coloff.

Ḳaŋġi	*wiċaśa*	*ki*	*naŋ*	*hiyuṗi*	*na*
Crow	man	the	charging	they.come	and

"The Crows came charging and"

Ṫoḳala	*ki*	*haŋ*	*imayuŋ*	*nuŋwe.*
Kit.fox	the	and	strong.feelings	so.be.it

"So the Kit Foxes had strong feelings for action."

The following song is a memorial song to a *Ṫoḳala* society member who fell in battle. The introduction mentions that the *ṫoḳala* was killed in north country, which might be a possible reference to the Little Bighorn

Battle. Each society had its own staff. In this song, the gourd is the warrior's staff which he carries as protection. The gourd symbolizes life.

58.11 *Ṫoḳala Olowaŋ.* Joseph Red Willow

Ṫoḳala	*waŋ*	*wagmu*	*yuha*	*ku*	*ṡni*	*yelo.*
Kit.Fox	one	squash	has	come.home	not	<male sp.>

"A Kit Fox who owns a gourd did not come home."

Maṫo	*Ċaŋgleṡka*	*ku*	*ṡni*	*yelo.*
Bear	circle	come.home	not	

"Bear Hoop did not come home."

Ċaŋte T'iŋza society, similar to Kiowa *Qoichegau* (Sentinel Horses) society, consisted of elite warriors who staked themselves in battle (Meadows 1999:39-41; Cutt et al. n.d.:60). They fought and died in that spot unless freed by a member of the same society. The following song expresses the philosophy of the society: running away from battle is not a possible option (it is "out of this world" in the metaphorical sense), and such people would not be admitted into their ranks (cf. song no. 116 in Densmore 1992).

57.19 *Ċaŋte T'iŋza Olowaŋ*

Ḳola	*tuwa*	*napeci*	*ki*
Friend	whoever	runs.away	the

"My friend, whoever runs away,"

Opa	*kte*	*ṡni*	*yelo,*
Join.he	will	not	

"He will not join us,"

Eyapi	*k'uŋ.*
They.said.this	the-past

"They have said this."

He *ṫamaḳa* *ṡni.*
This this.world not
“This is not of this world.”

The next song is identified by Rhodes as an encouragement song of *Ċaŋt̄e T’iŋza*. The song encourages the warrior by means of relating the words of an elder female relative who used to lament the hardships that a male grandchild would have to face in his life. Our interpreters explained that in the pre-reservation culture a man’s life was hard and dangerous (Cutt et al. n.d.:125). Whenever a boy was born, the women relatives cried, because when he grows up, he will be the first to face danger in risking his life to protect the people. He was raised in this manner and was prepared to be ready to sacrifice for the people. The relatives understood that the boy might die young and, therefore, he would be honored.

58.22 *Ċaŋt̄e T’iŋza Olowaŋ*

He *uŋc̄i* *heya* *ṡk̄e* *ċa*
That grandmother said.this said-past so
“They said grandmother had said this,”

Hena *miṫaḵoja* *wiċa* *le,*
Those my.grandchildren man this
“My grandchildren, they are male,”

T̄aḵu *oṫeh̄iḵa* *oṫa* *k’uŋ,*
Some hardship many the-past
“There are many hardships,”

He *uŋc̄i* *heya* *ċa*
That grandmother said.this so
“This is what grandmother said, so”

Lemahaŋt̄u *nuŋwe!*
Now.is.the.time <now>
“Now is the time, now!”

Wakt̄egli olowaŋ (*wakt̄e* – “kill, beat, or end up something,” *gli* – “come home”) refer to battle and victory in the most direct sense. Originally, the function of *wakt̄egli* was to act out the deed in public and thus affirm to the community that he has truly done the deed. The performance was a public statement and acknowledgement of the deed. Otherwise, it might be claimed by someone else. Lak̇ota speakers point out that the concept of killing in battle was non-existent in the earlier warfare (Cutt et al. n.d.:271). The act of killing was possible in cases of conflict between families and retaliation where a man’s life could be taken for another man’s life. Otherwise, warfare was aimed at gaining experience and earning honors.

Although Lak̇ot̄a speakers agree that these songs appeared after guns were introduced and taking a human life became an accepted outcome of conflict, they also mention that *wakt̄e* may not literally refer to killing a human being. Metaphorically, *wakt̄e* may refer to the fact that the individual’s pride was killed as he was struck with a coup stick, or his horses were stolen (Cutt et al. n.d.:53, 271). The following *wakt̄egli olowaŋ*, although

sung in vocables, has a story of a warrior bringing home a captive and his horse:

364.4 *Wakȟegli Olowaŋ*

Speech:
Ṫokȟala *waŋ*
Stranger one
“A stranger”

Ṗasi *awaku* *kȟelo!*
Walk.behind.him I.bring.home will
“I am going to bring him home pushing him ahead of me!”

Ṫaṡuŋke *k̇o* *iyokṡiċe.*
His.horse with I.am.happy
“And also with his horse I am happy.”

Thus Lak̇ota *zuya* resembles a type of martial art oriented toward the strengthening of an individual’s character and focused on a quest to prove oneself and face difficulties. It was a quest to earn honors and thus, it was a type of male sport emphasizing competition against each other without a killing mechanism. As a martial art, *zuya* was a system of discipline of mind combined with physical training and techniques.

Contact with Europeans changed Lak̇ota warfare. First, firearms were introduced, and killing was added to the achievement or coup system. Guns changed the nature of warfare on the Plains. The people were shocked by the massacres executed by the US Army in which an almost entire camp would be slaughtered, not sparing the women and children (Cutt et al. n.d.:271).

There is archaeological evidence of a massacre at Crow Creek, dating from 1200 A.D., that contains the remains of about 500 individuals (Zimmerman 1981). However, the elders say that Native people were not likely to commit such atrocities (Bruguier 1993:62). Thus, *wakȟegli olowaŋ* developed as a result of European contact and Laƙoȟta movement to the west onto the Plains and shows the adjustment of Laƙoȟta to a new type of warfare.

The following song refers to the greatest victory of Laƙoȟta against the US Army at the Battle of Little Bighorn in Montana territory in 1876. At this battle, the joint forces of Laƙoȟta and Cheyenne annihilated the 7th Cavalry under the command of Lt. Col. George A. Custer, whom the Laƙoȟta called *Ṗehiŋ Haŋskȟa*, "Long Hair." The song relates Custer's self-confidence to defeat the Laƙoȟta easily. However, it was he who fell in battle:

363.26 *Wakȟegli Olowaŋ*

Laƙoȟta	*ki*	*wanblaki*	*ṡni*
Laƙoȟta	the	look	not

"Without looking, the Laƙoȟta"

Awaku	*kȟe,*	*ehe*	*k'uŋ.*
I.bring.back	will,	you.said	[past]

"I will bring back, you said."

Nake	*he*	*waŋlakiŋ*
When	that	you.see

"When you saw that,"

Na	*yaċeya*	*he.*
Then	you.cry	the

"You cried."

He niyeha awaku we.
That you.yourself I.bring.back <emphasis>
"Instead, it is you I brought back."

Iwakicipi olowaŋ are honoring songs which tell about an encounter with the enemy. They can be sung soon or a long time after the event. As the individual was being honored, the people danced a round dance, with men and women in separate lines (Cutt et al. n.d.:117).

The speakers interpreted the following song from Walker's collection as another encounter during the army's campaign in the summer of 1876. Brig. Gen. George Crook's column was defeated at the Battle of Rosebud a week before Lt. Col. Custer's engagement at the Little Bighorn.

364.18 *Iwakicipi Olowaŋ*

Ṫaśuŋg sapa ohaŋ el yauŋ śni na
Horse Black among them you.are not and
"His Horse Is Black, you are not among them, and"

Le uŋcinpi miyecehci
This we.think.about.this me.especially
"This is what we think about this, especially me,"

Lakol yela heuŋcinpi.
Lakota manner speaking.in
"Speaking in Lakota manner."

Ousaŋni eca.
Two.columns coming.together
"Two columns are coming together."

Akȯkīya *cėya* *iyaŋkȩ.*
Facing.the.other.way crying run
“He turned around and ran crying.”

Wahīte sni *kī* *ihamaye*
Worthless the made.me.smile
“The worthless one made me smile.”

The following song presents the generalized theme of looking for a challenge and facing it. The song honors a warrior who is returning from his journey where he had to face difficulties:

74.5 *Iwakicipi olowaŋ*. Gilbert White Whirlwind

Aŋpētu *iyohila* *ṫaku* *otehiką* *owale* *k’uŋ*
Day every something difficult I.look.for so
“Every day I am looking for something difficult, he said,”

Ehaŋ k’uŋ *ṫaku* *otehi* *oṫa* *yelo.*
Over.there some difficulty many <male sp.>
“Over there, there are a lot of difficult times.”

(1) *Hepa* *yukaŋ* *ṫamaka* *sni yelo.*
I.said.this and.here his.land not <male sp.>
“I said this, and here, it was not of this world.”

(2) *Ekṫa* *oṫehi* *kṫelo* *eya* *yukaŋ*
There hardship will.be he.said and.here
“There will be hardship, he said, and here,”

Eṫaŋ *oṫehi* *oṫa* *yelo,*
From hardship many <male sp.>
“From many hardships,”

Heya *cėya* *ku* *welo.*
They.say crying come <male sp.>
“Crying he came home, they say.”

A series of songs are personal songs that continuously speak of difficult times. They refer to the death of an individual. They can also lament the passing of the old days and way of life. The songs were transformed to honor somebody injured while working overseas, or wounded or killed in battle during World War I or World War II.

A warrior is looking for challenges and is ready to embrace death at the end of his journey. Death may occur any time. These songs may not explicitly talk about war and conflict, yet they are war songs. In a personal song, an individual may sing about himself and his own accomplishments. Also, it may be a person's favorite song that he sings to encourage himself in difficult situations. The following song recorded by Rhodes is singer Nancy Thunder Bull's great-grandmother's song. Her great-grandmother was ninety-three years old when she died in 1919. In the song, the subject speaks of the search for a hardship and the realization that there are so many hardships in the world. Seeking a hardship or a challenge is interpreted as a search for healing when an individual is struck with grief (Cutt et al. n.d.:66).

52.12 Ic'ilowaŋ. Nancy Thunder Bull

Mak̇a	*sit̄omniya*	*t̄ak̄u*	*ot̄eḣika*	*owale*	*k'uŋ*	*he.*
Earth	all.over	some	hardship	I.am.looking	so	that

"Around the world I was looking for some hardship."

Ehaŋk'eṡ	*ot̄eḣik̄a*	*ot̄a*	*ye.*
Not.now	hardship	many	<female sp.>

"Now there are many hardships."

Ehaŋk'uŋ *ṫamaḳa* *ṡni ye.*
Not.now this.world not
"And I feel bad about it."

Personal songs may be adapted to various situations according to the changes in the world. The following song, recorded by Dixon, is a personal song of encouragement:

3. *Ic'ilowaŋ.* Red Cloud and Iron Crow

Oglalapī *ḳi,* *ṫuwe* *ohitī* *waćiŋ,*
Oglala the somebody brave trying.to.be
"The Oglalas, I try to be brave,"

Ća *bilihic'iya* *wauŋ* *welo.*
So take.courage I.live <male sp.>
"I live with courage."

In the speech that follows the song, the singer explains that he is trying to encourage himself to survive through the hard times that the reservation life has brought to him. While the song is concise and positive, the speech, obviously directed at a wider audience, tells about the hardships he is addressing in the song in a more explicit way:

Le *miye* *yelo,* *he* *miye* *ća,*
This me <male sp.> that me so
"This is me, that is me,"

Iyoṫiye *kiya* *uŋmaḳakijelo.*
Difficult.times in.that.manner I.am.suffering
"I am suffering in hardship."

Wamayaŋkȟayo! *Le* *lehaŋl*
Look.at.me this at.this.time
“Look at me, at this time”

Iyoṫiye *kiya* *maȟakijelo.*
Difficult.times in.that.manner I.am.suffering
“I am suffering in a hardship.”

Ċaŋṫe imahaŋȟke *lahċa ȟilo!*
Heart comes.to.an.end really the
“My heart comes to an end!”

He *miye* *yelo,* *wamayaŋkȟayo!* *Wamayaŋkȟayo!*
That me <male sp.> look.at.me look.at.me
“That is me, look at me! Look at me!”

Le *waṡiċula* *ȟakiṡmayelo.* *Heċeṫu welo.*
This dear.white.people pulled.on.me that.is.how.it.is
“These white people made me suffer. That is how it is.”

Le *aŋpeṫu* *ki* *owaglaȟelo.*
This day the I.tell.it
“This day I tell what I feel.”

Reservation Period, 1880-1913

The reservation system started a new period in Laḳoṫa culture which was characterized by major changes in subsistence as well as political, economic, and ceremonial life. As a result of President Grant’s Peace Policy, most Laḳoṫa groups had settled on reservations by 1878. By 1880 the buffalo herds, which were the main source of Plains subsistence, were gone. The reservation system tried to control population movements and the exchange of material property and ideas between tribes associated with different agencies.

Warfare provided a system to earn achievement and social status for Lak̇o̱ta men. Limited mobility undermined the most important principle underlying the man's life. He could no longer go on a journey. Thus, the reservation system motivated Lak̇o̱ta men seek for new opportunites for education and social advancement. During the early reservation period, traveling with Wild West shows, fighting in World War I and later, in World War II, and traveling to off-reservation boarding schools replaced the challenges of the traditional journey. However, men's societies, which supported aspects of the traditional journey, eventually ceased their activities.

As the Lak̇o̱ta started settling on the reservations, there was still considerable visitation among various communities. Families traveled and stayed with their relatives for extended periods of time to escape starvation when the crops failed (e.g., taking hunting trips or claiming food rations at another agency) and to seek safety. Agent John Cook of the Rosebud Agency wrote:

> The interchange of visits to their relatives, far and near, is a custom so long established, that, in a country like ours where agricultural pursuits cannot be engaged in prosperously (affording but a poor chance of their becoming self-supporting), it is not easily broken up. … Their visits are generally begging expeditions. They usually return loaded down with gratuities, and their friends and kindred come to them and return with fully as much as they had given away (ARCIA 1881:51).

Similar sentiments were expressed by Agent James McLaughlin of the Standing Rock Agency in 1884. The agents tried to control the populations at their agencies by forbidding the people to leave the reservation without permission.

The spread of the Ghost Dance to the Plains was another reason for Laƙoṫa family movement and exchange of ideas. The Plains people learned the Ghost Dance from the Paiute tribe of the Great Basin. It was a ceremony that combined the elements of traditional religions (working with the spirit world) and Christianity (belief in the power of the prophet). The Ghost Dance provided a way to deal with life changes beyond the control of Laƙoṫa people. However, Ghost Dance gatherings were perceived as a threat by reservation agents who tried to stop them. As a result, the US Army was deployed to prevent an expected outbreak (ARCIA 1891:128). The tensions culminated in 1890 when a band of Mniƙowoju Laƙoṫa, under the leadership of Big Foot *(Si Ṫaŋḳa*), was massacred at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The assimilation policy did not offer strategies to help people adjust to the drastic changes in their lives which resulted in social and political unrest. The agents tried to resolve the situation by limiting people's mobility and undermining the influence of traditional leaders.

Agency fears of political influence of traditional leadership led to the attempts to remove them from reservations. A number of leaders and their supporters were selected for imprisonment. However, traveling Wild West shows presented an alternative way of forced removal of the "troublemakers" from the reservations (Blackstone 1986:86).

Colonel William F. Cody, known as Buffalo Bill, was an experienced frontiersman, soldier, scout, and hunter, who brought together frontier experiences and entertainment industry. In 1883, he started the Buffalo Bill's Wild West show in North Platte, Nebraska, which toured the United States and Europe for the next twenty years. The show started with a grand entry of all the performers, followed by separate acts of six major categories: races, shooting acts, specialty acts, military exhibitions, riding and horse acts, and dramatic spectacles (Blackstone 1986:56-57). Buffalo Bill's cast consisted of cowboys, sharpshooters, soldiers, and representatives of various ethnic groups. He recruited Native Americans from the recently established reservations which brought a huge success for the show.

Sitting Bull *(Ṫaṫaŋ̄ka Iyo̱ta̱ke̱*), Hunkp̄apa̱ Lak̇o̱ta leader, who settled on the Standing Rock Reservation in South Dakota, toured with the Wild West show in 1885. In 1890, Cody was called to Standing Rock to help deal with Sitting Bull and the Ghost Dancers (Blackstone 1986:25). However, Sitting Bull was shot dead by the Indian police on December 15, 1890, two

weeks before the Wounded Knee Massacre in Pine Ridge. After the conflict, Cody took a full contingent of Lak̇o̱ta with him, including prisoners of war from Fort Sheridan. Kicking Bear and Short Bull, Oglala Ghost Dance leaders, were among them. The group went to Europe in April 1891 (Moses 1999:111).

The Wild West show was a new type of *zuya* for Lak̇o̱ta people. First, it provided their only opportunity to legally leave the reservation. With the show, the people traveled not only the United States, but also to Europe, where they performed for Queen Victoria in England, and toured throughout Western Europe including Germany, France, Italy and Spain. The show was so successful in Germany that, after 1890, hundreds of Western clubs were established in Germany to study the American West (Blackstone 1986:133). These clubs remain popular throughout Western Europe today and they hold Native American-style powwows and ceremonies. Thus, the performances created a rather positive image of the Native American who was admired and viewed as occupying a utopian world by people wary of their urban civilization.

Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show added the element of globalization to the Lak̇o̱ta *zuya*. It was the first time that groups of Lak̇o̱ta people traveled overseas where they were exposed to European culture and, in turn, presented their culture to Europeans. Crossing the seas by a

steamship, performing in front of various audiences, visiting European homes or being feted by wealthy show fans (Standing Bear 1975:258) was a way to earn experience and honor. Lak̇o̱ta young men also perceived the tour as an educational journey expecting to learn about the world and the European ways so they could help their people on the reservation:

> They told us this show would go across the big water to strange lands, and I thought I ought to go, because I might learn some secret of the Wasichu that would help my people somehow. […] Maybe if I could see the great world of the Wasichu, I could understand how to bring the sacred hoop together and make the tree to bloom again at the center of it (Neihardt 1932:214-215).

Reportedly, traveling overseas and life on a show offered a break from a controlled and restricted life on poverty-stricken reservations. In times of starvation, the show was a way for Lak̇o̱ta to survive and provide for their families who stayed home. For young men, it was also a way to travel and to practice dancing. Despite the fact that they lived in Buffalo Bill's fictionalized version of Lak̇o̱ta pre-reservation world, the people could speak their native language, wear traditional buckskin clothing and regalia, and exhibit their martial skills, such as horse riding. Songs and dances were also included in the performances. In other words, on the Wild West shows, the Lak̇o̱ta were allowed to continue the cultural behaviors and practices which were forbidden by law on the reservations. It was a fictionalized continuation of Lak̇o̱ta traditional culture away from their real homes.

These new themes and experiences radiated in the journey song complex. *Oṡk̄aṯe olowaŋ* became the common name of the new genre. However, these songs continue the tradition of the *ozuye olowaŋ*. Rhodes described the genre as "Farewell Song for those leaving to join the circus" (Browner 2002:30). In contrast to *ozuye olowaŋ*, which were songs that celebrated the challenge and the educational nature of the journey, *oṡk̄aṯe olowaŋ* emphasized the social entertainment element of the journey *(ṡk̄aṯe* is Laḳōta for "play"). However, the people did experience hardship, sickness, and even death during their travels and, as a consequence, had to learn a new set of survival skills in a different world. Thus, the new type of journey maintained the elements of educational experiences with the possibility of facing danger. Therefore, these elements were easily incorporated in the Laḳōta culture.

One song in Walker's collection (song no. 364.10) and nine songs in Rhodes's collection (songs nos. 53.14, 53.15, 53.19, 54.11, 62.9, 62.10, 68.3, 69.8, 73.11) speak of one's crossing the ocean and experiences overseas. The songs honor the people who are getting ready to travel with a show, or circus, offer encouragement, or celebrate their return to the reservation upon completing their travel. The following song was recorded in 1908 and it refers to the Buffalo Bill show. The song maintains the elements of the journey and facing difficulties. However, new details appear: the characters *(mila haŋsk̄a*,

the Long Knives, the phrase describing the appearance of the US Army according to the swords that they carried, which became extended to describe Euro-Americans and Europeans), the place *(mni waŋc̄a*, "an ocean"), and nature and distance of travel (went across the ocean).

364.10 *Oṡk̄at̄e Olowaŋ*

He mila haŋsk̄a
That knives long
"The Long Knives"

Mni waŋc̄a waŋ
Water all.over one
"Across the ocean"

Ḳ́oyak̄iṗap̄i ċa
You.are.afraid so
"You are afraid of."

He miyeṡ t̄uḳ́alak̄a
That I.myself tired
"I am tired myself,"

Iblu wegi̇ŋ na
I.went across and
"I went across the ocean"

He wak̄u welo.
That I.am.coming
"And I am coming home."

The following song is an encouragement song for the men who are joining the Wild West show and are about to go on a journey. It maintains the aspect of the warrior's readiness *(Nak̄e nula yauŋ)* to face difficulty or the unknown.

53.19 *Oṡk̄aṯe Olowaŋ.* Jerome Wolf Ears, James Sioux Bob.

Oṡk̄aṯe	*waŋ*	*mahiyohi*	*yelo.*
Playground	one	came.after.me	<male sp.>

"A playground came after me."

Maṫo	*Najiŋ*	*k'uŋ*	*hiyuye*	*ehap̄elo.*
Bear	Standing	at.that.time	go.with.them	you.said

"Standing Bear, at that time, go with them, you said."

Nak̄e	*nula*	*yauŋ*	*yelo.*
Ready	always	you.live	<male sp.>

"Always ready you live."

Blihic'iya,	*omayani*	*kṯe!*
Take.courage,	you.travel	will

"Take courage, you will be traveling!"

The following song records the fact that the Laṫ̇koṯ̄a traveled overseas by a steamship. Singer Edgar Red Cloud, commenting to Rhodes, said that he did not compose the melody, just the words to the song. The song was composed in honor of the people from the singer's neighborhood after they returned from overseas.

62.9 *Oṡk̄aṯe Olowaŋ.* Edgar Red Cloud

T̄uwe sec̄ec̄a	*k'uŋ*	*blihic'iyayo!*
Whoever.you.are	then	take.courage

"Whoever you are, take courage!"

Ḳ̇owak̄aṯ̄a	*oṡk̄aṯe*	*waŋ*	*he*
Overseas	place of entertainment	one	that

"Overseas there is a place of entertainment,"

Nihiyohi	*kṯelo.*
After.you.it.come	will

"It will come after you."

Mni waŋc̄a wat̄a waŋ hoṫuŋ inajiŋ k̄ihaŋ
Water all.over boat one making.a.whistle stands when
“When the ocean boat stands with the whistle blowing,”

Ċaŋt̄e iyanip̣a k̄telo.
Heart beat will
“Your heart will beat fast.”

New thematic elements–social comradeship and the fear of the unknown–appear in *oṡk̄at̄e olowaŋ*. While in *ozuye olowaŋ*, the man was ready to face the challenge alone, the new songs raise the issue of social support or simply companionship on these trips. The songs show that in pre-reservation times, hunting and raiding the enemy was the male domain and fear was unknown. The Wild West shows hired entire families allowing some women and children to accompany men. Children were born on those trips, and the newborn babies were exhibited as part of the show. The fear of the unknown, distant white man’s world which came to dominate the Native people became a new theme.

The reference to “you and I,” which appears in the journey songs of the later period, indicates that the traveler was accompanied by someone close to him. This social support was clearly needed by the traveler as he embarked on a long journey overseas to perform in an unknown country. The journey’s itinerary was new to Laṫ̄ota experience and it was controlled by show managers. Thus, the journey experience was perceived as more

dangerous to the traveler than the pre-reservation journeys to familiar destinations.

68.3 *Oṡk̄aṯe Olowaŋ.* Blue Bird

Oṡk̄aṯe	*waŋji*	*iyaye*	*k̄i*	*le*	*ek̄ta*	*uŋyiŋ*	*k̄ta.*
Celebration	one	going	the	this	over.there	you.and.I.go	will

"A celebration is going on, that is where you and I will go."

Mic'iċuŋze	*k'uŋ*	*aŋpe̅tu*	*iyohila*
I.promised	the-past	day	every

"I promised that every day"

Wiŋyeya	*wauŋ*	*welo.*
Ready	I.live	<male sp.>

"I live prepared."

There were valid reasons for the people to fear these travels. The living conditions during travels with the shows are the subject of discussion by historians. Injuries and deaths reportedly occurred during the shows. Agent H. D. Gallagher of the Pine Ridge Agency wrote:

> Cody and Salzbury took away from this agency in the spring of 1889 seventy-two healthy young men to travel with the Wild West show while making a tour of the continent. Five of these have died among strangers in a strange land while seven others have been sent out home owing to their shattered health rendering them unfit for further service (ARCIA 1890:50).

Singer Dana Long Wolf told Rhodes that both he and his father were members of the Wild West shows (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 2). In 1888, the singer and his father went to London with Buffalo Bill's show. His father

died in London in 1891. The following song was made in the hospital for the singer's father:

53.15 *Ozuye Olowaŋ.* Dana Long Wolf

Wiċaśa	*iťaŋċaŋ*	*ki*	*he*	*blihic'iyapo!*
Man	spokesperson	the	that	take.courage

"The leaders, take courage!"

He	*miye*	*tka*	*owaḣ'aŋ*	*śuŋkeċa*	*yelo.*
That	is.me	almost	my.way	not.able	<male sp.>

"That is me, I am not as lively as I was."

He	*Śuŋgmanitu*	*Haŋska*	*heya*	*keyapelo.*
That	coyote	long	he.said.that	they.said

"They said Long Coyote said that."

In 1893, Cody took his show to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago where it played in a lot directly across the street from the main entrance into the exposition (Blackstone 1986:26). One hundred Lakȯta were hired for the show (ARCIA 1893:59). An army unit composed of Rosebud Lakȯta, Troop L, Sixth Cavalry, was also sent to the World's Columbian Exposition (Britten 1999:21). The song composed by Henry White Calf commemorates the Lakȯta traveling to the Chicago Fair and romantic companionship on the trip:

54.11 World's Fair *Olowaŋ.* Henry White Calf

Nigluweya	*yauŋ*	*heċina*
Ready	you.live	if.you

"If you are ready,"

World's Fair waŋ iyayiŋ kt̄e.
One going.on will
"A World's Fair will be going on."

Heċiya yauŋya waċiŋ yelo.
Over.there you.and.I.go I.want
"I want you and me to go over there."

Heuŋṡ aŋp̄et̄u ot̄a aċiṗe wauŋ yelo.
For.that.reason days many I.wait.for.you I.live
"For that reason I live many days waiting for you."

Heuŋṡ aŋp̄et̄u iyohila aċiṗe wauŋ yelo.
For.that.reason day every I.wait.for.you I.live
"For that reason every day I live waiting for you."

The following journey song is for a man who is leaving with a show that will be traveling to many towns. The song has maintained its meaning and become adapted to contemporary reality. It is sung today, especially for school sports teams on their way to competitions away from home.

73.11 *Oṡk̄at̄e Olowaŋ*

K̇ola oṫuŋwahe k̄i ot̄a waŋlak̄ap̄e ṡni ċa
Friend town the many you.have.seen not yet
"My friend, many towns you have not seen yet,"

Hena iyohila omawani kt̄elo.
They every I.go will
"Every one of them I will go to."

Heḣak̄a ho waṡt̄e k'uŋ heye na iyaye.
Elk voice good then said.this and left
"Good Voice Elk said this and left."

Education

A significant part of the assimilation policy was delivering Western-style education to the Native people. There were schools on the reservation, however, some children went to off-reservation boarding schools, which are my focus. Because boarding schools took the children away from their homes for extended periods of time, their families generally resisted to this policy. Agent James G. Wright of Rosebud noted that among the reasons why the families were reluctant to send their children away was because sickness and death often occurred in boarding schools (ARCIA 1884:45).

Despite the fact that many families hid their children from recruiters, some leaders encouraged them to send the children to boarding schools. Parents who wanted their children educated in the American system, however, preferred their children to be sent to off-reservation boarding schools rather than the local ones (Riney 1999:29). Traveling to attend a distant boarding school presented another type of modern *zuya*. It was an educational journey in the most direct sense. Standing Bear describes how he understood traveling to the boarding school as a challenge that he was ready to accept:

> I was thinking of my father, and how he had many times said to me, "Son, be brave! Die on the battlefield if necessary away from home. It is better to die young than to get old and sick and then die." When I thought of my father, and how he smoked the pipe of peace, and was

> not fighting anymore, it occurred to me that this chance to go East would prove that I was brave if I were to accept it.
>
> At that time we did not trust the white people very strongly. But the thought of going away with what was to us an enemy, to a place we knew nothing about, just suited me. So I said, "Yes, I will go" (Standing Bear 1975:124).

Some Lak̇o͞ta leaders such as Spotted Tail *(Siŋ͞te Gleśk̄a*) of the Sic̣aŋġu wanted the children to learn the English language so they can compete in the Euro-American society on equal terms. When he visited the boarding school in Carlisle and saw his people marching, farming, and being regimented by the teachers, he withdrew his children and grandchildren from school (Douville, personal communication).

Likewise, after the first generations of graduates returned home, the people realized that the boarding school system failed their expectations. Off-reservation boarding schools provided mostly vocational training. Domestic skills dominated young women's education while their labor in the capacity of cooks, laundresses and seamstresses was used to maintain the schools themselves (Trennert 1986:225, 228). The young people did not have sufficient skills to compete in the mainstream society. They also became estranged from their Native culture, language, and relatives.

In the three song collections, there are only two songs that address the issue of going to school. A *wioyuśt̄e olowaŋ* (song no. 57.18) reveals that a girl's schooling, which she acquired at a distant place, deems her a priceless

bride. The following song is an honoring song for a young woman who is about to travel to school and is encouraging her to be prepared for her journey:

72.12 *Wayawa olowaŋ*

Makȧ	*sitomni*	*waya*	*he*	*ani*	*kte lo.*
Earth	everywhere	school	that	take.you	will

"Education will take you all over the world."

Ate	*heya*	*ċa*
Father	said.this	so

"Father said this, so"

Ehaŋtaŋ	*najiŋ*	*wiŋyeya*	*wauŋ*	*yelo.*
Beforehand	stand	prepared	I.live.that way	

"Beforehand I stand prepared."

Ṗaŋkeska	*Haŋska*	*wiŋ*	*heya*
Abalone.Shell	Long	Woman	said.this

"Tall Shell Woman said"

Wayawa	*he*	*iyaye.*
School	that	she.went

"And she went to school."

World War I and World War II Songs

Plains peoples have a long history of serving in the US Army. During the nineteenth century wars Native men served as scouts. They expected that political alliances with Europeans against larger tribes would protect their families. Also, it was a way to support their families financially, since the army job provided pay, food, clothing, and ammunition (Britten 1999:11). In addition, at a time when the people's mobility was restricted to the

reservation, the army enlistment gave the men a legal opportunity to go on *zuya.*

World War I and II experiences continued the theme of globalization of *zuya* started by the Wild West shows. They expanded the understanding of world geography for the reservation people. They could relate to distant lands because they had relatives serving in the war. E. Deloria describes an event that shows that a personal relationship with a distant country through a relative taught a Lakȱta child geography better than formal schooling: "When a missionary's wife asked where his sister was now, a little full-blood boy answered quite casually, 'In Iceland.' Iceland was now part of his world" (Deloria 1998:93). When war veterans returned home, they often named their children after places where they participated in campaigns. For example, a World War II veteran from Rosebud named his children Verona, Florence and Valentine, and his grandchildren Vanetta and Valencia, after liberating those cities (Douville, personal communication).

R.D. Theisz (1987) traces thematic developments in Lakȱta songs from intertribal warfare to the conflicts overseas. He observes that references to foreign enemies in Lakȱta songs evolved from the Crow *(Kaŋ̇gi Wiċaśa*) to the Germans *(Iya Śiċa*), and place names such as "Tokyo" and "Koreata" appear in later songs (Theisz 1987:24).

World War I and II brought out the importance of the old ceremonies for the men going on a journey that involved risking one's life: giveaways, honorings, dances (Britten 1999:132). A series of new songs were composed and old songs were adapted to address the issues of the World War I and II experience. The following song documents the fact that the Laƙoȟta males joined the military in a concise and straightforward way:

72.4 *Ozuye Olowaŋ.* Blue Bird

Ȟoki	*niȟa*	*ƙola?*
Where	yours	friend

"Where is your friend?"

Ȟoki	*iyaye*	*so?*
Where	he.go	did

"Where did he go?"

Aƙiciȟa	*iyaye.*
Aƙiciȟa	he.went

"He joined the military."

The texts of World War I and II journey songs resemble one of the Southern Cheyenne war songs recorded by Giglio which speaks words of encouragement to the soldier who is leaving for war (Giglio 1994:115).

72.10 *Aƙiciȟa Olowaŋ*

Ȟaśuŋke	*Heȟaka*	*blihic'iyayo!*
Horse	Elk	take.courage

"His Horse Is Elk, take courage!"

Oyate	*heyapelo.*
People	are.saying.this

"The people are saying this."

Akiciṫapi heya yau ca
Servicemen said.this you.come so
“Servicemen are saying this, so you come,”

Lenihaŋṫu welo.
This.your.time <male sp.>
“This is the time for you.”

The following song composed by singer Julian Whistler for his son Charles reminds one of *Caŋṫe T’iŋza* society song which forbids leaving the battlefield:

57.22 *Okiciize Olowaŋ.* Julian Whistler

Heȟaka Sapa okiciize kihaŋ waŋlakiŋ kṫe ca
Elk Black war when you.see will see when
“Black Elk, when you see the battle,”

Heciya i kihaŋ waciŋ nuŋpa sni ye!
Over.there you.arrive when want two not
“Don’t have second thoughts about going, don’t hesitate!”

Britten (1999:109) notes that the very presence of Lakoṫa in the American army caused a lot of anxiety in the German ranks during World War I. The images of bravery and martial skills created by the Wild West shows and popular books like Karl May’s novels served as propaganda for the Native American involvement in the war. Interestingly, from the other side, this sentiment is echoed in Lakoṫa encouragement songs (songs nos. 52.7 and 64.10) which speak about the Lakoṫa–German encounter in which the Germans capitulate at the sight of the Lakoṫa:

52.7 *Ak̄iċit̄a Olowaŋ.* John Coloff

Iya	*ṡiċa*	*k̄i*	*ohit̄ik̄a*	*k̄i*	*niṫawa*
Mouth	bad	the	brave	the	yours

“Germans, you are brave,”

K̄eċaŋni	*he*	*yauŋ*	*helo.*
You.think	that	you.live	that

“You live thinking that way.”

Lak̇ot̄a	*k̄i*	*wamayalake*	*na*	*nakeḣċa*
Lak̇ot̄a	the	you.see.me	and	you.regret

“When you see me, the Lak̇ot̄a, you will regret”

Wolak̇ot̄a	*yaċiŋ*	*yelo!*
Peace	you.want	<male sp.>

“And peace you will want!”

It is estimated that as many as thirty percent of Native American adult male population may have served in World War I, bringing the total number to fifteen thousand (Britten 1999:59). Native men served as scouts, snipers, messengers, and code talkers and Native women worked as nurses, military auxiliaries and volunteers. As the World War I missions found their place in the Lak̇ot̄a system of *zuya*, Lak̇ot̄a soldiers willingly accepted challenging assignments such as scout and patrol duties. The following song documents that the taking of enemy flags was incorporated into the Lak̇ot̄a system of achievements:

61.22 *Ozuye Olowaŋ.*

Heċiya	*ok̄iċize*	*yelo.*
Over.there	war	<male sp.>

“Over there there is war.”

Iya *ṡiċa* *ohīti* *waċiŋ* *ċa*
Mouth bad brave try.to.be so
“The German was trying to be brave, but”

Ṫawapāpaha *ki* *oṫa* *waki* *yelo.*
His.flags the many I.took.away male sp.
“I took away many of his flags.”

Forcing the enemy to retreat was another achievement expressed in the next song. The song, still popular today, is sung at the powwows for golden age dancers.

53.21 *Iwakiċipi.* Jerome Wolf Ears, James Sioux Bob

Wayaŋkiye *ḳola* *iya* *ṡiċa*
You.look friend mouth bad
“Take a look, friend, the German”

Naṫaŋ *hiyuwe* *wayaŋkiyeyo!*
Charging comes you.look
“Charging he comes, take a look!”

Ḳola *iya* *ṡiċa* *maḳoċe* *waŋ* *teḣila* *ċa*
Friend mouth bad land one he.loves so
“Friend, the German will not give up the land so”

Uŋya *naṗewa* *yelo!*
Without.it I.made.him.run <male sp.>
“I made him run without it!”

The following song refers to airplanes in World War II:

62.8 *Omaha Olowaŋ.* White Calf, Henry Red Cloud, and Edgar Red Cloud

Iya *ṡiċa* *naṫaŋ* *hiyupe,*
Mouth bad charging they.come
“The Germans are charging,”

Waŋk̄at̄aŋ k̄iyaŋp̄elo!
Above they.fly
"They fly above!"

The next song speaks of another accomplishment in war, taking a human life. Bernstein (1991:136) documents the fact that cleansing ceremonies were performed for every Zuni GI coming back from World War II. Interpreters related that the Lak̇ot̄a continued to perform cleansing ceremonies for their soldiers returning from World War I and World War II (Cutt et. al. n.d.:229), just like they did in the pre-reservation times. As a result, soldiers did not have mental problems dealing with their war experiences.

72.5 *Wakt̄egli Olowaŋ*

Heṗaŋ gleṡk̄a ak̄iċit̄a yiŋ kt̄elo,
Elk spotted ak̄iċit̄a go will
"Spotted Elk is going to go to the military,"

Eyap̄i ċaŋna iċaŋt̄e masiċ̄e.
They.said.this when heart my.bad
"Whenever they say this, it saddens my heart."

Nihuŋ onic̄ile ċa eyaċa.
Your.mother is.looking.for.you so he.said.this
"Your mother is looking for you, so he said this."

Iya ṡic̄a k̄i ok̄iċize ċaŋ ohit̄i waċani ye.
Mouth bad the war when brave you.try.to.be
"When the Germans are fighting, you are trying to be courageous."

He Lak̇ot̄a hokṡila waŋwiċalak̄iŋ na
That Lak̇ot̄a boy you.have.seen and
"You have seen the Lak̇ot̄a boy,"

Nak̄eḣc̄a wolak̇ot̄a yaċiŋye.
So.now peace you.want
“So now you want peace.”

It̄e sabye waŋ miyeṡ awak̄uwe,
Face blackened one me I.am.bringing
“I am bringing my black-painted face,”

He heṗa ċa heṗa.
That I.have.said.this so I.have.said
“That I said, I said.”

K̇owak̄at̄a wai ċa ekt̄a wiċaċeye.
Overseas I.arrived so over.there people.cry
“Overseas I arrived, so over there the people are crying.”

Hena heċamuwe.
Those I.have.done
“I have done those things.”

According to statistics, the Sioux comprised one-fifth of the total Native American casualties in World War II (more than 100 out of 550) (Bernstein 1991:136). The 1945 report lists 24 killed from Pine Ridge and 13 from Rosebud (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1945: 23-24), and the numbers of wounded in action were 64 from Pine Ridge and 45 from Rosebud (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1945: 37-40). For both reservations, most casualties were in France (5 killed, 24 wounded), USA (4 killed), Germany (3 killed, 34 wounded), Philippines (4 killed, 5 wounded).

The collections contained six memorial songs (songs nos. 55.16, 64.8, 66.16, 70.14, 70.20, 76.4) for the Lak̇ot̄a soldiers who gave their lives in World

War I and II. The following formula of the honoring song for those killed in World War I was developed and then later adapted to World War II. It substitutes the conflict and the location, but the wording remains entirely the same. *Ṫuwe secā*, "whoever it is," addresses either the soldiers in general, or provides a place where a specific name is inserted.

76.4 *Akiċiṫa Olowaŋ.* Paul High Horse

Iya	*śiča*	*naṫaŋ*	*hiyupelo.*
Mouth	bad	charging	they.come

"Bad mouths are coming charging."

Ṫuwe	*secā*	*k'uŋ*	*ḳola*	*ekṫani*	*yuŋkelo.*
Whoever.it.is		the-past	friend	back.there	he.is.lying

"Whoever it is, my friend, back there, he is lying."

The following is an honoring song for World War I soldiers from Pine Ridge. It commemorates Alfred Richard, who was killed in action in France (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 2).

55.16 *Wiċayuonihaŋ Olowaŋ.* Jaik White Bear, Joseph Hornbeck, Joseph Hand.

Ṫaṫaŋka	*Wapaha*	*blihic'iyayo!*
Buffalo	Shield	take.courage

"Buffalo Shield, take courage!"

He	*okiċize*	*ki*	*kiyela*	*wauŋyaŋke*	*kte,*
That	battle	the	near	you.and.I.see	will

"You and I will see the battle from up close,"

Huŋpa	*gleśka*	*k'uŋ*	*heye*	*na*	*ċokaṫa*	*yuŋkelo.*
Elk	Spotted	that	he.said	and	in.the.middle	laid

"Spotted Elk then said this and in the middle he laid."

In the face of grief and death, people tend to return to the ways their ancestors practiced. Those actions gave people strength and comfort in times of personal crisis. Deloria describes a wiping of tears ceremony that was performed for a woman who lost her only son in World War II:

> In her intense grief, she reverted to ancient custom, so long given up, and demeaned herself by cutting off her hair, wearing her oldest clothes, and wandering over the hills, wailing incessantly. Nor would she be comforted. Did the people do anything? Certainly. In the old-time manner, which they now carry over into the church, they made a feast and invited the bereaved mother. After a memorial service in the church they went down to the guild hall. There the elder men and women, strong in their faith and given to such exhortation, made speeches addressed to her, as in the traditional manner of condoling with those who mourn. "I do not presume to make light of your great sorrow, my relative, "said one earnest Christian woman, "but to remind you of God's love." And so the woman's weeping subsided. They washed her tear-strained face and partook of food with her, all in decent quiet, for this was a ceremony. "Then they all collected gifts for her, mostly food," the letter ends, "and she told them she felt lots stronger now because they had talked to her and comforted her (Deloria 1998:91).

The Lak̇ōta speakers mention that more respect was shown for World War I soldiers than the ones who returned from World War II (Cutt et al. n.d.:222). The alcohol use of the latter aggravated the situation. Therefore, fewer songs were made. However, when a man from a prominent family came back, the family held the honoring ceremony and a giveaway, and appointed a drum group to sing a song. Sometimes, songs were composed during the event.

Summary

A close look at the songs that deal with war and war-related subjects reveals that war was not the most important variable in this group. War and warfare provided an opportunity for a man to claim achievement and earn social status in Lak̇o̱ta society. In pre-reservation times, the Lak̇o̱ta were in conflict with the surrounding tribes, such as the Pawnee, and the US military. These conflicts provided an opportunity for their education and achievement, while the people fought to secure hunting territories. When they were confined to reservations and these conflicts ended, the men found other avenues in their search of achievement. Wild West shows and the two World Wars provided an opportunity for a journey and new challenges for Lak̇o̱ta men to face. The songs reflect the continuity of emotions and community activities associated with these new risks and challenges.

Journey was the most important theme for centering the functions of songs. The songs express encouragement for those going on a journey and honor those returning from the journey, whether dead or alive. They celebrate returnees' accomplishments in public and relate personal stories. I found that the structure of pre-reservation journey songs, which did contain references to achievements in battle, was easily transferable to the peaceful times and applied to honor the people who traveled to work on the Wild West shows or went away to boarding schools. Later, the songs were

reworked and used for the veterans of the two World Wars. The songs are oriented to a specific event or a particular veteran, but the structure of the song remains the same.

The abstractness of the songs contributes to the fluidity of their functions and allows them to transcend the boundaries of time. It allows the songs to maintain their functionality and significance in the life of the community. Thus, they can be applied to various events that occurred during defined time periods such as horse raiding, hunts, and warfare. In this way, the songs adapt to the changing world and survive through cultural changes (e.g., allows the survival of *ozuye olowaŋ* long after the times of war parties were over).

Journey songs that speak of the pre-reservation culture contain no mention of women as participants in the journey. Women do appear in the songs as care-takers and supporters who raise warriors. The later songs contain references to female companionship on the social trips *(oṡk̄aṫe olowaŋ)*, while school songs *(wayawa olowaŋ)* honor women who travel for purposes of education. Thus, in the reservation period, Laḳōta women start going on journeys themselves, giving them opportunities to compete with the men to gain accomplishment and status in the male domain.

Chapter V. Fortitude: The Love Song Complex

Love songs express the feelings between two people and thus are one of the oldest Lak̇o̱ta song categories. In our collections, we had sixty *wioyus̱te olowaŋ* (love songs) and eighty-three *mas̱tiŋc̄ala olowaŋ* (Rabbit Dance songs).

Love songs with no drumbeat are considered the oldest version of this type of song. In pre-reservation times, these songs were sung with the accompaniment of the flute by men to their lovers during evenings. Later, some *wioyus̱te olowaŋ* acquired a new form and were remade as *mas̱tiŋc̄ala olowaŋ* or *Omaha olowaŋ*. Love songs are usually sung by men, but from a woman's perspective. The singer in his song transmits what the woman has said or done. In a way, these songs cautioned women to watch their behavior under threat of potential revelation of misdeeds in a song.

Densmore (1992:509-512) recorded and analyzed three love songs *(wioweste olowaŋ)*, and transcribed the text of one. She commented that the songs were comparatively modern. Black Bear and Theisz (1976) provided samples and short descriptions of a variety of social songs and dances, including the Rabbit Dance, the '49 Dance, and love songs.

There is a set of Lak̇o̱ta phrases that occurs in the songs dealing with romantic subjects which need additional explanation to align English translations more closely to their Lak̇o̱ta meaning. *Was̱te c̣ilak̄e* is an

equivalent of "I like you well" and is used by both men and women to express initial interest. The title of love songs, *wioyuṡ̄te olowaŋ*, merges *wiyaŋ waṡ̇te laḵ̄a*, and thus is translated as "liking a woman" songs (Cutt et al. n.d.:129). Iyo̱t̄aŋċ̣ila is another word of affection which means "I care about you very much." *T̄eċ̣iḥ̇ila* is the word we translate as "I love you," love with the implication of utmost respect. The word may be used among relatives or between parents and children to express the great value placed on the relationship. When the word is used by lovers, it implies holding each other at high esteem. Deloria notes that *t̄eḥ̇ila* has nothing to do with physical passion (Deloria n.d.: d)

The expression used to describe marriage, *higna waṫuŋ*, literally means, "I give birth to a relationship or companion" (Cutt et al. n.d.:129). Since romantic relationships generate emotions from the heart, another common phrase in love songs is *ċ̣aŋt̄e ṡiḉ̄a*, meaning a "bad heart." It can also describe a broken heart or sadness in general.

In the song collections, there are two *maṡ̄tiŋḉ̄ala olowaŋ* (songs nos. 59.17 and 69.10) that speak of commitment between two people and how they hold each other in highest esteem. The following is an example of such song:

59.17 *Maṡ̄tiŋḉ̄ala Olowaŋ*

Iyoṫaŋċila *kṫa* *huŋwe* *hehaŋṫaŋ* *he* *oṫa*
I.praise.you.highly will how since.then that many.times
“How I have been praising you highly, many times since then”

Oċiċiyaka *wowiċaḳe* *uŋḳihe* *iyoṫaŋċila* *ye.*
I.told.you truthfulness with I.praise.you.highly
“With truthfulness I have told you how I praised you highly.”

The next song speaks of love so strong that it will continue into the spirit world. The song may be used as a subtle way to prepare a loved one for loss. For example, a warrior might expect to give his life in battle. Warriors are ready to protect their people and it is an honor to die in such a mission. Therefore, a woman accepts the fact that the inevitable might happen.

61.2 *Wioyuṡṫe Olowaŋ*. Ben Sitting Up.

Iyoṫaŋċila *k’uŋ*
I.care.about.you.very.much but
“I thought of you so much, but”

Oyaṫe *el* *wauŋ* *kṫe* *ṡni.*
People with I.am will not
“I will not be with the people.”

Ṫohaŋl *wanahḣca* *iċaġa* *ċaŋna*
When flowers grow up when
“When the flowers grow up, when,”

Hehaŋl *miyeksuyiŋ* *kṫe.*
At.that.time you.think.of.me will
“At that time you will think of me.”

Iyoṫaŋċila *k’uŋ*
I.care.about.you.very.much but
“I thought of you so much, but”

Oyaṫe el wauŋ kṫe ṡni.
People with I.am will not
“I will not be with the people.”

Mat’iŋ na naḳuŋ wanaġiyaṫa ble eṡa
I.dead and also spirit.world go even.at.that
“When I am dead and go to the spirit world,”

Ċiksuya mni nahaŋ
Remember.you go.home and
“I will go home remembering you and”

Aŋpṫetu ihaŋḳela ḳi waċiŋyaŋḳiŋ kṫe.
Day last the I.see.you will
“At the end of your days I will see you.”

After Laḳoṫa traditional dances were forbidden on reservations, Rabbit Dances were introduced as a new social dance style (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:86-87). Rabbit Dances were fashioned after a European-style dance in which couples danced in a clockwise circular pattern. Women picked their dance partners. These dances required no costumes and could be held at home.

Among the Laḳoṫa, the Rabbit Dance started in about 1920 (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:83). Thunder Bull’s family in Pine Ridge learned the Rabbit Dance from visitors from the Fort Peck reservation in Montana in 1924 (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 2). The story by Black Bear about the origins of the Rabbit Dance confirms that the dance quickly found its way in Laḳoṫa culture and oral tradition:

> Long ago at a dance hall, six people (three men and three women) got off a wagon and come into the dance hall. They were all very good-looking and started to dance a new dance. After they danced a couple of dances, they got on their wagon and left. Everybody followed them out and watched them fade into the distance. After a while they got out of the wagon. They were all jackrabbits (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:83).

When the Rabbit Dance was introduced, husbands and wives were not allowed to dance together. Dances were used to control jealousy in marriage and romantic relationships. White Hat mentions that a long time ago when couple got married, if the young woman was jealous of her husband, then the two families would take them out to a dance and make the wife watch the husband dance with his old girlfriends (Cutt et al. n.d.:145). According to the rule, one had to dance with somebody other than one's spouse. The agents tried to stop those dances because, they thought, they encouraged jealousy and divorce. The situation changed in the middle of the twentieth century, when married couples started dancing together and the sight of a married person dancing with somebody who was not a spouse could cause a public conflict (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:93). Three *masčiŋčala olowaŋ* (songs nos. 63.9, 73.6, and 73.12) relate stories of a partner's jealousy.

63.9 *Masčiŋčala Olowaŋ*

Čohaŋl	*wauŋći*	*lahća*	*kići*	*wauŋ*	*tka*	*ki*
Whenever	you.and.I.dance	really	with	I.live	almost	the

"Whenever you and I dance the one I live with"

Nawizi *it'a* *yahe* *it'a* *yahe.*
Jealous die doing.that die doing.that
"Almost dies with jealousy."

Naḳe *t'a* *yahe.*
Regret die doing.that
"He will regret doing that."

Black Bear noted that *wioyuṡṫe olowaŋ* speak of events that really happened and were made by the lovers' relatives while *maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ* are "made up" (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:123). *Wioyuṡṫe olowaŋ* tell stories about a woman and her actions. However, in the collections, *maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ* seem to continue the love song themes with little change. Some *wioyuṡṫe olowaŋ* were remade into *maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ*. *Maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ* record a wide spectrum of lovers' behaviors, ranging from dancing with a relative to letter-writing in order to maintain a long-distance relationship. *Maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ* represent the female's bolder approach to couple relationships, which could be interpreted as the trickster theme. However, Laḳoṫa speakers also agree that World War I brought changes to Laḳoṫa communities and social life.

Maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ usually relate the story from the woman's point of view, but are performed by male singers who are sometimes accompanied by female singers called *wiċaglaṫa*. The oldest *maṡṫiŋčala olowaŋ* started with the word *ċepaṅṡi* (a female addressing a female cousin). Later, they were replaced by the English "Dearie," which addresses the lover directly. Laḳoṫa

etiquette required a female to speak to an unfamiliar male through a third party. In our collection, most *masṫīŋčala olowaŋ* start with "Dearie" or with no address at all. One song, however, exemplifies the old-style conversation between two female relatives on a romantic subject:

57.10 *Masṫīŋčala Olowaŋ*. Whistler.

Čeṗaŋṡi	*kiči*	*wayači*	*kī*	*he*	*tuwe*	*so*
Cousin	with	you.dance	the	that	who	<q.part>

"Cousin, the one you dance with, who is he?"

Iyuğa	*niṫo*	*tokiyatāŋ*	*hi*	*ka.*
Ask.him	you	where.from	he.came	so

"You ask him where he came from."

Okiyakaye	*imačū*	*ka*	*ča*
Tell.him	I.take.him	<emphasis>	so

"Tell him I like him,"

Kiči	*wowaglaka*	*waciŋ ye.*
With	talk.him	I.want

"I want to talk with him."

In this song, the woman addresses her female cousin and expresses her interest in meeting the man she is dancing with. A variant of this song, with slightly different lyrics but the same theme, was recently presented by Irving Tail, a singer from Pine Ridge (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:88).

Courtship and Marriage

Traditional arranged marriages involved the agreement between two families which was followed by gift exchange. A man who was interested in a woman sent his relatives to her family with a message and gifts. Acceptance

of the gifts meant that the family agreed to marriage, and, in turn, sent gifts to the man's family. Marriage was first and foremost a family matter. It was an arrangement that would benefit the two families and society in general. An individual's feelings would not play the most important role in such arrangement. Therefore, a young woman might be in love with one man, but her family would make arrangements for her to marry another man.

The following song tells the story of a woman who was making arrangements to marry a man when another man made arrangements with her family and took three horses to them as gifts. The woman was so upset that she considered getting a divorce so that she could marry the man of her choice.

53.11 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Dana Long Wolf.

Maeya	*waċeyiŋ*	*kṫe*	*maye*	*aiye,*
Surely	I.cry	will	surely	talking (about sth.)

"Surely I will cry, surely talking about it,"

Ṫaiŋyaŋ	*he*	*waċeyiŋ*	*kṫe.*
Visibly	that	I.cry	will

"About that visibly I will cry."

Higna	*ċiyiŋ*	*kṫe*	*s'e*	*waċani*	*na*
Husband	become	will	maybe	you.thought	and

"Maybe you will become my husband, you thought, and"

Oiye	*maoṫa*	*k'uŋ.*
Words	my.many	at.that.time

"There were so many of my words."

Hena	*weksu*	*na*	*ṫaiŋyaŋ*	*he*	*waćeyiŋ*	*k̄te.*
Those	I.remember	and	visibly	that	I.cry	will

"Those I remember and visibly I will cry about that."

A number of songs speak of difficulties in marriage and resulting secret affairs. In the songs, a married woman who was probably given away in an arranged marriage admits to having a difficult time because she is in love with another man. Love affairs seem to be a woman's passive response in her rebellion against an arranged marriage.

51.18 *Wioyus̄te Olowaŋ*. Arthur Bear Shirt.

Anakiḣma	*ye!*	*T̄aŋyaŋ*	*waun*	*we.*
You.hide.me	<command, part.>	In.a.good.way	I.live	<female sp.>

"Hide me! I live in a good way."

T̄aŋyaŋ	*yauŋ*	*we.*
In.a.good.way	you.live	<female sp.>

"You live in a good way."

Ṫawiću	*yaṫuŋ*	*na*
Wife	you.gave.birth.to.a.relationship	and

"You have a wife and"

Higna	*waṫuŋ*	*we.*
Husband	I.gave.birth.to.a.relationship	<female sp.>

"I have a husband."

At least six other *wioyus̄te olowaŋ* (songs nos. 55.2, 55.18, 64.14, 72.6, 74.9, 74.12) and three *mas̄tiŋc̄ala olowaŋ* (songs nos. 51.15, 57.21 and 64.3) speak of the suffering and passive resistance of a married woman who is love with another man. The following song was composed by singer in 1909.

64.14 *Wioyus̄te Olowaŋ*. Lone Dog

Wiċāwaḳe wiċāwaḳe iyotāŋċila ye!
Truth.tell truth.tell I.like.you <female sp.>
“Truthfully, truthfully, I like you!”

Niṫaŋṫaŋhaŋ uŋ higna wayelaki.
Because.of.you him husband I.married.him
“Because of you I married my husband.”

Kiċi muka ċa ċiksu na waċeya he.
With.him I.lay when I.remember.you and cry that
“I remember you and cry when I lay with him.”

Wiċāwaḳe wiċāwaḳe iyotāŋċila ye!
Truth.tell truth.tell I.like.you <female sp.>
“Truthfully, truthfully, I like you!”

While some songs relating love affairs might in reality tell the story of an unhappy arranged marriage, some love songs are likely to do the opposite. The singers may compose these songs to brag about their real or imagined romantic adventures.

In addition to troubled arranged marriages enforced by families, the theme of love affairs is also associated with the reservation system’s attempt to control Laḳoṫa marriages by law, which will be discussed in a separate section.

The following is an example of a courting, or tiṗi-creeping, song. Tiṗi-creeping was practiced by young men who would secretly try to get into a girl’s family’s lodge to spend the night with her. The title of the song comes from the word *Ṡuŋkaḣapa*, which means driving horses toward one place

while herding them, such as driving horses to a father-in-law (Cutt et al. n.d.:242).

74.6 *Śuŋkaḣ olowaŋ*

Wiŋyaŋla	*waŋ*	*tewaḣila*	*k'uŋ*
Woman.dear	one	I.love	at.that.time

"I loved a woman"

Wi	*t̄ona*	*kes̈a*	*waŋweglak̄e s̈ni*		*yelo.*
Moons	many	although	see.her	not	<male.sp>

"Although many moons I haven't seen her."

Some families were more lenient in making marriage arrangements for their daughters. Cutt relates that, according to the tradition, a suitor would give a horse to each brother and the father of the girl. The horses will be loaded with other gift items, such as robes. If the family accepts all the horses, it means that they accept the young man. If they take only one, they might give the young man a chance to talk to the girl. Subsequently, the girl will make her wishes known to her mother and aunts who will then talk about her choice to the father and brothers (Cutt et al. n.d.:242).

The girl's virginity was strictly guarded by the family. Young girls usually appeared in the company of older relatives as chaperones. Two songs (songs nos. 65.5 and 67.16) speak of the secrecy of romantic relationships under strict chaperonage:

67.16 *Mas̈t̄iŋc̄ala Olowaŋ.* Melbeta and Henry White Calf

Waċipī *kī* *le* *inakiyapī* *kihaŋ*
Dance the this they.finish when
"When they finish this dance,"

Waŋċiŋyaŋka *waċiŋ ye!*
See.you I.want <female sp.>
"I want to see you!"

Wakta *eċuŋ* *we!*
Carefully do.it <female sp.>
"Be careful!"

Kiyela he *awamayaŋka* *haŋpe.*
Closely.like they.watch.me that.they
"Closely they have been watching me, that is how."

A custom called *wiinahma*, "bringing a woman home secretly" (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:108), also called elopement, was practiced by the Lakota. The couples started living together without a public announcement or exchange of gifts. Gift giving to the new bride or groom by one of the parents signified their acceptance into the family and the acknowledgement of the couple. If the young man's family was too poor to offer the required gifts to the prospective bride's family, the young couple might thus start their life together without a public ceremony.

Regulation of Marriages and Secret Affairs

No Ears Winter count records in the year 1886, "they made a law against seducing women" (Walker 1982:150). Actually, the Rules for the Courts of Indian Offenses, drawn up in 1883 and revised in 1892, contained provisions regulating marriages (United States Office of Indian Affairs

1883:6; Prucha 2000:185-186). For a "plural" marriage, the man was to be punished by "a fine of not less than twenty dollars nor more than fifty dollars, or work at hard labor for a not less than twenty nor more than sixty days, or both," and the withholding of rations while such relationship continues (Prucha 2000:185-186). The punishment for traditional Lak̓ōta marriages by gift giving was withholding of rations or imprisonment for a period not exceeding ninety days, or both (Prucha 2000:186).

Agent J. Bell of Pine Ridge Agency reports the employment of police to control the brittleness of Lak̓ōta marriages (ARCIA 1886:77). Agent W.W. Anderson of Crow Creek and Lower Brule Agency describes putting the law into practice: "bigamy" is punished by "confinement to the guard-house, withholding of rations etc." (ARCIA 1888:30). Couples had to be married either in church or by the agent.

Biolsi (1992:8) noted that the reason for the legal regulation of marriages was the agents' need to document descent for land allotment and rations. Therefore, after 1900, agencies issued marriage licenses and punished couples who were cohabiting.

Thus, love affairs, formerly a matter of the couple and families, now acquire legal status. Going to prison for a love affair becomes a possibility. In the following song, a woman asks a man to elope with her and not to be afraid to face the legal consequences of their collective action. The fieldnotes

describe the song as, “Married [scribbled on top of the sentence as if added later] Woman asking man to elope with her. Very old. Old timers” (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 5). The singer, who was 68 years old at the time of recording, further explained that the song belonged to his grandfather.

61.13 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Reuben Estes.

Ṫaku ḳoyakipa?
What you.afraid.of
“What are you afraid of?”

Niyeṡ winiċa ye!
You you.man female sp.
“You are a man!”

Miyeṡ wimayaye eṡ, wokaṡke ki
Me I.woman I.am lock up the
“I am a woman, but imprisonment”

Ḳowaŋkipe ṡni ye.
I.am.afraid not female sp.
“I am not afraid.”

Ṫaku ḳoyakipa huŋwe?
What you.afraid.of <emphasis>
“So what are you afraid of?”

Niyeṡ winiċa ye,
You you.man <female sp.>
“You are a man,”

Ṫaku ḳokipe?
What you.afraid.of
“What are you afraid of?”

Yauŋ ṡni ye, niyeṡ winiċa ye!
You.live not female sp. you you.are.man <female sp.>
“Don’t be afraid, you are a man!”

Miye wimayaye, es wicuŋt'e kowakipe sni ye!
Me I.am.woman but death I.fear not <female sp.>
"Me, I am a woman, but death I do not fear!"

At the end of the nineteenth century, hiding the affair, under these circumstances must have been a common practice, although it did become a common song theme. In the following *mastiŋcala olowaŋ*, a woman is encouraging elopement and, in the face of punishment, taking the full responsibility for it, "even if I die, it will happen":

75.1 *Mastiŋcala Olowaŋ.* Mr. and Mrs. Blue Bird

Koskalaka waŋ waste walaka yukaŋ
Young.man one good I.like and.here
"A young man I like and here"

Wicoiye ota ye.
Words many female sp.
"Words are many."

Anamahma ecuŋ we!
Hide.me do.this!
"Secretly do this!"

Wicuŋt'e kta iyecetu kte!
Death will happen.it will
"Even if I die, it will happen!"

Deceit and Heartbreak

At least seven love songs (songs nos. 56.2, 56.5, 57.9, 60.12, 65.12, 65.13, 73.12) admonish untruthful lovers. The following song speaks about a woman who was waiting for her lover, but he did not come.

56.2 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Red Star.

Waka̱ŋl *wauŋ* *k'uŋ*
Waiting I.live then
"I lived waiting,"

Naka̱e *mayagnaye,* *naka̱e* *mayagna.*
Regretfully me.you.lied regretfully me.you.lied
"But regretfully you lied to me, you lied to me."

Ica̱i *nupa̱* *wahi* *ka̱i*
Time second I.come the
"*The* second time I come,"

Uŋgni *kṫelo,* *eha* *ca*
You.and.I.go.home will, you.said.this so
"You and I will go home, you said, so"

Waka̱ŋl *wauŋ* *k'uŋ*
Waiting I.live the-past
"Waiting I lived,"

Naka̱e *mayagnaya* *he!*
Regretfully me.you.lie <emphasis>
"But regretfully you lied to me, you did!"

The singer made the following song in the honor of a woman whom he courted. After he got married in Rosebud, he went to live in Pine Ridge. People there did not know that he was married, so he courted a woman. When she found out, she left him (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 3).

57.9 *Wioyusṫe olowaŋ*. Whistler.

Tecihila *k'uŋ* *inawakiye!*
I.care.for.you but I.quit
"I cared for you but I quit!"

Ṫawiċu *yaṫuŋ* *we ṡaŋ* *slolwaye* *ṡni.*
Wife you.give.birth and.here I.know not
“You had a wife and I didn’t know that.”

Na *higna* *ċiyiŋ* *kṫe* *ċa uŋ* *inawakiye.*
And husband I.take will that.is.why I.quit
“I will want to get married, that is why I quit you.”

The following song is dated to the time when Custer was killed (1876) (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 4), and relates a story about a woman being untruthful and the hardship that such behavior imposes:

60.12 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Red Willow.

Ċaŋṫe *ṡiča* *ṡni* *ye!*
Heart bad not female sp.
“Don’t have a sad heart!”

Winiċa *ye,* *ċaŋṫe* *ṡiče* *ṡni* *ye!*
Man.you <female sp.> heart bad not <female sp.>
“You are a man, don’t have a sad heart!”

Miye *wimayaŋ* *ċa*
Me woman.I so
“Me, I am a woman, so”

Aŋpeṫu *iyohi* *ċaŋṫe* *ṡiča* *waun* *kṫe.*
Day every heart bad I.live will
“Every day with a sad heart I will live.”

Winiċa *ye,* *ċaŋṫe* *ṡiče* *ṡni.*
Man.you female sp. heart bad not
“You are a man, don’t have a sad heart.”

At least three *masṫiŋċala olowaŋ* contain references to deceitful partners. Two words are used to describe lying. First, *mayagna* literally means “you peel me off with your teeth” and is described as you are taking

small pieces away from the words you say like peeling kernels off a corn (Cutt et al. n.d.:143). Metaphorically, the expression equals "you are taking pieces off me by lying." The second word used is *oweniwakaŋkaŋ,* which means "your blood is not from the heart, not from a proper vein" (Cutt et al. n.d.:102), and is a stronger description of lying than *mayagna*.

56.16 *Masčiŋčala Olowaŋ*. Philip and Henry White Calf.

Dearie,	*oča*	*mayagnaya*	*he*
	many	me.you.lied	that

"Dearie, many times you have lied to me"

Oweniwakaŋkaŋ	*ye!*
Blood.you.veins	female sp.

"You lied to me!"

Čokiyab	*ilala*	*ća*
Wherever	you.went	so

"Wherever you went, so"

Tiyača	*aiuŋyape.*
At.home	talk.me.and.you.they

"At home they are talking about us."

Widow Songs

Three songs (songs nos. 363.17, 61.24, and 61.25) speak on the subject of a widow. *Wiwazića*, widow, literally means *wiŋ* – "woman," *wazića* – "without a man" (Cutt et al. n.d.:161). *Wazi* refers to absence in the spiritual sense. In the following song from the Porcupine community, a woman laments the loss of her lover. The song was recorded in 1908. Therefore, it could be referring to nineteenth-century conflicts on the Plains, such as the Little

Bighorn Battle or the Wounded Knee Massacre. The woman remembers her lover's sayings and regrets the fact that they never got married:

363 .17 *Wioyuṡ̄te Olowaŋ*

Nioiye weksuye
Your.words I.remember
"I remember your words"

Na waċeya he
And I.cry that
"And I cry about that."

Ehaŋni eṡa okiċize k'uŋ higna ċiye ṡni.
Before should.have war during husband marry not
"Long time ago before the war I should have married you."

Eċami ki mioṯaye.
My.thoughts the in.me.many
"My thoughts on this are many."

2nd verse
Nioiye hena weksuye nahaŋ waċeya he,
Your.words those I.remember and I.cry that
"Those words of yours I remember and I cry,"

3d verse
Wiwaziċa ṯukṯel hemaḳiya ċa ecēla.
Widow somewhere she.said.that.to.me so only.time
"The widow said this to me only."

The following song speaks of a widow who secretly gave a young man a pair of moccasins as an expression of her affection and as a sign that she was capable and wanted to take care of him.

61.25 *Wioyuṡ̄te Olowaŋ*. Edward Roan Bear

Leċi yauŋ we, leċi yauŋ kṫe.
Here you.live female sp. here you.live will
“Here you will live, here you will live.”

Ṫokiya uŋna leċi yauŋ kṫe.
Wherever you.are here you.live will
“Wherever you are, here you will live.”

Na ekṫa wau kṫe.
And to I.come will
“And I will come to you.”

Kin and Courtship

Songs are used to teach a lesson. The concept of kin is very important to the Laḳoṫa. People had to select a marriage partner from an unrelated family. Since communities were quite small, extended family exogamy posed quite a challenge within a band. In the pre-reservation period, annual gatherings, such as Sun Dances, used to bring several Laḳoṫa divisions together. Young people used that time to find a partner who was unrelated. The problem of finding an unrelated mate became even more acute during the two World Wars when significant numbers of Laḳoṫa men enlisted in the US Army and went overseas. The following are the examples of songs that reflect the importance of the relatives in a humorous way.

57.8 *Wioyuśṫe Olowaŋ*. Whistler.

Uŋśimala ye, uŋśimala ye!
Pity.me <female sp.> pity.me female sp.
“Have pity on me, have pity on me!”

Tāk̇uċiye *c'uŋ*
Some.related but
"Related to you I am, but"

Iyotāŋċila *ye!*
I.like.you female sp.
"I like you!"

Niye *niṫaŋtāŋhaŋ* *ina* *iyoṗemaye.*
You because.of.you mother scolded.me
"You, because of you, my mother scolded me."

Uŋs̈imala *ye,* *tāk̇uċiye* *c'uŋ* *iyotāŋċila.*
Pity.me female sp. some.related but I.like.you
"Have pity on me, related to you I am, but I like you."

These songs can also be used as a public reprimand if the rules of exogamy are broken. Social dances of couples, such as Rabbit Dances, presented dangers of such an exposure, especially since in the early Rabbit Dances married couples did not dance together. White Hat relates: "If they sing that song, and you are dancing with a cousin, all the relatives will be looking at you" (Cutt et al. n.d.:48). Several versions of the song, which encourages the couples' public appearance, state, "Do not be afraid, these days there are no relatives."

51.3 *Mas̄tiŋc̄ala Olowaŋ*. Oscar Good Shot

Dearie, *hiyuwe* *wiyus̈kiyaŋ.*
You.come.here in.a.happy.way
"Dearie, come here in a happy way."

Wauŋċi *k̄ta* *he* *wahi* *ye.*
You.and.I.dance will that I.am.here female sp.
"You and I are going to dance, that is why I am here."

Iḳoṗe *śni* *ye!*
Cautious not female sp.
“Don’t be cautious!”

Lehaŋl *oṫakuye* *waniċe.*
This.time relatives empty
“These days there are no relatives.”

Photography

Photography was invented in 1839 and it was quickly adapted to documenting Native Americans. By the early 1850’s, photography was used in Washington, D.C., to document Native American visitors to the capital. In the early 1860’s, photographers were in the field taking pictures of the Daḳoṫa conflict in Minnesota (Gibbon 2003:121). After the Civil War, railroad survey and Army exploration teams hired photographers to take pictures of Native Americans and their life. The public was fascinated by Plains warfare and images of Laḳoṫa leaders dressed in their traditional regalia quickly found their way into the media, especially newspapers and postcards.

By the mid-1920’s, photography became an important part of social life as more people owned and used cameras. The songs in this category speak to the fact that photographic services were available to the Laḳoṫa and became an important part of their romantic life. The Laḳoṫa word for picture, *iṫowapi*, literally means, “writing of the face.” Giving a picture to a loved one became a popular way of expressing affection. Three *wioyuśṫe olowaŋ* and

four *masṫiŋċala olowaŋ* mention a photograph as a way to remember a lover who is away and thus, keep the relationship strong. I will discuss the most vivid examples of these songs.

The following song was about sixty years old at the time of recording (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 4). It tells the story of a woman who is married, but in love with another man. As a result, she gives her picture to her lover and asks him to wait while she tries to dissolve her marriage:

59.1 *Wioyuṡṫe Olowaŋ*. Red Willow.

He	*yuha*	*miksuye.*
That	have	remember.me

"With that remember me."

Le	*yuha*	*miksuye*	*yauŋ*	*kṫe.*
This	have	remember.me	you.live	will

"You will live remembering me with this."

Iṫowapṫi	*ki*	*le*	*yuha*	*miksuya*	*ye!*
Picture	the	this	you.have	remember.me	<female sp.>

"Remember me with this picture!"

Iṫowapṫi	*ki*	*le*	*yuha*	*miksuya*	*yauŋ*	*kṫe.*
Picture	the	this	you.have	remember.me	you.live	will

"You will live remembering me with this picture."

Wakaŋ	*higna*	*waṫuŋ*	*ċa*
Sacred	husband	give.birth.to.a.relationship	so

"In church I married this man, so"

Waglujuju	*waċami*	*kṫe.*
Take.apart	I.try	will

"I am going to try to take my marriage apart."

Variants of love songs on the subject of picture giving were sung as *masṫiŋċala olowaŋ*:

56.7 *Masṫiŋčala Olowaŋ*. Henry White Calf.

Dearie,	*iṫowapi*	*ki*	*le*	*yuha,*
Dear	picture	the	this	you.have

"Dear, have this picture,"

Le	*miye*	*ye!*
This	me	female sp.

"This is me!"

Ṫohaŋl	*waŋlaka*	*ċa*	*miyeksuyiŋ*	*kte.*
Whenever	you.see.it	so	me.you.remember	will

"Whenever you see it, you will remember me."

While giving a picture to a partner signifies encouragement to stay strong and faithful in a long distance relationship, the act of taking the picture back is the sign of a break up. Young Bear relates his own experiences with women who wanted their pictures back:

> I know a lot of women have asked for their pictures back from me! I was at some powwow and I was with a different girl and they found out, or I was at a rodeo with someone else, and the one who hears about it wants her picture back. So over time I spent a lot of money on stamps sending pictures back, sending them back UPS or special delivery. […] Look at all these spots all over my walls. There were at least fifty or sixty pictures hanging there but they all wanted them back. It's hard to be a great lover (Young Bear 1994:91).

The following song describes a similar experience by a woman who finds out about her lover's unfaithfulness and breaks up with him by demanding that her picture be returned to her. It is interesting to note that

the singer was Isaac Cut, the father of Francis Cutt, who transcribed and translated the song. Mr. Cut recorded the song when he was fifteen years old.

58.17 *Masṫiŋc̄ala olowaŋ.* Isaac Cut

Dearie,	*iyoc̄taŋ*	*ċila*	*k'uŋ*
	Very.much	I.care.for.you	then

"Dearie, I cared about you very much."

Ṡilyela	*mayagnaya*	*he!*
The.bad.one	me.you.lying	that

"The villain, you are lying to me!"

Iṫowapi	*ki*	*micu*	*we!*
Picture	the	give.me.back	<female sp.>

"Give me the picture back!"

Ṫokaŋl	*wauŋ*	*kṫe.*
Away	I.live	will

"I will live away from you."

Reference to the ring as a symbol of love and marriage was another innovation. In the early 1900's, rings were often used in church weddings and the tradition was spreading. One *wioyusṫe olowaŋ* and one *masṫiŋc̄ala olowaŋ* depicted a woman asking her lover to return her ring.

61.9 *Wioyuṡte Olowaŋ.* Zenos Graham

Ecahe	*maza*	*napċupi*	*ki*
Different	metal	ring	the

"You are different, the ring"

Ek'eṡ	*he*	*miċu*	*ye! x2*
That	one	return.to.me	

"That one return to me!"

Ecaḣe *ecaḣe* *eceḣ* *mayakuwaye.*
Different different different me.you.treat.this.way
“Different, different, different you are treating me.”

Maza *napcupī* *kī*
Metal hand.give.sth.to.it.ring the
“This metal ring”

Ek’es *he* *micu* *ye! x2*
Instead that give.me.back femal sp.
“Instead, give it back to me!”

Letter writing was another way for an individual to maintain a long-distance relationship. Four *masṫiŋčala olowaŋ* contain references to letter writing. The following songs refer to letter writing as a way to remember a lover who lives far away and as way to express one’s feelings:

66.1 *Masṫiŋčala Olowaŋ*. Blue Bird.

Dearie, *ṫohaŋl yagle* *kī*
When you.go.home the
“Dear, when you go home,”

Miyeksuya *yauŋ* *kṫe.*
You.remember.me you.live will
“You will live remembering me.”

Ohiŋniya *wowapī* *uŋ* *miyeksu* *kṫe.*
All.the.time writings with me.you.remember will
“You will remember me and write to me all the time.”

Separation and Divorce

Occasionally, in pre-reservation culture, separation of couples occurred. A wife could separate with her husband by putting his belongings outside of the lodge (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:110). If a man wanted to

separate from his wife, the separation was announced at a public gathering. The man would put his wife on a horse, give a speech, strike a drum four times, and announce the reason why he no longer wants her (Hassrick 1964:131; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:110). A man could separate from his wife if her behavior threatened the successful functioning of the family and society, e.g., if she was lazy or unfaithful (Hassrick 1964:131). The following song documents the act of "woman throwing" by a *Miwatani* (Mandan) society member:

57.5 *Miwatani Olowaŋ*. Whistler.

Hecaŋl	*micinča*	*ki*	*huŋku*
Just.then	my.son	the	mother

"Just then, my son's mother,"

Hehaŋtaku	*epecen*	*nayah'uŋ*	*sni.*
Then what	I.say	You.hear	not

"When I say something, you hear not."

Inajiŋ na	*kinapa*	*yo!*
Stand and	you.leave	<male sp.>

"Stand up and leave!"

Wanagi	*eyecel wauŋ*	*welo.*
Ghost	like I.am	<male sp.>

"I live like a ghost."

The song represents the male perspective in referring to the mother of the man's child who does not listen to him. In the song the man tells her to stand up and leave. In this context, the reference to the ghost describes the situation where the person is ignored and thus treated like a ghost whom

nobody can see (Cutt et al. n.d.:106). Thus, her behavior is perceived as a threat to family cohesion.

After World War I, Laḳoṯa women were becoming more active in supporting their homes and more aggressive in their search for a partner. Young Bear notes that by the Second World War women would talk about leaving their husbands to be with a lover (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:93). In the songs, we follow a new development in the woman's story. Instead of trying to hide her love affair or crying about an unhappy relationship, she ends her marriage legally and encourages her lover to do the same, so they can be happy together.

At the turn of the twentieth century, marriages and divorces were becoming formal procedures conducted by Euro-American standards. Weddings were conducted in church and were a status symbol for women. The following song depicts a woman who gains social status through Western education, and, upon return from school, desires a church wedding.

57.18 *Wioyuṡ̄te Olowaŋ*. Frank Red with Blood.

Mni	*waŋc̄a*	*ḳowak̄aṯa*	*haŋ*
Water	all.over	across	from

"Across the ocean"

Wayawa	*wagli*	*ċa*
School	I.returned	so

"From school I returned, so"

Oṫehi *miċila* *k'uŋ*
Difficult me.precious so
"Priceless I am, so"

Aŋpetu *waka̱ŋ uŋkomani* *kte* *na*
Day sacred you.and.I.walk.together will and
"Sunday you and I will walk together, and"

Higna *ċiyiŋ* *kte.*
Husband take will
"I will marry you."

Marriage and divorce evolved from a customary matter into a civil one. The concept of a legal divorce appears in the next two songs as the end of one relationship and the beginning of the next. In the following song, a woman is encouraging a man to get a divorce in court so she could start a legal relationship with him.

51.9 *Maṡtiŋċala Olowaŋ*. Arthur Bear Shirt.

Dearie, law and order *eya* *yauŋ* *he* *k'uŋ*
Say live that in
"Dearie, you live talking about law and order,"

Wanaṡ' *niyasupi* *kte.*
That.now you.judge.they will
"But now, they are going to judge you."

Waŋċakeṡ *inakiyaye!*
You.might.as.well quit!
"You might as well quit!"

Miye *uŋk'uŋ* *kte.*
Me you.and.I.together will
"With me, you and I will be together."

The following song contains a reference to the divorce documents (a decree) as a married woman announces to her old lover, who is also married, that she will get a divorce so they can be together:

51.10 *Masṫīŋċala Olowaŋ*. Arthur Bear Shirt.

Dearie,	*ṫawiċu yaṫuŋ*		*na*
	Wife	you.give.birth.to.a.relationship	and

"Dearie, a wife you took and,"

Miṫaṫaŋhaŋ	*ċa*
Because.of.me	so

"Because of me,"

Ṫaŋyaŋ	*yauŋ*	*ṡni*	*ye!*
Right	you.live	not	<female sp.>

"You live in unhappiness!"

Inaḳiyaye!	*Miye*	*uŋk'uŋ*	*na*
You.quit	Me	you.and.I.together	and

"You quit! With me, you and I will be together, and"

Ṫaŋyaŋ	*yauŋ*	*ḳte.*
Right	you.live	will

"You will live happy."

Repeat first three lines

Inaḳiyaye!	*Decree*	*iweḳċu*	*na*
You.quit!	divorce.papers	I.get	and

"You quit! I am getting divorce papers and"

Yuṫaŋyaŋkel	*uŋk'uŋ*	*ḳte.*
In.good.way	you.and.I.together	will

"In a good way you and I will be together."

One song expresses the fact that children suffered during a married woman's affairs. The following song tells the story of a child whose mother eloped with another man while the child is crying for his father:

55.1 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Jaik White Bear.

Le	*ċeya*	*he,*	*le*	*ċeya*	*he,*	*le*	*ċeye*	*kṡto.*
This	cry	that	this	cry	that	this	cry	<female sp.>

"This he cried, this he cried, this he cried."

Aṫe	*eya*	*na*	*le*	*ya,*	*ċeya*	*ya*	*he.*
Father	said	and	this	saying	cry	saying	that

"'Father', (he) said, and, saying this, he cried."

He	*haŋhepi*	*waŋjila*	*le*	*aṫe*	*niya*	*ṡka.*
That	night	one	this	father	calling.you	only

"That one night, the father, he was calling you only."

Ṫaiŋyaŋ	*le*	*ya*	*ċeya*	*he,*
Visibly	this	saying	crying	that

"Visibly, saying this, he cried."

Aṫe	*eye*	*na*	*le*	*ya*	*ċeya*	*he.*
Father	said	and	this	saying	cry	that

"'Father', (he) said, and, saying this, he cried."

Children

Lakoṫa practices of chaperonage and marriage arrangements while the women were very young ensured that children were born and grew up in families with both parents. Illegitimate babies were rare. Cutt notes that in the old days, if a girl became pregnant, the man had to pay compensation to the family. Otherwise, her brothers might take revenge by killing him (Cutt et al. n.d.:217).

Red Horse Owner's winter count records the year of 1898 as "for the first time there are many children without fathers" (Karol 1969:63). Winter counts usually recorded the most siginificant event of the year in the community which was the event the year was remembered by. For example, another year is recorded as a year of the smallpox epidemic (1901) or the death of a leader (Black Kettle killed in 1903). The fact that such an event was included in the yearly calendar indicates siginificant changes in family life and structure. Whether this documentation refers to single motherhood, which was unusual in the community, or whether it was a Lak̓o-ta strategy to avoid the white man's law, it remains an object of discussion.

As women started gaining more freedom and became more aggressive in their search for mate, it seems that pregnancy out of wedlock became more common. Three songs (songs nos. 53.12, 69.11 and 70.19) tell the story of an unexpected pregnancy. In these songs, the women are ready to use the legal system to make the baby's father take responsibility. Such songs, while telling a sad story, also served as a lesson to others. The following song tells the story of a young woman who believed she was going to get married and when she became pregnant. However, she died before giving birth.

53.12 *Wioyus-te Olowaŋ*. Dana Long Wolf.

Iyayaye, *t̄iyat̄a* *uŋgni* *k̄te,*
Go home.place you.and.I.go will
“You are going, you and I will go home,”

T̄iyat̄a *uŋgni* *k̄te.*
home.place you.and.I.go will
“You and I will go home.”

Maeya, *iyayaye* *ṫaiŋyaŋ* *uŋgni* *k̄te.*
Surely go visibly you.and.I.go will
“Surely we are going, visibly you and I will go home.”

Leċanu hiŋna *hokṡi* *bluha* *k̄i* *na*
There.is.thinking child I.have the and
“I think I have a child and”

Miṫawa *ṡni* *yelo,* *ehiŋ* *k̄te,* *howe!*
Mine not you.say will go.ahead
“‘It is not mine’, you will say, go ahead!”

Iyayaye *t̄iyata* *uŋgni* *k̄te.*
You.go home.place you.and.I.go will
“You are going with me, you and I will go home.”

While in the previous song the woman expresses her intention to stay with her baby’s father, in the next song, the speaker is quite explicit about taking her partner to court and making him assume responsibility for the child:

69.11 *Wioyuṡt̄e Olowaŋ.* James Catches

Ehaṡ *owaglak̄iŋ* *k̄t̄e.*
Well.then tell.what.I.know will
“Well then, I will tell what I know.”

Ehaṡ *owaglak̄iŋ* *k̄t̄e* *na* *niyasup̄i* *k̄t̄e.*
Well.then tell.what.I.know will and you.judge.they will
“Well then, I will tell what I know and they will judge you.”

Lecȧnu	*hiŋna*	*ṫakāŋl*	*makē*	*sȧni*	*kī*
Doing	this	if	have.my.period	not	the

"This way, if I do not have my period and"

Miṫawa	*sȧni*	*yelo,*	*ehiŋ*	*kṫelo,*
Mine	not		you.say	will

"'It is not mine', you will say,"

Ċa ehasȧ	*owaglakiŋ*	*na*	*nicāsȧkapī*	*kṫe.*
I.may.as.well	tell.what.I.know	and	you.tie.up.they	will

"I may as well tell them what I know, and they will put you in prison."

Gossip and Fragility of Relationships

In small communities, gossip is a more or less direct way of exchanging information. Public opinion is the major means of social control. Gossip also challenges an individual's principles, values, and importance of relationships. When two people are in love, they are subject to gossip, which presents a challenge to their relationship. At least six *masṫiŋċala olowaŋ* (songs nos. 51.4, 55.17, 56.4, 65.14, 72.15, 74.7) contain references to gossip and the hardship that it imposes on lovers. The following two songs summarize the gossip song themes. The first reveals that a woman starts spreading gossip about her female cousin to cause the break up of the latter's relationship:

74.7 *Masṫiŋċala Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

Dearie,	*wauŋċi*	*yuŋkȧŋ*
	You.and.I.dance	and.here

"Dearie, you and I dance, and here,"

Čepaŋsi *aimaya* *wacin* *ye.*
Female.cousin talk.about.me she.tried <female sp.>
"My cousin tried to gossip about me."

Hignaku *nupa* *na* *yamni esa*
Husbands two and three even
"That I have two or even three husbands,"

Aimaya *wacin* *ye.*
Talk.about.me she.tried
"She tried to gossip about me."

Dearie, *waunči* *yukaŋ*
Dear you.and.I.dance and here
"Dear, you and I dance, and here,"

Čepaŋsi *aimaya* *wacin* *ye.*
Female.cousin talk.about.me she.tried <female sp.>
"My cousin tried to gossip about me."

Nisnala *kici* *yaskaŋ* *čiŋ* *na*
You.only with to.be.going she.wants and so
"You only she wants to go out with and"

Aimaya *wacin* *ye!*
talk.about.me she.tried <female sp.>
"She tried to gossip about me!"

The second song emphasizes the fact that as soon as a couple is seen together in public, the community starts questioning the nature of their relationship. White Hat comments on reservation dating practices:

> People would see a couple once, and they start talking that they are together. When people see a couple together or on a date for the second time, they start talking that they are going to get married and the relatives start putting pressure on the couple to get married. If somebody sees a girl with another guy after she was seen twice with this one, somebody will call him and tell him that his girlfriend is going out on him (Cutt et al. n.d.:49).

Thus, gossip in a small community is a powerful tool to control people's behaviors. It also generates great caution and secretiveness in one's actions as seen above.

72.15 *Mas̄tiŋc̄ala Olowaŋ*

Dearie,	*iwayaŋk̄e,*
	Look

"Dearie, look,"

Mas̄tiŋc̀ala	*wauŋc̀i*	*kt̄a,*
Rabbit	you.and.I.dance	will

"You and I will dance the Rabbit Dance,"

Wahi	*iwayaŋk̄a*	*ye,*
I.am.here	look	<female sp.>

"I am here, look,"

Wauŋc̀i	*na*	*waaiye*	*ot̄a*	*kt̄e.*
You.and.I.dance	and	gossip	many	will

"You and I will dance and there will be much gossip."

Model T Songs

Ford Model T was produced by Henry Ford's Ford Motor Company from 1908 to 1927. It was the first affordable automobile and was bought by people on the reservations. Several variants of a song about the Model T are included in the Rhodes's collection. The original song documents several important historical events, including long-distance traveling by reservation residents in their new cars. In addition to the date, "license" is the only word that is sung in English, representing the foreign concept of a document

which allows one to drive. In another variant, “license” is applied to an airplane ticket. Thus, in Laƙōta thought, a “license” denotes the ability to travel, whether by land or by air.

The original song diffused from Rosebud to Pine Ridge where it was modified by Pine Ridge singers. It was composed in 1933 and sung at the celebration of the New Year 1934 (song no. 52.12). Although the original version of the song speaks about getting a license and traveling to a dance, the insertion of the date (1934) adds another connotation. In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was passed, which changed political and social life on the reservations. The IRA brought the model of parliamentary democracy to the reservations and gave the new tribal councils, which were elected by voting, the power to govern (Biolsi 1992:101). Thus, the policy continued to erode the power of the traditional leadership, while it attempted to empower the younger, mixed-blood members of the reservation population. The song creates a picture of the Laƙōta reservation modernity, associated with new technology and freedom. An example is that an individual owns a Model T, and the people can undertake long-distance travel (Version 1):

52.10a *Masčiŋčala Olowaŋ*. CharlieThunder Bull.

Dearie,	Model T	*ki haŋ* license the	*iƙču*	*waƙiŋ*	*ye.* <female sp.>
			get	try	

“Try to get a license for Model T.”

Hecȧnu *k̄ihaŋ*
That.you.do if
“If you do that,”

T̄ok̄iya *ṫehaŋ1* *wacȧi* *uŋyiŋ* *k̄te.*
Somewhere far dance you.and.I.go will
“Somewhere far you and I will go dancing.”

Version 2 of the song speaks about traveling to a rodeo and was popular at the time Rhodes’s recordings were made:

52.11 *Mas̄tiŋc̄ala Olowaŋ.* Nancy Thunder Bull

Dearie, 1934 *k̄ihaŋ*
In
“Dearie, in 1934”

Model T *k̄ihaŋ*
The
“The Model T”

License *icȧu* *wacȧiŋ* *ye!*
get try <female sp.>
“Try to get a license!”

Hecȧnu *k̄ihaŋ*
That.you.do if
“If you do that,”

Lecȧiya rodeo *ek̄ta* *uŋyiŋ* *k̄te.*
Over.here to you.and.I.go will
“You and I will go over here to the rodeo.”

Version 3 was learned and recorded by young girl-singers, eleven and nine years old respectively, as a love song:

51.7 *Wioyusp̄e Olowaŋ*. Margaret Ann Carlow and Glessnor Mills.

1934 *k̄ihaŋ* *na* *uŋkik̄i* *haŋ*
In and we.get.home when
“In 1934, when we get home,”

License *sec̄e* *wac̓iŋ* *ye.*
Maybe I.want <female sp.>
“Maybe it is a license that I want.”

License *sec̄iya* *t̄ok̄iya* *ṫehaŋ* *uŋk̄iyayiŋ* *k̄te.*
maybe some.place far.away you.and.I.go will
“Maybe get a license and then you and I will go far away.”

The following song was composed by Edgar Red Cloud to honor Rhodes before his trip back to New York (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 5). It is a modified version of the Model T song. The *wioyus̄t̄e olowaŋ* was made into an *Omaha olowaŋ*, and depicts an airplane instead of a car. The “license,” in this context, stands for an airplane ticket. It also has elements of the *os̓k̄at̄e olowaŋ.* While Rhodes is going home to New York, the Lak̓ōta are speaking about going to the World’s Fair, held in New York that year.

70.12 *Omaha Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

1939 *k̄ihaŋ* airplane license *ic̓u* *wac̓iŋ* *ye.*
In get try <female sp.>
“In 1939, try to get an airplane license.”

Hec̓anu *k̄i haŋ,* world’s fair *hec̓iya* *uŋyiŋ* *k̄te.*
That.you.do when over.there you.and.I.go will
“When you do that, to World’s Fair you and I will go.”

Songs of Departure

Songs of departure speak of seeing off someone who is leaving for a journey, possibly, to war or to boarding school. The songs merge the

qualities of a *wioyusṫe olowaŋ* and an *ozuye olowaŋ*. In the structure of a *wioyusṫe olowaŋ*, the poetry illuminates the challenge of a journey on the couple's feelings:

60.3 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Ben Sitting Up.

Ehaḳe	*wamayaŋḳ*	*uwe*	*ehaḳe,*
Last.time	see.me	come	last.time

"Last time come see me, last time,"

Ehaḳe	*wamayaŋḳ*	*uwe*	*ehaḳe,*
Last.time	see.me	come	last.time

"Last time come see me, last time,"

Ehaḳe	*wamayaŋḳ*	*uwe!*
Last.time	see.me	come

"Last time come see me!"

Teċiḣila	*k'uŋ*
You.are.my.priceless	<emphasis>

"You are my priceless possession, remember,"

Maḳa	*ṫehaŋ*	*aniyaŋḳi*	*ḳte.*
Land	far	watch.over.you	will

"A distant land will watch over you."

Ehaḳe	*ehaḳe*	*namaḣ'uŋ*	*ye!*
Last.time	last.time	you.me.hear	<female sp.>

"Last time hear me!"

Ehaḳe	*naṗe*	*au*	*we!*
Last.time	hand	bring.to.me	<female sp.>

"Last time bring me your hand!"

In the previous song, the speaker was a female who stays home while her lover goes on a journey. In the next song, it is the female speaker who is

leaving for school. The woman informs her lover that she will be away at school for one year and requests that he wait for her:

74.13 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ.* Mrs. White Calf

Amaṗe	*yauŋ*	*kṫe.*
Wait.for.me	you.live	will

"You will live waiting for me."

Amaṗe	*yauŋ*	*na*
Wait.for me	you.live	and

"Live waiting for me and"

Waglí	*kí*	*na*	*he*	*uŋkʼuŋ*	*kṫe.*
I.return	the	and	that	you.and.I.together	will

"When I return, you and I will be together."

Waniyetu	*wanjila*	*oawayawaṫa*	*waun*	*kṫe.*
Winter	one	at.school	I.live	will

"One winter at school I will live."

Amaṗe	*yauŋ*	*na*
Wait.for.me	you.live	and

"You live waiting for me and"

Waglí	*kí*	*uŋkʼuŋ*	*kṫe.*
I.return	when	you.and.I.together	will

"When I return, you and I will be together."

Alcohol

Alcohol, which was introduced to the Laḳoṫa during the fur trade, has since been blamed for much social dysfunction in Native communities. Liquor sales to Native people were prohibited by acts of Congress in 1802 and 1834 which remained in effect until 1953 (Medicine 1983:60; Prucha 2000:66).

Despite the legislation, liquor sales and consumption in Indian country, although stigmatized, increased.

There are no studies documenting alcohol use and the effects of alcohol on the community life in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, four songs in Rhodes's collection (songs nos. 63.7, 63.10, 70.7 and 76.7) contain references to alcohol. They depict uncontrolled drinking (song no. 63.7), drinking as part of enjoyment at the dances (songs nos. 63.10 and 76.7), and alcoholism in the family (song no. 70.7). The expressions describing a person under the influence of alcohol include *aṡ́lo mic'iye k̄i* – "I have a greasy face," and *it̄omni*, meaning "dizzy." The following song speaks of a woman's disappointment at seeing her lover drunk at the Rabbit Dance gathering:

76.7 *Mas̄t̄iŋc̄ala Olowaŋ.* Raymond Hollow Horn Bear

Mas̄t̄iŋc̄ala *wac̣ip̄i* *c̣aŋ*
Rabbit they.dance when
"Whenever they have a Rabbit Dance,"

Niṣnala *init̄omni* *he.*
You.only you.dizzy that
"You are the only one who is always drunk."

T̄ohaŋl *wac̣iŋyaŋk̄a* *wac̣iŋ c̣a*
Whenever I.see.you I.want so
"Whenever I want to see you,"

Ot̄a *c̣aŋt̄e* *maṣic̄e.*
Many heart my.bad
"My heart feels bad many times."

Brother-in-law Songs

At least fourteen songs in the collections (songs nos. 55.15, 56.1, 56.13, 56.14, 60.17, 65. 6, 65.22, 67.7, 67.9, 73.10, 73.14, 75.13, 75.17, 364.14) are dedicated to the brother-in-law theme. To this day, the Lak̇o̱ta maintain a strict social etiquette regarding communication with one's relatives and in-laws. For example, brothers and sisters were taught not to speak directly to each other while they were children to develop love and respect for each other, but as adults they communicated with each other in a respectful way (White Hat 1999:69-70). A woman would show respect to her father-in-law by avoidance, and, accordingly, a man would avoid his mother-in-law. Joking and teasing relationships, sometimes including sexual connotations, were allowed with one's brother- and sister-in-law. Siblings-in-law can play tricks on or taunt each other in public over the mistakes they have made. These relationships reflect the old custom that it is a man's responsibility to take care of his brother's family if the brother dies or is incapacitated. Some brother-in-law songs reflect this teasing custom:

73.10 *Wioyus̱te̱ Olowaŋ.* Mrs. Louise Twiss and Mrs. Adelia Twiss

Ćeṗaŋs̱i	*nihignala*	*k̄i*	*awaŋklak̄a*	*ye!*
Cousin	your.husband	the	watch	<female sp.>

"Cousin, watch your husband!"

T̄ohaŋl	*wamayaŋk̄a*	*ć̇a*	*ć̇aŋt̄e*	*waniĉe.*
Whenever	he.sees.me	so	heart	empty

"Whenever he sees me, he has no heart."

There is a series of songs which start with *ṡic'e*, enticing the brother-in-law into a romantic relationship. Love songs on almost every topic have a brother-in-law version. According to Cutt, in small Laḳoṫa communities, the nature of relationships between a person and siblings-in-law may be used to mask the object of one's real affections (Cutt et al. n.d.:272). While such a song would provide an outlet for one's emotions, it conceals the identity of the addressee by using the "brother-in-law" term. The following song repeats the theme of a woman given away to another man in an arranged marriage who has to part with her lover:

65.22 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ*. Red Cloud

Ṡic'e,	*ṫuwe*	*iyoṫaŋyala*	*haŋwe?*
Brother-in-law	who	you.treasure.most	do?

"Brother-in-law, who do you treasure the most?"

Ṡic'e	*le*	*ehaḳe*	*naṗe*	*au*	*we!*
Brother-in-law	this	last.time	hand	bring.me	<female sp.>

"Brother-in-law, this last time bring me your hand!"

Higna	*ċiyiŋ*	*kṫa*	*yuḳaŋ*
Husband	take	will	and.here

"I was going to marry you, and here"

Iṗaweḣ	*wiċamak'u*	*we.*
Different.direction	gave.me.away	<female sp.>

"I was given away to another."

The next song contains a similar theme of departure and the romantic act of picture giving for memory:

67.3 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ.* John Coloff

Ṡic'e,	*iṫowapi*	*ki*	*le*	*yuha*	*na*
Brother-in-law	face.they.write	the	this	you.have	and

"Brother-in-law, have my picture and"

He	*miksuya*	*ye,*	*le*	*miye*	*ye!*
That	me.remember	<female sp.>	this	me	<female sp.>

"With that remember me, this is me!"

He	*ṫohaŋna*	*wamayalake*	*ki*	*eṡa*
That	never	see.me	the	if

"If you never see me,"

Iṫowapi	*ki*	*uŋ*	*aŋpetu*	*iyohila*
Face.they.write	the	with	day	every

Every day with the picture

WamayaŋKi	*kte.*
Me.you.see	will

"You will see me."

The feelings expressed in the "brother-in-law" songs tend to be more fatalistic. In the song, a female speaker is urging her lover to make a decision to marry her. *Waciŋ nupa,* two minds, refers to the fact that the lover she is addressing has doubts about their relationship.

60.17 *Wioyusṫe Olowaŋ.* Bert Quiver.

Waciŋ	*nupa*	*ṡni*	*yauŋ*	*kte.*
Thoughts	two	not	you.live	will

"You will not live with two minds about it."

Ṡic'e	*waciŋ*	*nupa*	*ṡni*	*yauŋ*	*kte!*
Brother-in-law	thoughts	two	not	you.live	will

"Brother-in-law, you will not live with two minds about it!"

Iyotaŋċila wauŋ we.
I.like.you I.live <female sp.>
"I live liking you."

He maka akaŋ hiŋgna ċiyiŋ sni ki
That earth on husband I.take not if
"If I do not take you as a husband on earth,"

Wanagi yata hiŋgna ċiyiŋ kte.
Spirit world husband I.take will
"I will take you as a husband in the spirit world."

Waċiŋ nupa sni yauŋ kte.
Thoughts two not you.live will
"You will not live with two minds about it."

Iyotiyekiye mayaye.
Difficult me.you.made
"You made it difficult for me."

English Songs

A number of songs used for social dancing appear to have English or bilingual, English and Lakota, texts (songs nos. 62.1, 54.14, 67.10, 68.9). In the collections, the songs sung in English deal only with romantic subjects. White Hat points out that the Lakota started making English versions of love songs due to country music influences (Cutt et al. n.d.:19, 271).

Today, on the Rosebud Reservation it is common to hear Lakota traditional songs sung in English by young singers. Again, these are usually social songs that deal with the issues of love and courting. Honorings and memorials are the domains reserved for the drum groups that include Lakota speakers.

Three songs in English are '49 Dance songs (songs nos. 54.14, 67.10, 68.9). '49 was a social dance similar to the Rabbit Dance, which is also danced by couples. Among the Lak̇o̱ta, the dance was led by a veteran (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:87). The powwow culture incorporated '49 as an informal social gathering after the powwow was dismissed for the night. Such powwow '49 Dances are performed in a series of concentric circles as the participants link their elbows and move inward (Browner 2002:92).

54.14 '49 Song

She got mad at me
Because I said hello to my old timer

Seven *mas̱t̄iŋc̄ala olowaŋ* (songs no. 52.12, 52.13, 53.4, 53.5, 64.11, 65.23, and 66.8) have English texts. The structure of the texts exhibits the influence of Lak̇o̱ta thought patterns, including indexical markers and word order. Some of the English songs in the collections are popular American songs (e.g., Mississippi River Blues) that were adapted to the cannons of Lak̇o̱ta music by experienced singers.

52.12 *Mas̱t̄iŋc̄ala Olowaŋ*

I will love you honey dearie,
Are you from home where in Kyle.

Three of the following songs are bilingual. Song no. 69.18 is a *mas̱t̄iŋc̄ala olowaŋ* with the text mostly in Lak̇o̱ta, with the singer switching to English and back to Lak̇o̱ta at the end of the song.

69.18 *Maṡt̄iŋc̄ala Olowaŋ.* Catches

Waṡt̄e ċilak̄a ċa
Good I.like.you so
“I like you, so,”

Oċiċiyakiŋ k̄ta keṡ
I.tell.you will when
“When I wanted to tell you this,”

Omak̇aŋ ṡni.
My.veins not
“I had no time.”

Just write, I made a better choice,
I love you.

He iwayiŋ k̄te.
That talk.about will
“I am going to talk about that.”

The next song presents a bilingual pattern still used by today’s musicians. It is common to hear country songs on the radio on the Rosebud Reservation that have texts half in English and half in Lak̇ot̄a.

70.8 *Maṡt̄iŋc̄ala Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

Dearie, don’t you cry for me,
I’ll be back someday.

Ċaŋt̄e ṡic̄a uŋ ṡni ye,
Heart bad with not <female sp.>
“Don’t have a sad heart,”

T̄okṡaṡ ake wagli k̄te.
Someday again come.home will
“I’ll come home someday.”

The next song has a text mostly in English, but at the end of the song the singer switches into Laƙōta. Although he adds just a simple phrase, *heya yauŋ he,* which might be mistaken for a line of vocables by an untrained ear, it adds the quality of Laƙōta storytelling to the song ("you said that") and places the song in the context of Laƙōta emotion:

70.4 *Masčiŋčala Olowaŋ.* Henry Red Cloud and others

Oh yes honey, I love you, honey bunny boy,
I don't care if you're married,
I sure love you.
I get you next pay,

Heya	*yauŋ*	*we*.
You.said.that	you.live	<female sp.>

You live saying that.

In summary, the songs discussed in this chapter document a wide variety of emotions and practices with regard to romantic relationships between men and women. Through time, we observe changes in courtship practices. The theme of secretiveness surfaces continually, although its references shift from hiding relationships from the relatives to hiding them from agency officials. The songs also document the fact that the practice of arranged marriage which established a connection between two families was being replaced by church and civil marriages, in which marriages are contracted between two individuals.

The songs also document a change in the style of love songs. While the oldest songs, *wioyusṫ̄e olowaŋ,* were personal songs with no accompaniment that focused on communication between lovers, the later songs, such as *masṫ̄iŋc̄ala olowaŋ*, reflect an adaptation of the love theme to social dances and entertainment, influenced by the country and Western tradition.

Chapter VI. The Generosity Complex

Generosity is one of the four virtues of the Lak̇o̱ta. It is expressed in the Lak̇o̱ta practices of feasting and giveaway, which are outlined in their creation story (Walker 1983:220-224). In the beginning, the spirits did not know what food was and they were never hungry. At the request of *Wi-wiŋ* (Moon) to create "pleasures that can be tasted and smelled," *Ksa* (Wisdom), *Woh̓p̄e* (Star) and *Wak̄iyaŋ* (Thunder) created white fruit. After *Ksa* built a round lodge for the feast, he and *Woh̓p̄e* invited the spirits to the feast by taking tokens to them that were to be redeemed at the feast. When the spirits gathered for the feast, each had a designated seat in the lodge. *Woh̓p̄e* served the white fruit to guests. After the meal, the spirits were instructed to give their tokens to *Sk̓̄aŋ* (Movement), who would grant one of their wishes. The spirits requested areas for patronage. For example, *Wi-wiŋ* became the patroness of motherhood, kinship, and constancy. Thus, the story defined the structure of a feast: the participants are seated according to their rank, they are served food, and then they are given gifts. Feasting and a giveaway, as defined in the creation story, is an important tradition in Lak̇o̱ta social organization.

In the creation story, the feast is held to celebrate a new creation (food). Feasting and giveaways in Lak̇o̱ta society have been held to celebrate a success (accomplishments on one's *zuya*), and they have been a part of

funeral rites. Today, as the scale of achievements has expanded (from high school graduation to political election), the giveaway has become an appropriate way to acknowledge a wide range of events and accomplishments on the reservation.

The giveaways have remained an integral part of Lak̇o̱ta economic system. There is a common saying that Lak̇o̱ta wealth is defined not by how much one has, but how much one gives away. Thus, property was not accumulated for its own sake, but to be distributed to others (Hassrick 1964:36). Hunters brought meat to the elders who had nobody to provide for them. Women made clothing for those who were orphaned and widowed. Celebrations of a life cycle event or a person's achievement included elaborate feasts and giveaways to which the entire community was invited. To this day, it is the elders who receive the most valuable gifts. Giveaways were a significant part of the Lak̇o̱ta economy and have functioned as a type of a social security system which ensured that the elderly and the poor were provided for.

Generosity was one of the prescribed virtues of Lak̇o̱ta leadership. Leaders had to ensure the economic welfare of their people. Therefore, they gave away most generously.

The songs addressing generosity are not numerous in the collections, but they document the most prominent themes, aspects, and moments of

community life where generosity is expressed. I will discuss generosity exemplified in the songs as aspects of honoring and memorial practices as well as leadership and ceremony.

The general ideas about generosity and the giveaway are expressed in the following song. It refers to the individual's upbringing to give away freely to the ones who cannot take care of themselves due to their age and infirmity. The word commonly used in these songs is *ohuŋkȩ ṡni*, meaning the "weak," "the ones who cannot help themselves," and refers to the elderly and the weak (Cutt et al. n.d:124, 167).

68.11 *Mazaṡala Olowaŋ.* Henry White Calf

Ċetaŋ	*wakakiṡya*	*heya*	*hinajiŋ*	*yelo:*
Hawk	pesty	saying.this	came.and.stood	<male sp.>

"Pesty Hawk came and stood saying this:"

Nakȩ nula	*imaċaġa*	*ċa*
Always.ready	I.grew.up	so

"I grew up to be always prepared, so"

Otuḣ'aŋpi	*kowakipe*	*ṡni*	*ye.*
Give.away.freely	I.fear	not	<emphasis.>

"I am not afraid to give away freely."

Ohuŋkeṡni	*ċa*	*ate*	*wawokiye*	*makiyelo.*
The.weak	so	father	help	me.made

"My father brought me up to help the weak ones."

The following song is another giveaway song which expresses the basic axiom of the giveaway: if one gives a gift, it comes back to the person

four times the value of the gift (Cutt et al. n.d.:25, 124). The song is still sung today.

75.2 *Mazaṡala Olowaŋ.* Mrs. Blue Bird

Ṫaŋṡna	*Wakīta,*	*ṫaku*	*oṫa*	*luha*	*kī*
Single.One	Looks.Around	something	many	you.have	the

"Single Person Looks Around, whatever you have a lot,"

Ohuŋkeṡni	*wiċak'u*	*we!*
The.weak	give.it.to	<emphasis>

"Give it to the weak ones!"

Ṫokṡa	*akē*	*luha*	*kṫe.*
Later	again	you.have	will

"Later again you will have it."

The following song is an honoring song for Willard Rhodes (Good Road was his Laḳoṫa name). The song is used today as a thanksgiving song. The song commemorates the fact that Rhodes fed the people and distributed gifts to them.

58.20 *Wawokīya Olowaŋ*

Ṫakū	*waṡṫe*	*na*	*ṫakū*	*yuṫapi*	*kī*	*he*
Something	good	and	something	they.eat	the	that

"With anything that is good and whatever is edible,"

Ohuŋkeṡni	*wawokīye.*
The.weak	I.help

"I help the weak ones."

Ṫokṡa	*ake*	*luha*	*kṫe.*
Later	again	you.have	will

"Later again you will have it."

Ċaŋk̄u *Waṡt̄e ahahe!*
Road Good <honoring expression>
"Good Road, ahahe!"

At the giveaways, gifts are arranged in the center of the gathering or arena. The sponsoring family may invite the people to take what they need. In that case, the people would allow those in need to take the gifts. Also, it is common for the members of the sponsoring family to present gifts to the people who are sitting around the arena. After the gifts are distributed, the people come into the center and dance with the family. Honoring songs are sung for those who have donated items or fed the people.

Giveaway gifts are supposed to be used, and then burnt (Cutt et al. n.d.:25). The gifts, to this day, range from horses, star quilts, blankets, shawls, and items for everyday use.

Acquisition of the horse in the eighteenth century transformed Lak̇ot̄a society. Horses have become an important part of Lak̇ot̄a culture. An individual's wealth was measured by the number of horses he owned. Owning of certain type of horses (e.g., a buffalo hunting horse) was part of the social status package, since it allowed the owner to participate in the functions of society. Thus, a horse was the most valuable gift at a giveaway.

There are two horse giveaway songs in the collections (songs nos. 363.19, 364.27). The following song is sung when somebody is going to give away a horse. If a person or family holds a big giveaway, they bring a horse

to the center of the gathering, turn it loose, and give to whoever catches it. Sometimes, the horse may have a designated receiver. Horse giveaway songs keep people in suspense because they don't know if the receiver has been chosen.

364.27 *Wiȟpeyapī*

Oyate	*ki*	*taku*	*akiyapi,*	*blihic'iye!*
People	the	something	they.debate	take.courage

"The people are debating something, take courage!"

Eya	*miś'eya*	*wawokiye*	*wauŋ*	*welo!*
Like	me.too	helping	I.live	<male sp.>

"Me too, helping others I live!"

Miȟa	*śuŋke*	*kaȟab*	*iyewa*	*yelo!*
My	horse	moved.it	I.chased.it.away	<male sp.>

"I give away my horse!"

Blihic'iyapo!	*Blihic'iyapo!*
Take.courage.you.all!	Take.courage.you.all!

"You all take courage! You all take courage!"

Honoring, Leadership, and Generosity

An individual's achievement was announced and honored at community gatherings. Honoring dances were held in the fall, when the bands split after communal buffalo hunts and ceremonies. Round dances *(naslohaŋ waćipī)* and honoring dances *(iwakićipī)* were followed by giveaways in honor of the person whose achievements were being celebrated (Cutt et al. n.d.:271). The dances and the distribution of gifts served as a public announcement of the achievement to the community and a validation

of the honored person's status. I originally discussed these songs in Chapter IV, but would like to focus on how the songs document generosity and related behaviors and activities in this chapter.

The following *iwakiciṗi* song honors the warrior who came from battle victorious and describes his deed in the song. Cutt noted that a giveaway was part of such celebration (Cutt et al. n.d.:271).

58.3 *Iwakici Lowaŋ*. Whistler.

Nataŋ	*hi*	*waŋ,*	*anawaŋtaŋ*	*ca*
Charging	he.came	one	I.went.to.meet.him	so

"One came charging, so I went to meet him,"

Ceya	*iŋyaŋke*	*ayustaŋ*	*sni*
Crying	he.ran	leave.it.alone	not

"Crying he ran, but I didn't let go,"

Nuge	*mawanice.*
Ears	I.have.none

"I did not listen."

Wiyutata	*ceya*	*iŋyaŋke.*
Waving	crying	he.ran

"Waving and crying he ran."

Lakota also competed against each other by racing horses. The fastest horses were used and the people bet money for first through third place rankings (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:75). White Hat relates that from 1920's to 1940's, Rosebud Fairs used to have horse races (Cutt et al. n.d.:174). In wagon races, couples had a division of labor in which the woman drove the

wagon and the man stood behind her and whipped horses. Two horses pulled an uncovered wagon.

The following song honors the winner of a horse race. After the race, the victorious horse was brought to the dance ground and led around it. Then, the owner of the horse would hold a giveaway (Black Bear and Theisz 1976:75). The text of the song contains the *zuya olowaŋ* element of facing the challenge and overcoming it. In the song, the winning horse says, "The horse that runs in the lead, bring him to me, I will run with him":

63.3 *Iki Iyaŋka Olowaŋ*. Red Cloud

Iki	*iyaŋke*	*ṫokeya*
Race	run	where

"Where there is a horse race,"

Iyaŋka	*laka*	*hecena*
Runs	if.so	only.one

" 'The only one running in the lead – "

Makaupiyeyo,	*kici*	*waimna*	*ki,*
You.all.bring.it.to.me	with	I.run	the

"Bring that horse to me, I will run beside him,' "

Miṫawa	*ki*	*heya*	*ca*	*kuwa*	*aupilo.*
Mine	the	said.that	so	chasing	they.come

"My horse said that, so chasing him they come."

Memorial and honoring practices have evolved through time and they vary from family to family. Generosity and giveaways have been an important part of funeral rites. The rituals of keeping and releasing of the soul of the deceased were described by Black Elk (Brown 1953:10-20). He

mentions that the distribution of the gifts to the "poor and unfortunate ones" followed the release of the soul ritual performed a year after the individual's death (Brown 1953:30). Grobsmith notes that giveaways at one time were held exlusively at the termination of the one-year mourning period (Grobsmith 1981:53-54). To this day, a traditional Lak̇ōta funeral is followed by a giveaway and a dinner. Cutt mentions that Lak̇ōta families would bring the deceased person's belongings when they laid him/her to rest, to be given away (Cutt et al. n.d.:173). While the views and practices on the disposition of the property of the deceased varied, one rule seems to be universal. The dearer the person was to the family, the more gifts were given away.

Agency reports reveal that on Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations giveaways survived into the twentieth century. In 1888, Agent H.D. Gallagher reported that mourning practices on the Pine Ridge Reservation included lacerating the body and giving away or destroying the deceased person's property (ARCIA 1888:49). He noted that his efforts to prohibit giveaways were "opposed by every Indian on the reservation" (ARCIA 1888:49). In 1902, Father Digmann of St. Francis Mission on the Rosebud Reservation documented the practice of giveaways at public dances (ARCIA 1902:375). According to Digmann, peer pressure was used to keep up the giveaway custom as part of Lak̇ōta identity: "One who does not do it [give away] is decried as a 'dog,' and no Indian" (ARCIA 1902:375).

Thus, giveaways remained part of social celebrations and dances, which were held with the permission of the agent. In the introduction to song no. 364.27, the singer pointed out that this celebration happened with the permission of *atē*, the "father," referring to the BIA agent. Lakȯtā traditions were also easily incorporated into the new types of celebrations. Digmann laments that the Fourth of July celebration "has resulted more in a revival of the old Indian habits than in a teaching of patriotism, as was intended" (ARCIA 1902:375). The survival of giveaway practices on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations into the second half of the twentieth century is also well documented (Grobsmith 1981:53-58; M. Powers 1991:38-41; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:58-59; Pickering 2000:57-59). Giveaways are common on both reservations today.

Wokīksuye olowaŋ, or memorial songs, are sung to commemorate the deeds of an individual who has passed away. The following song honors a warrior who has fallen in battle. The loss of life was on the extreme end of the system of honors. The individual faced the challenge and gave up his life in the course of his journey. Death meant the continuation of his journey in the spirit world. In the song, *wahȯpāni* refers to the fact that the person had no material belongings to give away, which is a metaphor for death (Cutt et al. n.d.:61). "He lays in poverty," the song says. He had a lot to give to the community, both material and non-material, but he is not there anymore.

52.6 *Wokīksuye Olowaŋ*. Agnes Eagle Hawk

Akiċiṫa	*kīhaŋ*	*eyayiŋ*	*kta*	*yuŋkaŋ*
Warriors	all	they.go	will	then

"All warriors will go and then"

Wiyaka	*Wasṫe*	*el*	*opa*	*yelo.*
Feather	Good	in	is.involved	<male sp.>

"Good Feather was with them."

Eyapi	*ċa*	*he.*
They.said.this	so	that

"So they said."

Ṫamaka	*ṡni*	*k'uŋ*	*wahṗaniya*	*yuŋkelo.*
This.world	not	so.then	poor	he.laid

"I had a bad feeling about that, and he got killed."

The following song honors an individual whose journey took him to the spirit world. *Wooheki*, giveaway gifts, is a direct reference to the giveaway that is held in the memory of the person. According to Cutt, when somebody passed away, the family would burn the deceased's favorite clothes and other treasured items, and the rest would be given away (Cutt et al. n.d.:173). The lodge would be burnt, but the descendants would camp on the lodge site.

63.2 *Woyuonihaŋ Olowaŋ*

Wooheki	*haŋ*	*kawiṫa*	*ehaċa*	*na*
Giveaway.gifts	the	gather	you.said	and

"Gather the gifts for a giveaway, you said, and"

Wiyaka	*nap'iŋ*	*k'uŋ*
Feather	Necklace	at.that.time

"Feather Necklace,"

Ǩola *t̄oǩi* *ılalelo.*
Friend someplace you.have.gone
“My friend, you have gone on a journey (to the spirit world).”

The next song is an honoring song for Crazy Horse, a prominent Oglala leader. He led the Laǩo̱ta against Brig. Gen. George Crook’s forces at the Battle of Rosebud in 1876, which set the stage for the historic victory of Laǩo̱ta and Cheyenne at the Battle of Little Bighorn a week later. Crazy Horse was bayoneted to death at Fort Robinson in 1877. The location of his burial place remains the object of speculation today.

57.6 *Niǧe Ṫaŋǩiyaŋ Olowaŋ*. Red Willow.

Speech:
Waziya̱ta *maǩoce* *waŋ* *yaŋke ǩi* *le* *Ṫasuŋke* *Witko*
North land one sit the this his.horse crazy
“It is there in north country, His Horse Is Crazy,”

s̈o̱ta *iyoṫaiŋ* *s̈ni* *ya* *maǩoce* *gloni̱ce*
smoke be.seen not there land he.wants.to.keep.it
“that land where smoke cannot be seen he wanted to keep,”

yuŋkaŋ *wahṗaniya* *yuŋka ċa* *he* *wec̄ilowaŋ* *k̄elo.*
and.here in.poverty he.lay so for.him I.sing will
“but instead, in poverty he lay, so I will sing for him.”

Song
He *Ṫasuŋke* *Witko* *wimac̄a* *yelo.*
He his.horse crazy I.man <male sp.>
“He, His Horse Is Crazy, I am a man.”

He *heċ’uŋ* *wahṗaniya* *nuǩelo.*
He did.this poor you.laid
“He did this, and in poverty you laid.”

He	*Oglalapi*	*he*	*heya*	*au*	*welo.*
The	Oglala	that	say.this	they.come	<male sp.>

"The Oglala, saying this they come."

Spoken: *Tasuŋke Witko, ahahe!*
His.Horse Crazy <honoring expr.>
"Crazy Horse, ahahe!"

Successful leadership was centered on the principles of generosity, family status, war record, and individual merit (Hassrick 1964:13-14). The leader was responsible for ensuring that his people had a good livelihood, and, in turn, such a leader would attract the most followers. Generosity, helping the people and showing respect for the elders, was paramount for the young man to gain reputation and status in the community.

The next song reflects the responsibility of the leaders to help the elderly and the poor. Giveaways were also a way for the leader to express appreciation for the community's invested trust.

74.22 *Wicasa Itaŋcaŋ Olowaŋ.* Red Cloud

Wicasa	*itaŋcaŋ*	*ki*
Man	spokesperson	the

"The leaders"

Tioli	*haŋpi*	*ye.*
Home	they.look.for	<emphasis>

"Are looking for a home."

Oyate	*oksa*	*au*	*kihaŋ*
People	around	come	when

"When the people come around,"

Wawak̄ajuju kt̄e,
I.pay will
“I will pay,”

Et̄aŋṡ imat̄ok̇ak̄a heyiŋ na
So I.don’t.care he.said and
“So I don’t care, he said, and”

Ċok̄at̄a u welo.
Center he.comes <male sp.>
“To the center he comes.”

Huŋk̄a and Generosity

Generosity in the form of feeding the people and giveaways has been an important part of ceremonies. A feast always follows communal Lak̇ōta ceremonies such as a Sun Dance or a healing ceremony. The *huŋk̄a* ceremony, originally called “They Made a Ceremony Over Each Other with the Horses’ Tails” (Walker 1980:195), was an adoption ceremony for an individual who replaced a lost relative. The Legend of the First *Huŋk̄a* relates the story of a man who lost two of his sons in war. Later, the spirits sent him two babies whom he incorporated into his family (Walker 1980: 193-195). The ceremony was also held to honor the beloved child. *Huŋk̄a*, created new relatives and expanded the system of support. The giveaway that followed the ceremony celebrated these new relationships. The songs show that the ceremony celebrates the continuity of life and the generations. The giveaway reflects the Lak̇ōta concept of love where a relative is a lot more precious than any material belongings.

362.23 *Huŋk̄a Lowaŋp̄i*

Lak̇ot̄a ċok̄at̄a u.
Lakota center comes
"Lak̇ot̄a is coming to the center."

T̄ak̄u yuha ċok̄at̄a wau welo.
Something I.have center I.come <male sp.>
"I am coming to the center with the gifts."

Le huŋk̄a ċa ċok̄at̄a
This relative there center
"This relative (pointing at himself or herself), to the center"

T̄ak̄u yuha wau welo.
Something I.have I.come <male sp.>
"With gifts I am coming."

Today, the *huŋk̄a* ceremony is sometimes mistaken for the name-giving ceremony (M. Powers 1991). Naming can be part of this ceremony as well as almost any public gathering, such as the powwow. However, the primary purpose of the *huŋk̄a* is to celebrate a new creation–the creation of ties between the people who accept each other as relatives.

K̇amit̄e **Songs**

Honoring and giveaway songs developed into committee *(k̇amit̄e* is the Lak̇ot̄a version of the word) selection songs in the twentieth century. A committee would be appointed to organize a community event such as a New Year's celebration or an annual *waċip̄i*. Its responsibilities include fundraising, preparing the arena, feeding the people, and overseeing of the celebration (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:62).

Peace medals and medallions used to be awarded to the committee members. Today, they are given ribbons, e.g., a red ribbon and a penny for the chairman (Cutt et al. n.d.:253). *Mazaṡa olowaŋ*, penny songs, are sung to honor and encourage new committee members:

75.11 *Mazaṡa Olowaŋ.* Mr. and Mrs. Blue Bird

Mazaṡa	*k̄i*	*he*	*t̄uwa*	*yuha*	*ċa*
Money	the	that	who	has.it	so

"Whoever has the money, so"

He	*oiyokip̄e*	*ye!*
That	good.times	<emphasis>

"There are good times!"

Waḳaŋ	*Akiṡ'a*	*k'uŋ*	*he*	*blihic'iyayo!*
Sacred	voice	then	that	you.take.courage

"Sacred Voice, you take courage!"

He	*heyap̄elo.*
That	they.say.this

"They said this."

The committee would work all year to organize the event and prepare for the giveaway. In appreciation for being selected as a committee member, one has to sponsor a giveaway. The *t̄iyoṡp̄aye* usually contributes giveaway gifts.

The following song honors *Waṗahala,* a committee member who gave away a horse, a valuable gift. In the song, he is quoted rhetorically asking, "Is this what you meant when you made me committee?"

62.13 *Ḳamit̄e Olowaŋ.* Kills the Chief

K̇amit̄e k̄i leċel yak̇ap̄i ṡa?
Committee the this you.mean did
"Committee, is this what you meant?"

Miṫa ṡuŋke k̄i ik̇aŋ waniċiŋ kt̄e,
My horse the reins none.will will
"My horse will have no reins,"

Waṗahala heya najiŋye.
Eagle.Bonnet saying.this stood
"Eagle Bonnet stood saying this."

Wiċaṡa iṫaŋċaŋ k̄i leċel yak̇ap̄i ṡa?
Man leader the thus you.meant did
"The leaders, is this what you meant?"

Ohuŋk̄e ṡni ċa at̄uŋwa nawajiŋ ye,
Firm not that I.look.for I.stand <emphasis>
"As I stand, I am looking for the weak ones,"

Waṗahala heya najiŋ ye.
Eagle.Bonnet saying.this stood
"Eagle Bonnet stood saying this."

In sum, the songs discussed in this chapter, are a document of the practice of generosity and giveaway. The roots of feasting and giving gifts in celebration are found in the creation story. Giveaways have survived into the present and are a viable redistributive component of Lak̇ot̄a culture and economy today.

Chapter VII. Wisdom: Ceremony and Leadership

I will discuss the virtue of wisdom as represented in the songs in two capacities. First, there are songs that highlight the aspect of wisdom in the context of leadership. An individual acquires wisdom through life experience and is admired by younger people and the entire community and asked for advice and guidance. Thus, experienced individuals always assume a position of leadership in appropriate contexts.

Second, there are songs representing another level of wisdom. It is wisdom as spirituality and the spiritual wisdom that pervades all aspects of Lak̇ō̱ta life. Spirituality is a very sensitive topic and due to its multiple misrepresentations and misinterpretations, Lak̇ō̱ta people do not encourage its academic discussion. As a result, songs related to ceremonies and spirituality *per se* have been omitted from some of the recent Lak̇ō̱ta song studies out of respect for those cultural phenomena (Black Bear and Theisz 1976; Theisz 2003).

Our interpreters were somewhat reluctant to work with the ceremonial songs. Sometimes, we would skip that section of songs. “If we call the spirits here, how will we send them back,” was a comment that summarized the attitudes of the interpreters towards such songs. Yet at the same time, everybody acknowledged that we were studying the songs for their cultural and linguistic value. In one language class, we did use a

ceremonial song to discuss the language and the cultural values expressed in the song.

Spirituality has been a very essential part of Lak̇o̱ta life. Rather, Lak̇o̱ta everyday actions are rooted in spirituality. Also, two of our collections had a significant body of songs pertaining to spirituality and ceremonies. Thus, a study without a discussion of ceremonial songs would not be complete. I will discuss their distribution and major themes. My interest is to investigate how these songs express the value of wisdom and how prominently they figure in an ordinary Lak̇o̱ta person's everyday life. Thus, for purposes of this study, I will limit the discussion of the ceremonial songs to the perspectives of Lak̇o̱ta laypeople who practice spirituality, rather than specialists, such as medicine men. Translations of the quoted texts were produced by our project team. If the text has been published in another source, a different version might be available for comparison. Some texts of the songs we skipped are available in the original Rhodes's fieldnotes. Unless they have been reviewed by Lak̇o̱ta speakers, they are excluded from this section.

Lak̇o̱ta Leadership

When a man goes on *zuya* and proves his maturity by meeting challenges and overcoming them, he achieves status. As a man's

achievements build, he earns a higher position in society. With status comes a new set of expectations and roles for him in the community.

Lakȯta culture respects diversity and individuality. Each *tīyosp̄aye* had leaders of different areas, depending on their abilities, skills, and achievements (Cutt et al. n.d.:64). Lakȯt̄a leaders led by their positive actions as examples for others to follow. Thus, the essence of Lakȯt̄a learning model, teaching through experience, is exhibited in leadership patterns. Their effectiveness was proved by the numbers of followers they had. The most effective leader worked for the good of the whole group and his achievements were measured by the progress of the group.

If an individual proved his skill in a certain area, for example, battle or hunt, the people would seek his leadership in these areas. His achievements would be noted by more established leaders who would help him secure a formal leadership position. With age, as individuals gained more experience and collected more accomplishments, they were sought out for guidance and advice by the entire *tīyosp̄aye*. Thus, the road to Lakȯt̄a leadership may seem a natural process where the individual's competence was judged by his actions and record.

Blood line was also a factor. The male descendants of prominent leaders were expected to assume leadership positions in the tribe. These

expectations were reinforced by family status and traditions as well as by the spirituality complex.

Each *t̄iyos̊p̄aye* had a leader called *wiċas̊a iṫaŋċaŋ,* who spoke for his people (*wiċas̊a* – "man," *i* – "mouth," *ṫaŋċaŋ* – "body"). The *nac̄a (*from *nat̄a* – "head" and *hc̄a* – "real") was the head of the *t̄iyos̊p̄aye* (Cutt et al. n.d.:63). The *nac̄a* were political or spiritual leaders and elders recognized for their achievements (Hassrick 1964:25). Legislative responsibility was vested in the council, *Nac̄a Omniċiya*. Four *nac̄a* led the council and were considered the actual leaders of the tribe. Matters were discussed in council until consensus was reached.

Nig̊e Ṫaŋk̄a Okolak̄iċiye, the Big Belly Society, was composed of the men of wisdom who were retired from *nac̄a* (Cutt et al. n.d.:63). The society served as an advisory organization to the tribal council. The name of the society refers to life experience and wisdom, and interest in social and political affairs. After the Battle of Little Bighorn, *Nig̊e Ṫaŋk̄a Okolak̄iċiye* became known as *Sk̄a Ak̄ayaŋk̄a*, "Rides a White Horse" (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 11). At the time of Rhodes's recordings in 1939, the society had ceased to function. Singer Red Willow noted that the last meeting of the society was held 15-20 years ago, and that he is one of its last living members (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 3).

Leaders' songs originally were sung only by the individuals who achieved that status. Today, versions of these songs, besides their original intention, can also be used for memorials or honorings. They can be sung before going on a journey and for achievement, encouragement, and direction. These songs are sung for active people, some of whom are subject to criticism, or for any individual who has achieved stature.

In the collections, there are six leaders' songs (songs nos. 52.6, 58.10, 61.20, 61.21, 74.22, 364.1). The songs focus on Lakȱta identity and the challenges of leadership responsibility. Leaders have to be ready to make decisions and act, even if challenges, in the form of criticism, come from within their communities. The next song is an honoring song for a leader, dedicated to Chief Little Wound, the singer's great-grandfather, and it is still sung today:

52.8 *Wicȧsȧ Itȧŋcaŋ Tȧlowaŋ*. Charles Thunder Bull, Nancy Thunder Bull.

He	*tȧopī*	*cȧik'ala*	*he*
That	wound	little	that

"Little Wound,"

Lakȱta	*mayasȧi*	*na*
Lakȱta	you.want.me	and

"Lakȱta you wanted me to be, and"

He	*aiyapī*	*waun*	*welo.*
That	they.talk.about.me	I.live	

"I live with them gossiping about me."

He iyo̱tiye wak̄iyelo.
That difficult.time I.have
"I am having a difficult time."

Land and competition over territory has been important in the life of nomadic Lak̇o̱ta. In alliance with the Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Lak̇o̱ta became dominant in Northern Plains by mid-nineteenth century. As a consequence, the Arikara villages, decimated by the disease, moved north; the Kiowa were pushed out of the Black Hills region and migrated south; and the Oglala established themselves in the Powder River Basin in Wyoming, previously Shoshone and Crow territory. As the Euro-American settlers swarmed into the West after the Civil War, the Lak̇o̱ta entered a new era of conflict over land.

The major military conflicts with the US included the Red Cloud War, or Powder River War (1866-1868), for control of Powder River area in Wyoming and Montana. The war resulted in the closing of the military forts along the Bozeman Trail. Discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874 resulted in another war. The war started with Lak̇o̱ta victories and culminated in the annihilation of the 7th Cavalry under the command of Lt. Col. George A. Custer in 1876. During the winter campaigns of 1877, the military succeeded in breaking Lak̇o̱ta resistance. Crazy Horse surrendered at Ft. Robinson and Sitting Bull led his followers to Canada. Crazy Horse and

Sitting Bull were not signatories to the 1868 Treaty which confined the Lak̇o̱ta to the Great Sioux Reservation.

The Lak̇o̱ta signed two major treaties with the US government. The first, the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, delineated the territorial boundaries of the tribes. The second, the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, established the Great Sioux Reservation for the T̄iṫuŋwaŋ tribes, the territory of the present South Dakota west of the Missouri River. In 1889, the Great Sioux Reservation was partitioned into six smaller reservations, including Pine Ridge and Rosebud, with eleven million acres being open for white settlement (Biolsi 1992:6). By 1916, as a result of the General Allotment Act, the Pine Ridge Reservation was reduced by about 147,000 acres of its original 2,721,597 acres. By 1934, the Rosebud Reservation lost 2,195,905 acres (Gibbon 2003:137), which amounts to two-thirds of the 1889 reservation territory.

In our song collections, the loss of land appears as a theme in leaders' songs. The leader's function was to ensure the effective functioning of the society and the people's welfare. With the loss of land and changes in subsistence, the people were reduced to poverty and starvation. The issue of land affects the functioning of the society. Therefore, it is not an individual, but a communal issue to be discussed by the leaders. In contrast to *ozuye olowaŋ,* which celebrate conflict as an individual challenge, the leaders' songs present aspects of conflict that are important to the survival of Lak̇o̱ta

society. The introduction to song no. 57.6 documented the leader's dedication to protect his people's land. The following leader's song song also expresses those concerns.

61.20 *Wiċaśa Iṫaŋċaŋ Olowaŋ*. Amos Shield, John Small Waisted Bear.

Ḳodapīna, tāku yaḳapīdo.
Dear.friends what you.are.saying
"Dear friends, what are you saying?"

Maḳoċe ki miṫawapī wedo,
Lands the mine.are <male sp.>
"These lands are mine,"

Epe nahaŋ tewaḥida yedo.
I.said.this and I.hold.dear <male sp.>
"I said this and I hold them dear."

After the contact with Euro-America, the US military and government agents preferred to conduct business with just one or several tribal representatives rather than with the whole body of traditional leaders. Thus, the role of principal chief emerged as a broker position imposed on the tribes by the US government. For example, Red Cloud *(Maḥpīya Lutā*) of the Oglala and Spotted Tail *(Siŋṫe Gleśka*) of the Siċaŋġu were appointed as the principal chiefs. Although they served as the representatives of their tribes to the US officials, the real power and political influence of these leaders remained mostly within their *tiyośpaye*.

The reservation system brought confusion to Laḳota political life. The men who went on modern *zuya* such as the Wild West show, instead of

returning with maturity and knowledge, brought back drunkenness and demoralization (ARCIA 1890:53). Children who were educated at off-reservation boarding schools and had the knowledge of the English language and Euro-American culture could not be fully reincorporated into their traditional families. The old system of personal advancement collapsed with the passing of the pre-reservation way of life. New models of leadership and advancement were directed toward assimilation and thus served the needs and policies of the government rather than those of the people.

The following song expresses frustration and sadness about the fact that the older generation of respected men gone. Although the original version seems to be a personal story of a singer who grew up without a father or grandfather (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 5), the song's meaning was easily expanded by our interpreters to address societal matters of the early twentieth century. The generation of leaders who were brought up in pre-reservation culture had died by the 1920's. Therefore, the people were feeling that they were left without leadership (Cutt et al. n.d.:159). In the song, the terms *at̄e* and *ṫuŋk̄aṡina* ("father" and "grandfather") can refer to the leaders and other respected men of past generations.

61.21 *Wablenic̄a Odowaŋ*. Amos Shield, John Small Waisted Bear

At̄e	*ṫuŋk̄aṡina*	*uŋya*	*imayayap̄i.*
Father	grandfather	without	they.went

"Father, grandfather left me behind."

Iyotiye *wakiye.*
Difficult.time I.have
"I am having a difficult time."

The song implies that after this generation is gone, there will be no leaders. *Wableniča*, the word translated as "orphan," refers to a person without guidance or mentorship that usually is provided by parents. Leaders also provide guidance and mentorship to the people at a broader societal level. Thus, the song expresses the view that when the leaders are gone, the people are left without guidance.

Spirituality and Wisdom

Traditional spirituality acknowledges the existence of spiritual wisdom in every being. The songs document the perspective that Lakota people work with spiritual wisdom. They address the spirit of the eagle, the spirit of a bear, or another creation, and consider them relatives.

Lakota spirituality is centered on the concept of *mitakuye oyas'iŋ,* all my relatives. Thus, the practice of spirituality focuses on working with the relatives. Lakota view themselves as part of the creation. They work with the creation to ensure the support of the creation for what a person does. Since all creation (e.g., rocks, animals, and natural phenomena) is induced with *wakaŋ,* the life power, an individual is able to communicate with the creation. *Wakaŋ* has three qualities: the power to give or take life, the power

to build or destroy, and the power to do good or evil (Cutt et al. n.d.:19). How these powers are exercised, depends on the individual choice. A medicine man specializes in working with specific types of creation, for example, a bear doctor works with the bear spirit.

Ceremonial songs are usually learned as part of a personal spiritual journey (cf. Keeling 1992). Powers noted that certain types of songs are used for different parts of a ceremony, such as the filling-the-pipe song or the prayer song, which are transferable from ceremony to ceremony (W. Powers 1986:73). Different spiritual leaders and their followers may sing different songs for the same part of the ceremony as long as they fulfill the appropriate function.

I observed that ceremonial songs are related to an individual experience even more closely than the all the songs previously discussed. It is the family members or a close circle of followers who attend a particular medicine man's ceremonies and learn the associated songs. As the older generation is becoming concerned that the young Lak̇o̱ta are no longer learning these songs, Lak̇o̱ta educators compiled and published a collection of ceremonial songs (Around Him and White Hat 1983). However, the published songs are more enthusiastically learned by the outside visitors who travel long distances to participate in Lak̇o̱ta ceremonies, as opposed to the local population.

Lak̇o̱ta ceremonies are still practiced today. Conversations with reservation residents suggest that many banned ceremonies were conducted underground throughout the twentieth century. Thus their existence was never significantly interrupted. As was the case in other colonial contexts, community spiritual leaders and other traditional leaders assumed positions of leadership in the local churches. As a result, they worked to syncretize Christianity and Native religion while maintaining traditional leadership structures.

The complexes of spiritual practices today remain separate, for example, the Sun Dance, the Native American Church, and Christianity. Nevertheless, it is common for the same people to participate in ceremonies from different complexes. For example, Sun Dance participants may also attend a Native American Church ceremony or Catholics would join prayers in a sweat lodge.

Ritual elements are also transferred from one complex to another. For example, the Lak̇o̱ta Ghost Dance, introduced soon after the Sun Dance was banned, like the latter ceremony, used a tree in the middle of the dance ground and practiced fasting, sweatlodge rituals, and the painting of the body (Mooney 1991:822-823). Peyote ceremonies, which emerged after the Ghost Dance was suppressed, featured the visionary experiences previously a

part of the Ghost Dance, and adopted the Bible and Christian symbols (Feraca 1998:60-61).

The ceremonial songs in our collections include one *ṫaṫaŋka olowaŋ*, buffalo song, twelve *huŋka* songs, fourteen doctoring ceremony (mostly Bear Medicine) songs, and two Sun Dance songs from Walker's collection, and six *huŋka* songs, four Sun Dance songs, four personal medicine songs, twenty Native American Church songs and fourteen Ghost Dance songs from Rhodes's collection. In the latter, one song each was identified as a *yuwipi*, as *inipi*, and as Bear Medicine song, and two others as miscellaneous ceremonial songs. Rhodes also recorded fourteen Episcopalian hymns sung in Laḳota or played on the flute. No ceremonial songs appear in Dixon's collection.

The distribution of the ceremonial songs in the collections reveals the impact of Euro-American contact on Laḳota philosophy and shows how culture change affected Laḳota religious expression. This culture change was sudden and profound (e.g., the European diseases and the change in subsistence). Laḳota people sought adjustment through new ways of spiritual expression, such as the Ghost Dance and the peyote ceremonies. In addition to the influence of Euro-American missionaries, Laḳota ceremonies and philosophical thought also incorporated influences resulting from the contact with other tribes.

Songs of the Native American Church present the concept of eternal life with Jesus as savior. Ghost Dance songs incorporated the concept of the messiah (*Aṫe*, "father," – a reference to Jack Wilson), but they also maintained an active belief in the ancestor spirits. Moreover, the songs were used to invite the spirits of deceased relatives. Because of these beliefs, upon the identification of a song as a Ghost Dance song, our interpreters were reluctant to work with them, indicating that these songs had spiritual powers and should only be used for the purposes that they were intended.

Laḳota hymns represent an extreme change in religious expression. While the Native ceremonies developed by incorporating Christian concepts into the Laḳoṫa framework of spiritual practices, missionaries worked to incorporate Laḳoṫa concepts into a Christian framework of beliefs and practices to create equivalent definitions or translations of the Christian concepts into Laḳoṫa. Thus, Laḳoṫa *waċekiye* ("address a relative") became a "prayer," and *maḣpiya* ("clouds") – a heaven. The missionaries created a new register of the Laḳoṫa language and manipulated these new meanings for the purposes of assimilation. In the song collections, there were fourteen hymns which were identified as Episcopalian and are from Riggs and Williamson (1879) hymnal. However, due to the scope of our project, the project team did not discuss the hymns but suggested resources for their documentation, if needed.

On the reservation, I heard many anecdotes and jokes that illustrate the gap between the traditional spirituality and Christianity. White Hat tells the story of an old Lak̇ōta man being baptized by a missionary in the river. As the missionary immersed the man in the water, he asked, "Do you see Jesus?" "No," the man replied. Then, the missionary immersed him again. "Do you see Jesus?" "No," he repeated. The missionary repeated the immersion a third time. The man finally asked, "Are you sure this is where he went down?"

It was determined that all Sun Dance songs are still being sung today, and some have been published (Around Him and White Hat 1983). Therefore, the project team chose to work with the unpublished songs. The Sun Dance ceremony is well documented (Brown 1953:67-100; Feraca 1998:8-22). Our interpreters noted that throughout most of the twentieth century the ceremony was conducted underground and may have ceased for a time. However, the cultural revitalization of the 1970's and the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 made it legal to perform the Sun Dance in public again. The growing appeal of Lak̇ōta religion to outsiders is noted by Pickering (2000:60-61). Gioia notes that fifty-four Sun Dances were conducted on the Pine Ridge reservation during the summer of 2001 alone (Gioia 2006:39). Although the form and meaning of the Sun

Dance has changed through time, the ceremony and its songs have maintained their cultural and spiritual significance for the Lak̇o̱ta people.

Traditional Spirituality

The *huŋk̄a* ceremony was originally described by Walker (1980:241) and its modern-day version by M. Powers (1991). Our interpreters observed that the song material indicates that at the turn of the twentieth century the ceremony was longer and more elaborate than today. In my analysis of *huŋk̄a* songs in this chapter, I will focus on the value of wisdom.

The song complex of the *huŋk̄a* ceremony, the ceremony of adoption or honoring of a relative, expresses the values of spiritual wisdom and the importance of extending the family support system. In the speech presented by the singer before the song, during which the *huŋk̄a* is brought to the gathering, he addresses one of the basic tenets of Lak̇o̱ta wisdom, also expressed in journey songs. The singer depicts challenge and the individual's power to overcome it:

363.10 *Huŋk̄a Lowaŋp̄i*

Speech:

Wikuṡe	*hiyuye,*	*oyak̄a*	*niṡnala,*
Obstacle	come.forward	tell	you.alone

"Obstacle, come forward, I tell you alone,"

Sloluŋniyaŋ	*k̄te*	*ṡni,*	*hiyuye!*
Acknowledge.you	will	not	come.forward

"We will not acknowledge you, come forward!"

The song consists of vocables, with the singer's interruption *Awahi le*, "I am bringing this" (referring to the person to be adopted).

Awahi *le,* *akiyus.*
I.bring this with.support
"I am bringing this, with support."

According to our interpreters, as the *huŋka* is coming out, two people will walk with him/her to provide support, both physical and metaphorical (Cutt et al. n.d.:11). Relatives stand behind the person being adopted.

Huŋka songs focus on the creation of a new relationship, and anticipate its continuation through life. The new relationship is reinforced by the ceremony. The ceremony highlights the gift of spiritual wisdom that comes with the new relationship. The following introduction to a *huŋka* song stresses the gift of the spiritual wisdom to the *huŋka*, which the *huŋka* takes back to the people. The wisdom of the ceremonies comes from nature, as "the earth has done these."

363.14 *Huŋka Lowaŋpi*

Speech:
Wiċaśa *waŋ* *maḳa* *yuslohaŋ,* *yuslohaŋ* *hinajiŋ* *yelo.*
Man one earth dragging dragging he.stood<emphasis>
"A man, dragging the earth, he stood."

Wiċaśa *wamayaŋkayo!*
Man look at me!
"Man, look at me!"

Ṫaŋyaŋ wacíŋksap kīc'uŋwo!
Good.way wisdom put.over
"Put yourself in a wise state of mind!"

Makȧ kī le ćaŋ waŋ yuha wahi najiŋ yelo!
Earth the this stick one have I.here stand <emphasis>
"On this earth, I stand with a stick!"

Wacíŋksap oyatē ekīta ni kīelo.
Wisdom nation to go will
"With that wisdom you will go to the nation."

He makīyela.
That said.to.me
"He said that to me."

Makȧ le lena hećuwe!
Earth this these did
"The earth has done these (ceremonies)!"

Song: Vocables

The following song is *ṫaṫaŋka olowaŋ,* a buffalo song, and it is the only one in the collections. The song tells about the White Buffalo Calf Woman, a powerful figure in Lakȱta culture and spirituality. According to the Lakȱta creation story, the buffalo are considered a nation of relatives, the four-legged ones. One of them, the White Buffalo Calf Woman, was used as an emissary to bring the ceremonial pipe to the Lakȱta. Multiple renditions of the story exist (Densmore 1992:63-66; Brown 1953; M. Powers 1986). The White Buffalo Calf Woman brought spiritual gifts to the people in the times of need and then turned into a white buffalo calf as she was departing. In the song, the White Buffalo Calf Woman is coming to the people with red cloth

and altar and is asking the grey eagle for assistance. *Waluṫa*, red cloth, is a symbol of prayer. The song addresses the wisdom of two important spirits in Laḳoṫa culture, the buffalo and the eagle.

363.18 *Ṫaṫaŋḳa Olowaŋ*

Le	ṫaḳu	heyaṗi	ċa
This	something	they.say.that	so

"They say something and"

Heya	*he*	*mawani*	*ye,*
Say	that	I.walk	<emphasis, female sp.>

"Saying that I am walking,"

Ṫaṫaŋḳa	*saŋ*	*wahe*	*wau*	*we.*
Buffalo	white	I.here	I.come	<emphasis, female sp.>

"White Buffalo, here I am coming."

He	*inawajiŋ*	*owaŋḳa*	*au*	*welo.*
That	stops/stands	altar	brings	<emphasis, male sp.>

"She (White Buffalo) stops, bringing the altar."

Waluṫa	*waŋ*	*waḳaŋ*	*heyaṗi*	*ċa*
Red.cloth	one	power	they.said	so

"This red cloth is powerful, they said so,"

He	*yamani*	*yelo!*
That	you.walk	<emph., male sp.>

"With that you walk!"

Hoyeya	*he*	*mawani.*
Voice.send	that	I.walk

"Announcing this, I walk."

He	*ṫaḳu*	*waŋ*	*waḳaŋ*	*heyaṗi*	*ċa*
That	something	one	powerful	they.say.that	so

"They said she said something powerful and"

Waŋbli saŋ waŋ wakȧŋya heyapi cȧ
Eagle grey one powerful.like they.say so
“They said as powerful as the grey eagle,

Hoyeya he mawani ye.
Voice.throw that I.walk <emphasis, female sp.>
“Announcing this she walked.”

Our interpreters were hesitant to identify the functions of the song. The text of the song most resembles the “Song of the White Buffalo Maiden” recorded by Densmore (1992:67). According to Densmore’s account, the song was sung by the White Buffalo Calf Maiden as she entered the camp. She noted that the song was used in the Spirit-Keeping ceremony and the red cloth refers to a packet in the lodge of the family who was keeping the spirit (Densmore 1992:67).

Our interpreters, however, connected the song with the Buffalo ceremony. *Isȧnāti awicȧlowaŋpī,* or “they sing over the one dwelling alone,” is a ceremony performed after a girl’s first menstruation (Walker 1980:302). “Living alone” is a reference to the fact that, during their menses, Lakȱta women lived in a separate lodge from the family. When women were endowed with the power of giving life, they were considered spiritually powerful. The ceremony was performed to instruct the girls in the proper behavior as they entered the womanhood. Brown documented a version of this song used at the aforementioned ceremony (Brown 1953:122). The song’s

association with a female ceremony shows that it was outside of the realm of our male interpreters' experience.

The index of the Walker's collection lists twenty-six Bear Medicine songs or song segments. Due to broken cylinders and poor quality, only half of them were available in the recordings. There is one additional Bear Medicine song in the recordings made by Rhodes's collection, which brings the total to twenty-seven songs, out of which only thirteen were available for translation and interpretation.

The bear was the symbol of wisdom for the Lak̇ō̄ta (Walker 1980:51). The wisdom of the bear for using herbs and root medicines is documented by Densmore (1992:195). In addition to ordinary diseases, Bear doctors treated major disorders, such as wounds and fractures. Walker reports that they were the only medicine men who could treat individuals wounded in battle (Walker 1980:157-159). As an agency physician, Walker had to combat tuberculosis while an additional doctor was hired for routine health care (Walker 1980:9). Therefore, since Walker had to deal with a major disease, the medicine men thought it proper to instruct him in Bear Medicine, which resulted in these recordings.

Stories of human–bear experiences are common among Plains tribes. Several places in the Black Hills, the Devils Tower (which Lak̇ō̄ta call *Mat̀o Tīpīla*, the "Bear Lodge") and Bear Butte, carry the name of this animal. The

Kiowa have a story about a boy who was transformed into a bear. He started chasing his sisters, who were taken to the sky by a rock that grew out of the bear's reach. The sisters became the seven stars of the Big Dipper (Momaday 1969:8; Boyd 1981:10-11). Bushotter relates a Laḱōta Bear Society member's story, in which he was under the control of a bear spirit that attacked humans, coughed up animals, and dug out wild roots where plants were not growing (Deloria 1937b: 268-273).

The following song is a Pipe song, which was used in a Bear Medicine ceremony. The singer, 86 years old at the time of recording, learned the song as a boy from the Bear Society. The pipe is filled with tobacco, lit, and smoked by the congregation. This song is sung before doctoring (Rhodes fieldnotes, Notebook 3).

57.3 *Maḱo Olowaŋ*. Joseph Red Willow.

Lena wayaŋkāyo!
These you.look.at
"Look at these!"

Ćaŋli śoṫa ṫaiŋyaŋ.
Tobacco smoke visible
"Tobacco smoke is appearing."

The stories that Densmore recorded document the bear's knowledge of roots and herbs (Densmore 1992:195). The people learned how to use them as well. Bear doctors dug medicinal roots with the help of a bear claw (Feraca 1998:53). The next song is *Maḱo pejuṫa wiċak'u olowaŋ*, a Bear-

Medicine-giving song. Offering the pipe, giving medicine, and encouraging the patient are steps the song texts record.

362.30 *Maȯo Pejuta Wiȯak'u Olowaŋ*

1st verse.

Le	*waŋyaŋkayo,*	*le*	*pejuta*	*ki*
This	look.at.this	this	medicine	the

"Look at this, this medicine,"

Ȯic'u	*ki*	*le*	*cic'u*	*welo.*
Give.you	the	this	give.you	<emphasis, male sp.>

"I give it to you, this I give you."

2nd verse

Ȯaŋnupa,	*ȯaŋnupa*	*ki*	*ȯic'u*	*welo.*
Pipe	pipe	the	give.you	<emphasis, male sp.>

"Pipe, I give you the pipe."

Yuha	*wani*	*nuŋwe!*
You.have	life	so.be.it

"You have life, so be it!"

Le	*ȯokeȯa*	*kelo.*
This	different	will

"This will be different."

Ȯaŋnupa	*he*	*au*	*welo.*
Pipe	he	brings	<emphasis, male sp.>

"He is bringing the pipe,"

Ȯatu	*uye*	*au,*	*nake*	*nula*	*yauŋ*	*welo!*
Wind	comes	brings	always	ready	you.live	<emph., male sp.>

"From the direction of the wind, he comes bringing, always ready you live!"

Our interpreters estimated that the last individuals who worked with Bear Medicine died in the 1940's (Cutt et al. n.d.:30). At the time of his study, Macgregor documented that there was one medicine man practicing *yuwipi*

on the Pine Ridge Reservation (Macgregor 1946:99). Feraca noted that his Oglala and Sicaŋġu consultants observed that Bear doctors used to be numerous. In the middle of the twentieth century, they were being replaced by *yuwipi* specialists (Feraca 1998:53).

Yuwipi is another doctoring ritual related to the Ojibwe and Cree Shaking Tent ritual (Feraca 1998:30). The medicine man, who is wrapped in a blanket and tied up, communes with the spirits that eventually free him, in order to address his patients' needs. The needs of his patients might range from health improvement to finding the lost items.

Two songs in the collections (songs nos. 54.4. and 72.13) address the directions of the world from which spiritual powers originate. The songs are similar to the "Four Directions" song documented by W. Powers (1986:81), which is sung at *Yuwipi* "to invoke the powers of the universe." Our interpreters indicated that the "Four Directions" song is sung to start a ceremony, and can be used at *yuwipi, inipi,* and *haŋbleceya* (Cutt et al. n.d.:232). Although the song is called the "Four Directions" song, it also addresses the Above, the Below, and the individual himself. Singer White Bull learned the song at Rosebud. He only recorded the last two verses out of seven from the song (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 2). In ceremonies, *Wahiŋheya oyate*, the mole nation, represents the earth (Cutt et al. n.d.:24, 80). The following is a verse addressing the below world:

54.4. *Yuwipi Olowaŋ*. Martin White Bull.

Ǩola ho u wayiŋ kta če namaȟ'uŋyo! x3
Friend voice send going will so hear.me
"Friend, I am going to send my voice, so hear me!"

Maǩata leċiya wahiŋheya waŋ ǩola wayelo.
In.the.earth down.here mole one friend is
"Down here in the earth a mole is my friend."

Ǩola ho u wayiŋ kta če ahituwe yeyo!
Friend voice send going will so look.here <emphasis>
"Friend I will send my voice, so look this way!"

Ǩola ho u wayiŋ kta ċe namaȟ'uŋyo!
Friend voice send going will so hear.me
"Friend, I am going to send my voice, so hear me!"

The song addresses the spirit relative and informs him that prayers are about to be sent. The individual is "sending a voice" to the spirit relative, and is asking the spirit to "hear me." The ceremony is performed to ask the spirit relative for help with a certain need, such as good health. The ceremony reveals that the medicine man who conducts it has the knowledge to approach the spirit relative in the proper way to request assistance. This relationship indicates that the man is equal to the other creation, and he merely works with it to obtain assistance with his needs. We will see later in the discussion that Christianity changed the nature of this relationship.

The following is a song of personal power. The singer, who was 88 years old at the time of recording, belonged to three societies, *Ṫoǩala, Ihȟ'oka,* and *Ǩangi Yuha* (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 3). He used to sing the song

before going to war. It is an example of songs that were acquired during a spiritual educational experience (*haŋblecėya,* a vision quest), as men undertook their journey into maturity.

57.12 *Wakȧŋ Lowaŋpī.* Kit Fox

Wahohpī *waŋ* *omicȧgȧe*
Nest one place.I.grew.up
"The nest in which I grew up,"

He *wanīkiya* *mawani* *kte.*
That bringing.life I.travel will
"To protect it, I will travel."

Ghost Dance Songs

Anthropologist James Mooney visited various tribes to document the Ghost Dance, and his accounts (Mooney 1991) present the most extensive documentation of this ceremony. He observed and participated in Lakȯta dances. Young (2001) presents a comprehensive history of the Ghost Dance and its spread on the Plains. W. Powers (1990) compiled Lakȯta Ghost Dance song texts in a separate publication.

All Lakȯta Ghost Dance songs have Lakȯta texts. Referring to their musical qualities, Rhodes suggested that the songs were "imported unchanged as they were learned from the Paiutes" (Rhodes 1954:11). The structure of the Ghost Dance songs, based on Mooney's collection, was described by Herzog (1935). Mooney (1991:1059-1077) and Curtis (1923:43) associate the songs' creation with the dance. They described how, during the

dance, the participants experienced visions. Upon awakening, they revealed what they had seen. A song about the experience was composed and used in the dance that followed. Indeed, the fact that the songs contain many references to Lak̇ō̄ta camp life indicates their Lak̇ō̄ta origins.

Various accounts suggest that the Lak̇ō̄ta Ghost Dance was a reaction to the chaos in the reservation life at the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore, first and foremost, it focused on the restoration of the health of the society. The end of the 1880's was particularly difficult for reservation residents. Mooney documented the decimation of cattle herds due to disease in 1888 and crop failures in 1889 and 1890 (Mooney 1991:826-827). Moreover, the Great Sioux Reservation was dismantled in 1889 and rations reduced in 1890. The Lak̇ō̄ta were affected by measles, grippe, and whooping cough epidemics. The people, including children, were dying of starvation (Mooney 1991:827).

Thus, the most immediate relief provided by the Ghost Dance was a way for the Lak̇ō̄ta to reconnect with their relatives who recently passed into the spirit world. Since the number of deaths was escalating, the Ghost Dance provided a mechanism for the Lak̇ō̄ta community to grieve and heal.

The texts of the songs we reviewed, express grief for dead relatives and nostalgia for the not-so-distant past when Lak̇ō̄ta society was functional. Versions of these songs were documented by Mooney (1991:1066-1077), and he

interpreted them as descriptions of visions that dance participants experienced when they went into trance. Parker noted in her account of the Ghost Dance at White Clay Creek that in the introductory part of the dance the people scooped up dust from the ground and scattered it on themselves (Parker 1891:161). A similar ritual was practiced by warriors before going on a journey (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:18). Thus, the ceremony was regarded by the Lak̇ōta as a spiritual journey to the place where they could reconnect with their dead relatives and it also provided a mental escape from the harsh reality of reservation life.

Naturally, in times of crisis, the people would seek strength by remembering the near past when their life was in order. For the Lak̇ōta, the Ghost Dance was a spiritual journey into the world where their relatives had gone and now live happily. The next song refers to traditional meat drying and preparation of *wasna,* a meal of pounded dried meat, berries and fat. While it sounds similar to a dancer's spiritual experience, it could be interpreted as a prayer for food in times of famine. Described as *wiyaŋ wak̄ablap̄i olowaŋ* (women-making-jerky song) by our interpreters, this song was also used in the Ghost Dance (Cf. Mooney 1991:1067).

58.25 *Wanaġi Waċip̄i*

Mila	*k̄i*	*uŋ*	*leċi*	*auye,*
Knife	the	with	over.here	you.come

"Bring me the knife over here,"

Wawakablā kte.
I.flatten.meat will
"I will cut the meat flat."

Puze ki uŋ wasna wakaġe kte,
Dry then with.it wasna I.make will
"I will dry it and then make *wasna,"*

Uŋci heye k'uŋ.
Grandmother said.this the-past
"Grandmother has said this."

In pre-reservation life, the buffalo was the center of Lakota subsistence. It provided food, shelter, clothing, bedding, and everyday utensils. *Ate,* or father, is a reference to Wowoka, the prophet of the Ghost Dance, who promised the return of the buffalo if the people danced (Cf. Mooney 1991:1066). The return of the buffalo symbolizes a return to a prosperous life.

60.8 *Wanaġi Waći.* Fred Twin.

Wana mani ye,
Now walks <emphasis, female sp.>
"Now he is walking,"

Ṫaṫaŋka waŋ mani, ṫaṫaŋka waŋ mani ye,
Buffalo one walks buffalo one walks <emph., female sp.>
"The buffalo is walking,"

Ate heyelo.
Father said.this
"Father has said this."

In 1890, after the military was deployed to stop the Ghost Dances, and especially after the massacre at Wounded Knee, the Lak̇o̱ta took traditional practices such as medicine and ceremonies underground to preserve them. Lak̇o̱ta ceremonies, usually community-oriented, became a family matter, and were conducted in rooms without windows at night. Although among southern tribes the Ghost Dance persisted into the twentieth century, Macgregor (1946) does not mention its existence among the Lak̇o̱ta in the 1940's.

Songs of the Native American Church (Peyote Songs)

Peyotism was a successor of the Ghost Dance among the Lak̇o̱ta. On the Southern Plains, the ceremonial use of peyote was introduced to the Comanche, Kiowa, and Plains Apache around 1870 (Young 2001:1005), before it spread to other tribes. Peyotism developed into a Pan-Indian movement and, in 1918, was recognized by law as embodied in the Native American Church.

According to Feraca (1998:53), peyotism reached the Oglala and Sic̣aŋg̣u between 1910 and 1915. Rhodes documented that peyote was first brought to Pine Ridge around 1904 by Sam Lone Bear (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 1). The ritual involves the ingestion of *Lophophora williamsii*, a spineless cactus, known for its hallucinogenic qualities. Peyote is used as a

sacrament in the Native American Church, and the practitioners invoke the Peyote spirit to assist with people's needs.

The peyote religion has been described by Slotkin (1956), LaBarre (1975), and Stewart (1987). Recordings of peyote songs of various tribes, including Washo, Ponca, Cheyenne, and Yankton Sioux, were made in the 1970's. McAllester (1950) analyzed the genre of peyote music. Nettl (1953) studied the patterns of syllabic sequences in Plains peyote songs. A recent study by Davidson (1997) examines the survival and performance of peyote songs on the Southern Plains in the modern context.

Peyotism appears as an indigenized form of Christianity. Feraca delineates two divisions of Lakȱta peyote practitioners: Half Moon and Cross Fire. The Cross Fire division uses the Bible during its meetings. The sermons are preached and the texts are read (Feraca 1998:60). The other division incorporates Christian symbols but does not use the Bible. The following songs document the adoption of Christian concepts into peyote ceremonies. The biblical concepts of "God" *(Wakȧŋ Tȧŋka*), "Jesus," "sin," and "mercy" appear in the songs. Our interpreters commented that *uŋsimala,* in the context of traditional Lakȱta thought, means "I have a need," while in Christian thought it is translated as "have mercy" (Cutt et al. n.d.:68). The concept of Jesus blood washing the supplicant of his sins is also borrowed.

Furthermore, it is the higher spiritual life that is now in charge of the individual's life.

53.3. *Uŋkc̄ela Yut̄ap̄i Olowaŋ.* Joseph Sierra

Wak̇aŋ *Ṫaŋk̄a uŋs̈imalayo!*
Power Big have.mercy
"God, have mercy!"

Wak̇aŋ *Ṫaŋk̄a wowah̄tani* *mit̄awa*
Power Big weakness mine
"God, my sins"

Jesus *we* *teḣi* *k̄i* *uŋ* *mayujajayo!*
Jesus blood use the with wash.my
"Wash with Jesus' blood!"

Wani *wac̈iŋye!*
Live I.want
"I want to live!"

Peyote displaced the use of Lak̇ot̄a traditional medicinal plants. Peyote's use for the treatment of severe headaches in Rosebud in 1964 is documented by Paige (1970:162). Feraca noted that peyote is used to treat "everything from common cold to tuberculosis" (Feraca 1998:67). Vestal and Schultes documented that among the Kiowa peyote replaced many other plant remedies and was used as a universal medicine to treat various diseases and ailments including fever, tuberculosis, pneumonia, intestinal ills, rheumatic pains, cuts, and aching teeth (Vestal and Schultes 1939:43-45). The following song refers to the consumption of peyote and its healing powers.

The concept of the "road" is now employed to refer to life and health, and it also invokes the traditional concept of the "journey" of life.

54.6 *Uŋkc̄ela Yut̄ap̄i Olowaŋ*

Le	*uŋ*	*yani*	*k̄te.*
This with		you.live	live

"With this you will live."

Jesus	*c̓aŋk̄u*	*nic̓ag̓i*	*uŋ*	*yani*	*k̄te.*
Jesus	road	made	with	you.live	will

"With this Jesus made the road so you will live."

Peyote songs in the collections appeared to be sung in other languages than Lak̓ot̄a. Scholars have argued that peyote songs use vocables instead of words (Nettl 1953). However, it has been a common practice that when the songs are borrowed from tribes who speak other language, the original meaning of the words is eventually lost. Since peyote ceremonies are held by many tribes, they also share their songs with each other. Rhodes noted that some of the songs originated from the Bannock of Idaho and the Taos of New Mexico. A few peyote songs in language other than Lak̓ot̄a that appeared in Rhodes's fieldnotes were translated into English. However, his documentation is insufficient to interpret those songs and their origins, and the subject was beyond our project team's expertise. More research is needed to study the function and performance of peyote songs among the Lak̓ot̄a.

Summary

This chapter has analyzed how the virtue of wisdom is reflected in leadership and ceremonial songs. Leaders' songs express the parameters of the worldly wisdom, while ceremonial songs reveal what constitutes Lakȱta spiritual wisdom.

Wisdom in leadership means dedication to the people and working for their welfare. Wise leaders were considered those who were able to put community's interests before their personal interests. Their function was to ensure their community's social and political survival.

Spirituality, a force to be tapped by Lakȱta specialists, addressed overcoming of obstacles at the the spiritual level, which was generally perceived as impacting individual's health and the health of the community on the physical, mental, and spiritual levels. Songs are a vehicle of communication between the human and the spiritual worlds.

Leadership songs reinforce the status of the leader. They commemorate the leader's achievements in his service to the community. The ceremonial songs are a tool for the people to communicate with the creation. These songs bridge two planes of Lakȱta reality–the physical and the spiritual.

The songs selected for analysis reflect fundamental changes in Lakȱta society. While earlier songs depict achievement and personal autonomy, the

later songs depict hardship and demonstrate Lak̇o̱ta economic dependency on the US government. The development of ceremonial songs reflects the Lak̇o̱ta's increasing economic dependency. While traditional ceremonies still maintain the independence of the individual and his equality with the rest of the creation, the Lak̇o̱ta ceremonies that had evolved at the end of the nineteenth century showed the practitioner's dependence on the "higher power" to resolve the issues.

Lack of power is also exhibited in the later leadership songs. The ceremonial songs also show the centralization of power. While in traditional ceremonies the individual works with a variety of spirits, the peyote practitioners work with only one spiritual power which is in control of their lives. The development of the power theme in the songs shows the Lak̇o̱ta move from a self-sufficient diverse society to a dependent and centralized reservation life.

Chapter VIII. *"Waċeḳiyapi*: They Address All Creation as Relatives:" Songs, Language and Relationships in Laḳoṭa Society

When I started studying the Laḳoṭa language at Siŋṭe Gleśka University, we were introduced to the familial relationship terms *(waċeḳiyapi)* in the first classes. I felt strange at first as most of the students in that summer class were outsiders like me, who definitely had no blood relatives among the Laḳoṭa. Where would we use these words, I thought?

The concept of relatives and relationships is very important to Laḳoṭa people. In the pre-reservation times, settlements were formed on the basis of familial relations. The *ṭiyoṡpaye* camped and stayed together throughout most of the year, while in the summer time many family groups came together for communal buffalo hunts and ceremonies. Most contemporary reservation communities developed from the original *ṭiyoṡpaye* camps, and are named after the founding leader. For example, Milk's Camp, the easternmost Siċaŋġu community which today is outside of the boundaries of the Rosebud Reservation, is named after its leader Milk, and another community northwest of the town of Mission is named after its leader Ring Thunder.

I once called a Laḳoṭa anthropologist to inform her about the song project we were planning in the Laḳoṭa Studies Department. In her first

question, she asked my last name. When my last name sounded unfamiliar, she asked if I was "white, Indian, or married to an Indian." I said I was Lithuanian. Although I knew my country was within her geographical experience, it was insufficient to establish a connection between us at that time. The three categories of identity are echoed in White Hat's definition of the *tiyoṡpāye.* He writes: "The only ways to join a *tīyoṡpāye* are by blood, marriage, or adoption" (White Hat 1999:28). In this case, I did not satisfactorily respond to the real question: "What is my relationship to the Laḳōta community?" I was perceived as an unbelonging white graduate student who was shopping for informants and calling to interview her about Laḳōta culture. The conversation was short during which I never had the opportunity to tell her about our project.

In January of 2005, I was preparing a grant proposal for song translations. My advisor and I were invited to come to a meeting at the Laḳōta Studies Department. Driving more than 700 miles from Norman, Oklahoma, I did not know what to expect, and was prepared for the worst and for the best. At the meeting, we discussed our plans and expectations. A formal invitation was extended to me to work on their song project. Although I already knew the people personally, this meeting created a relationship between two educational institutions. After that, my work moved forward much faster.

These stories show that Laḳoṭa culture and identity are based on the process of weaving a network of relationships and social interactions. Each person and object is defined by its relationship with others. Thus relationship, as a connection between the participants in the culture based on their experience with each other, is the key expression as theorized by Geertz (1983:64-68) and Duranti (1997:342-343) that structures Laḳoṭa culture. Therefore, Laḳoṭa songs as a cultural document are not descriptive. Instead, the songs record relationships between individuals, individuals and society, individuals and the past, and human beings and spiritual entities. For this reason, the song texts abound in indexicals which provide a means to express relationships between objects in the contextual plane known to speaker and listener. In Vansina's terms, the song can be described as a mnemonic device that keeps the memory of a story by means of recording a framework of relationships and allows a reconstruction of the story within that framework.

Foster, in the study of a Comanche community, found that identity has persisted through social interactions while territory, language, and social structure have not been constant (Foster 1991:20). Creation of relationships is the basis of what Goffman called "face-work" (Goffman 1995:226) and serves to construct one's social self and the society. Songs also serve to construct and perpetuate these relationships, and thus ongoing social interaction. They

also indicate which relationships existed in Lak̇o̱ta culture and which were most meaningful and enduring.

Indexicals in the songs help weave relationships and establish the closeness between speaker and listener. Hanks (1999:124) noted that indexicals "encode relations between objects and contexts" and thus they alone cannot provide the key to their interpretation (Duranti 1997:352). Connecting linguistic tokens with physical space and the temporal plane in a meaningful way requires knowledge of the types of relationships that exist in the culture. Thus, the indexicals create and reinforce the relationship between speaker and listener who know the context. They also protect people's privacy, since listeners unfamiliar with the context are eliminated from the relationship.

Since pre-reservation times, the Lak̇o̱ta have had the ability to maintain personal privacy even where many people shared the same space with no physical separation, such as walls. Deloria describes the sleeping arrangements in a Lak̇o̱ta house where her brother stayed. Ten people, males and females, slept in one large room. The beds were arranged in a way that there was no direct visibility from bed to bed and the timing of going to bed was managed so perfectly that no one's personal space was violated (Deloria 1932).

Space was also maintained by means of social rules and language. Even today, in situations where the physical space between a person and his/her in-laws cannot be maintained and communication is required, the Lak̇o̱ta find ways to maintain the separation. For example, the mother-in-law would not discuss marital issues regarding her son with her daughter-in-law (MacGregor 1946), and might relay an important message to her son-in-law through a third party, could even be a cat (White Hat 1999:139). Thus, relationships become markers of linguistic space and social boundaries.

Scollon and Scollon (1981:115) noted that an Athabaskan storyteller evaluates the listener, and shapes the story in a way that it would be understood by the listener. Lord (1964:16-17) mentions that a singer develops his song based on the audience's responsiveness. For example, he may curtail the song if he senses lack of interest from the listeners. This suggests that the text is not valued as much for its contents as for its ability to express and create a relationship between speaker and listener.

This notion also applies to the phenomenon of cultural marketing that I noticed while working on the reservation. The speaker is not as concerned about the content of the conversation as with establishing a relationship with the visitor. I remember a few conversations with Lak̇o̱ta people that confused me at the time and resulted in their disappointment with my reaction to the conversation. I later understood that I was

approached as a typical spiritual tourist. The speaker had tried to create a relationship with me in the context of that stereotype. Since this was a context I could not relate to, the conversation would leave both of us confused and disappointed that we were unable to establish a relationship.

The abundance of indexicals in the songs allows them to survive through history and maintain their function despite culture change. In this situation, it is the cultural and historical context that changes, while the song remains the same. Its new performance establishes a relationship between the song and the new context to which it refers.

The following song is an example of an entire phrase becoming an indexical marker. The song was originally described by our interpreters as a song of encouragement that a wounded man gives to his comrades. The actors and names in the song are interchangeable. The speaker *(Śuŋgmanītu Haŋskā)* tells the addressee *(Śk̄ata hokṡila*) to have the courage to replace him in this difficulty or battle.

53.14 *Zuya Olowaŋ*. Dana Long Wolf.

He	*śk̄ata*	*hokṡila*	*blihic'iyapo!*
That	circus	boys	take.courage!

"Circus boys, take courage!"

He	*miye*	*tk̄a*	*he*	*iyotiye*	*k̄iya*	*muŋk̄elo.*
That	me	almost	that	difficulty	way	I.am.lying

"I am having a difficult time lying in that manner."

He heya k̄eyap̄elo.
That Coyote Long has.said.this they.said
“They said Long Coyote said this.”

Ṫeh̀iya muŋk̄elo.
Difficult.time I.am.lying
“In difficulty, I am lying.”

The singer explained to Rhodes that the song refers to his experience working in the Wild West shows. In 1888, he went to London with Buffalo Bill’s show on a two year contract. Then, he returned and worked in John Robinson’s show and later for the Ringling Brothers Circus. While working for the former show in 1935, the singer broke his ankle as he ran against horses and stayed in the hospital for four years (Rhodes, fieldnotes, Notebook 2).

In his fieldnotes, Rhodes presents another version of the same song where an additional line was inserted between the second and the third lines:

Ok̄uje ot̄i el
Sick house there
“At the hospital”

In the recording, the singer omits the location detail, “at the hospital,” and continues singing about hardship as in one of the earlier *zuya* songs. *He iyot̄iye k̄iya muŋk̄elo*, “I am lying and suffering,” is a formula common in these songs and it was interpreted as “somebody was wounded or injured.” Thus, the entire phrase becomes an indexical formula of the difficulty that the individual is undergoing during his journey. In pre-reservation culture,

the phrase most likely referred to a warrior going to battle and getting wounded. While encouraging others to go on, the warrior admits that he has fallen. In the later context, the formulas acquire a different meaning. For a Wild West Show actor, it refers to injury and spending time in the hospital. Yet in a World War I song, the phrase might have acquired the meaning of a soldier wounded in battle. Thus, the omission of the specific location detail, *okūje otī el*, although the singer did give it to Rhodes, shows that the phrase would not be needed to create a relationship with his Lak̇ōta listeners who were familiar with the context. However, this detail served as an explanation to Rhodes as an outsider.

Songs and Relationships

One summer day in 2007, we were working with Albert White Hat on *Akic̣ita* texts. I had recently gone home to Lithuania, and I shared with him my experience of Lithuanian group Obtest acoustic show in Vilnius. As I was listening to their songs, which were sung only in Lithuanian, I remembered their performance in Rosebud earlier that year. All of the sudden, I realized that if the listener does not speak the language, he/she will never experience the depth of these songs. When one speaks the language and understands the lyrics, a vast picture comes alive with the history, the culture, the past, the present, and the future; the ancestors, the castles, and the hills; and, love, courage, power… When you speak the language, the song has the power to

invoke this cultural context which starts pulsating in your veins. If one doesn't understand it, not even the best translations will help.

White Hat shared a story of his own song experience. As a northern traditional dancer in the Golden Age category, he competed at a powwow at the Shakopee Casino in Minnesota. Many dancers participated. Twelve were selected to continue the competition. Then, three were selected for the final competition. He was the only Golden Age dancer among them and, thus, he was the oldest one.

Competition dancing is a hard physical exercise. White Hat was tired. There was one southern traditional dancer and another northern dancer. When the singers started another song, the words brought the strength within him and he started dancing. The words were so powerful that White Hat remembers feeling a second breath. He won first place. Later, a medicine man, who sat in the audience close to the arena, commented on the spiritual experience of White Hat's dance. Other Golden Age dancers thanked him for excellent representation of their group. White Hat maintains that because the words of the song awakened the power within him, he won first place (Cutt et al. n.d.: 270).

These stories show that a song is an experience in and of itself. Songs establish an area of common knowledge and create relationships through that shared knowledge. Songs can be a powerful link between individuals

and collective past experiences which give the courage and strength to overcome challenges in contemporary society. Language is crucial in forming these types of linkages.

Relationships are created and re-created every day with every new social activity. A major function of Lak̇o̱ta songs is to create and reinforce relationships. The most descriptive songs recount individual achievement *(waḵtegli* and *ak̇iċi̱ta),* but even these songs contain many deictic references.

Some songs sung in an individual's honor, such as *waḵtegli,* served to present a recently completed action in public. This action essentially signals the re-establishment of a relationship with the community. The announcement that an individual has done something for the people equals giving a gift to the community, and ensures further support for the person's actions. In addition, the announcement is naturally followed by a feast and a giveaway by the honored person's family.

Through his completion of the journey, the male establishes a relationship with the community as an adult. Honorings and giveaways commemorate one's achievement and the establishment of a new relationship with the community. It also signifies the community's approval of his achievement and his acceptance as a new, more aged, and more mature, person.

Other songs, particularly those of the bravery complex, addressed several types of relationships. *Ozuye olowaŋ* and some *ic'ilowaŋ* re-established a supportive relationship with the spiritual world, other society members, and even with one's own self. *Wakȟegli olowaŋ* could describe a personal relationship with an enemy. For example, such a song presents a historic battle with Custer in a very personal light by addressing him directly. *Oṡkaȟe olowaŋ* re-affirmed the relationship between the traveler and the companion. Leaders' songs, which I analyze in several chapters depending on the specific virtue represented (pp. 176-178 and 183-191), reflect their responsibility to maintain relationships within the community and create and maintain international relations. Thus, those songs reaffirm the leader's relationship of responsibility with a large group of people. The leader's effectiveness depended on his ability to maintain these relationships through political shrewdness.

Paige has noted that Laḳoȟta love songs are pragmatic. They summon the lover rather than praise him or her (Paige 1970:66). Two songs in our collections did praise the lover, but even that praise can be regarded as rhetoric for pragmatic purposes. Most love songs, including both *wioyuṡȟe olowaŋ* and *maṡtiŋčala olowaŋ,* fall into two groups. They either create a relationship between two people (*Anaȟkiḣma ye,* "hide me") or break the relationship (*Iȟowaȟpi ki miču we!,* "Give me my picture back!").

Songs may be used as a means of communication between two people. It has been pointed out to me that lovers communicated through songs in public (Cutt et al. n.d.:170). At a time when strict chaperonage protected young girls from male attention in public, and when a member of a couple in an arranged marriage secretly loved another, love songs served as a way to create or reinforce a relationship between two people that was otherwise forbidden. The term *ṡic'eṡi*, "brother-in-law," as indicated by the interpreters, may acquire the status of *shifter*, when it is used to conceal the individual's identity which is known to both speaker and listener. Thus, these songs reflect what Goffman has called "hinted communication" (Goffman 1955:236-237), and served to protect the people from losing their reputation in public.

Also, love songs may be used to attack one's reputation. For example, a young man who sings about a widow who gave him a pair of moccasins causes embarrassment to the woman by revealing a relationship that was created. Such songs admonish the individual who tries to create a relationship that violates social rules.

Songs addressing generosity reflect a relationship that is rooted in the creation story. The creation story delineates the relationships that are vital to the livelihood of the culture and people. The practice of generosity embodies the relationship that is indeed vital to the survival of Laḳoṫa as a people: sharing and providing for each other to insure that everybody's needs are

met. This applies especially to the elderly left without a provider. Therefore, despite the fervent attempts by BIA agents and missionaries to end traditional expressions of generosity, it has survived to this day. Along with traditional spirituality, generosity is the practice that reflects one of the central tenets of Lakȱta philosophy, *mīt̄akūye oyas'iŋ*, "all my relatives."

Ceremonial songs establish a relationship with the creation. It is the most formalized relationship of all and, in some cases, requires a medium, an *iyeskȧ,* or an "interpreter," as a general term used for a medicine man or specialist. Ceremonies have a strict order of performance. W. Powers lists seven segments of a *yuwipī* ceremony (W. Powers 1986:75-76). I could roughly distinguish four main parts of ceremonies as being the calling of the spirits, informing them of participants' needs, thanking them, and sending them back to their world. The songs have to be sung in proper order so that they address all these functions.

The ceremony establishes a support system among participants and it also extends the relationship into the spirit world. Among the Lakȱta, it is unacceptable to complain of one's hardships in everyday conversation. The ceremony is the place where people articulate their needs, usually through another person. Similar rules also apply to the articulation of one's accomplishments.

When the Lak̇o̱ta originally adopted the Ghost Dance, their lives were changing very rapidly. Relatives were dying from starvation and disease, and people were not ready to let go of those relationships. They sought ways to be with their relatives and to relive their lives in the immediate past when food was abundant and their society functioned effectively in an effort to return to the period of prosperity by way of vision. The Ghost Dance provided a way to prolong those relationships by ritual means by way of vision. Physically, the relationships had been broken, but on the mental and spiritual level, they continued.

The peyote ceremonies also provided a means for this spiritual reunion with the past. It also established people's relationship with Christianity and a new way of life through the spiritual experience. The Native American Church songs reflect a very personal relationship of the participant with God and Jesus through the spirit of peyote:

53.2 *Uŋkc̄ela Yut̄ap̄i Olowaŋ.* Joseph Sierra

Jesus uŋs̱imala, wani wac̱iŋ!
Jesus have.mercy, live I.want
"Jesus have mercy, I want to live!"

The references to the "sacred" language attempt to show a separate register of Lak̇o̱ta used for ceremonial purposes (W. Powers 1986). On the reservation, I have also heard comments that the medicine men use a "different" version of Lak̇o̱ta. Neither I nor the speakers I consulted noticed

significant lexical or grammatical differences between the spiritual leaders' Laḱōta and the "regular" language. Rather, it seems that such statements refer to the relationship between the text and the context of the language that is used in a ceremony.

The same *shifters* in secular and ceremonial songs invoke a different context. For example, the word *ḱola* means "friend" and is used by a male to refer to a male friend. It implies a special type of support relationship. In the pre-reservation period, if a man was wounded in battle, it was the job of his *ḱola* to rescue him (White Hat 1999:18). In the song texts, in *ak̄ic̣īta olowaŋ ḱola* may refer to such a comrade in battle (51.8), while in a ceremonial song, *ḱola* is used to address a spirit relative (54.4).

Establishing a relationship, whether spiritual or physical, or both, has its rewards, which are exhibited in the participants' health and welfare. A new relationship *(huŋk̄a)* expands the support system and the circle of individuals who can be trusted and relied upon in times of need. A giveaway reinforces existing relationships among community members and creates relationships of reciprocity between the participants in the event. At a giveaway, a family shows respect to the elders by giving them valuable gifts. The elders, in turn, will support that family in social and political life. Families honored with gifts at the giveaway will reciprocate by giving gifts when it is their turn to sponsor a giveaway.

It is no secret that working in a small community requires anthropologists to create relationships as well. Anthropologists often establish those relationships through adoption into a family (Kan 2001). Rhodes was given the Lak̇o̱ta name Good Road. He reinforced his relationship with the community by sponsoring a feast and a giveaway (song no. 58.20).

Levi-Strauss (1963c) theorized the relationships between binary oppositions in the interpretation of mythical texts. Songs create a relationship between text and context with the text referring to context and the context being an inseparable part of the text. Thus, the song text resembles the principles of rock art, which records events by using visual symbols to represent the actors and the relationships between them. A qualified interpreter for such a petroglyph or song text would be a person who is familiar with the context and the types of relationships that exist within that context. However, if the specific context is outside interpreter's experience but within the cultural domain, the person would still be able to interpret it by relating it to an experience he/she has had within that cultural domain. Thus, the reconstructed story would interpret the relationship between the elements of the story, rather than the story itself, but might still present a valid interpretation within the cultural domain.

Our translations are based on the interpreters' experiences. Our interpreters created a relationship with me through formal classes and casual conversations. Then, as I worked alongside the interpreters, they created a relationship with the text and context to which the songs refer. The translations, and especially the interpretation of texts, reflect how they experience their culture. Since many of the recordings were made before some of the interpreters were born, and thus contain language to which they might not have been exposed, they sometimes had to do additional research. When it took time to situate a particular issue in their experience, its eventual resolution reflected the interpreters' relationship with the issue. Therefore, the translations that were produced in the course of our project are unique in the sense that they show a Lak̇ōta speaker's relationship to Lak̇ōta text, culture, and historical context. However, we are aware that these interpretations are limited to the relationships of certain Lak̇ōta individuals and their families. Therefore, we maintain that many other interpretations reflecting other relationships and their recombinations of relationships are possible, even within the same community. Our project team does expect that educational institutions will use the material to generate more research and more dialogue within the community. Such work will contribute to the multivocality of the Lak̇ōta language and empowerment of various families.

Relationships and Contemporary Life

The understanding of relationships as a key concept in Lakȱta culture has implications for the interpretation of contemporary social issues. When people have not reconciled themselves to loss, for example, the passing of the old way of life or the loss of a relative, they enter a grieving process. Lakȱta historical trauma and the process of grieving have been studied by Brave Heart (2003). As the individual tries to deal with loss, he/she experiences anger and forms the impression that life is out of balance. These experiences render the individual susceptible to alcohol and drugs. Alcohol brings a feeling of well-being under which the individual starts reaffirming his or her native language and identity. It has been observed that some Native drinkers have maintained their language to a greater extent than some non-drinkers. The explanation for this phenomenon is that the use of alcohol allows the people to free their minds of the fear of their own language and culture inspired by the assimilation policies. Assimilation policies employed prohibition and fear as tools of control (Biolsi 1995). The strategies of the education system, including corporal punishment for speaking a Native language, implanted a control mechanism in the people's minds. The boarding school generation did not teach Lakȱta to their children (Whirlwind Soldier 1993) nor did they want them to participate in

traditional culture. Thus, education was used as a means to disrupt the close relationship between the individual and his/her language and culture.

Today, Laḳoṯa language decline impedes the function of songs in the creation and reinforcement of relationships. In the Laḳoṯa case, language has become a marker of generations in that Laḳoṯa language use, for the most part, visibly separates the younger and the older generations. Most fluent Laḳoṯa speakers in Rosebud are over forty-five. Therefore, young people cannot respond to songs as do their Laḳoṯa-speaking elders. In some cases, the use of Laḳoṯa in the public domain may even exclude young people's participation.

The knowledge of the elders or, rather, young people's loss of access to it, results in disrupted relationships between the generations and among families. Instead of mending old relationships, people seek to compensate for them by creating new ones, which may result in turning to alcohol and/or drug abuse. Thus, these broken relationships in the family are replaced by new ones in peer groups, where the members of the group share the same kind of loss. Members of such groups have the common goal engaging in a grieving process to address the loss of traditional relationships with the group's involvement in self-destructive alternatives.

Alcohol and drugs provide strategies to escape reality while creating and maintaining social relationships. Alcohol lessens fearfulness resulting in

people getting in fights to act out their anger. Drugs provide a sedative that enables people to deal with fear and anger, and hallucinogens provide a means for them to live out the relationships that are physically broken. Drug use creates new and stronger relationships because the activity involves illegal materials, and encourages bonding among fellow participants.

The loss or interruption of the inter-generational relationships also inhibits the process of transmission of language and culture. In the contemporary period, Lak̇o̱ta do receive many outside visitors on their reservations. Guests easily establish the relationships with culturally knowledgeable elders. They are interested in learning traditional stories and the Lak̇o̱ta language. They participate in certain ceremonies. During summers, the sweat lodges are crowded with visitors.

During my stay on the reservation, I heard several local young people observe that the same elders who share their language and ceremonies so willingly with the outsiders, do not make as much effort to teach their language and culture to their own youth, including family members. In turn, an elder once lamented that the younger generation does not know how to ask to apprentice to access traditional knowledge or practices. Due to the discontinuation of a formal procedure or the loss of a relationship with an elder, Native youth often feel reserved about their culture and seek to create new alternatives. Outsiders, however, who easily establish their

relationships and rights as guests of the community, often have privileged access to certain types of knowledge and experience. The invitation I received from the Lak̇o̱ta Studies Department to work on this song project was one such example of a privileged gift bestowed upon me.

Therefore, an important focus of the efforts of Lak̇o̱ta language revitalization programs is the re-establishment of relationships between individuals, and among families and communities. These relationships not only open doors to communication, but they assist the community in making improvements.

In comparison with European language teaching methodologies, Lak̇o̱ta language pedagogy at Siŋ̱te Gles̱ka University contains relatively little lexical material. As I noted earlier, among the first topics covered in language courses are the familial relationship terms. The history of the Lak̇o̱ta language and culture, including the banning of the language at the end of the nineteenth century and its recent revitalization, are also components of the introductory classes. Some homework assignments, such as creation of Lak̇o̱ta sentences on a particular topic, motivate students to seek help from Lak̇o̱ta speakers outside the classroom.

Mastering the Lak̇o̱ta language learning is more than learning of words, phrases, and grammatical structures. My suggestion from my own language learning experience, that memorization is a key technique, did not

have appeal at Rosebud. I noticed that Lak̇ōta language learning was first and foremost directed at the recreation of relationships in the speech community. Language teaching experience from other tribes also emphasizes the importance of relationships. Blackfoot educator Darrell Kipp has noted that the Native model of language teaching "acknowledges the importance of building relationships within our communities, with our environment, and with other cultures" (quoted in Nee-Benham and Cooper 2000:19-20). In California, creation of a relationship through language is important in the master-apprentice model which often features participation of relatives of several generations, such as a grandparent and a grandchild (Hinton 1994:237-240; Hinton 2001:223-224; Supahan and Supahan 2001:197).

Lak̇ōta language teaching on the reservation visibly aims at recreating the relationships in and with the community first. I observed and participated in the creation of relationships between learner and language, learner and other learners, learner and fluent speakers of the language, and learner and culture. The creation of relationships, which starts with the understanding of and grieving over the historical situation, opens the door to the next levels of language learning, such as developing lexical and grammatical competence.

I created a strong bond with the women who helped me with my homework exercises. We always exchanged Lak̇ōta greetings afterwards.

They took every opportunity to encourage me to develop my lexical resources so we could communicate in Lak̇o̱ta. Warm and lasting friendships also developed among classmates. After all, we did practice the Lak̇o̱ta relative address terms with each other!

Which songs can best withstand the test of time in oral culture? In my work, I found that the songs that do survive usually refer to the contexts that remain important to the people (e.g., the historic victory at the Battle of Little Bighorn). Or, they have a flexible form, which includes highly indexical texts that can be used to refer to changing contexts. When the singers were selecting songs for re-recording, I noticed that the decisions to include a particular song were often made on the basis of its appeal to contemporary life. "They still do that today," the singers would say after listening to a song. They wanted the listeners to be able to relate to the social practices or ways of communication expressed in the song. If people are able to relate to the songs, they should enjoy popularity and open doors for more relationships with the language and culture.

Chapter IX. Conclusions

This study attempted to show the ways in which Lak̇o̱ta songs document culture. The ethnography of songs revealed Lak̇o̱ta culture as a system of relationships. Songs encode those relationships. Song translations reflected the relationships between Lak̇o̱ta speakers and Lak̇o̱ta culture through language. The translations relied on a series of relationships: between interpreters and the language, interpreters and the culture, interpreters and the songs and singers, and finally, between the interpreters and me, the "secretary."

There is no doubt that the study also reflects my relationship with Lak̇o̱ta language, culture, history, and community. The study has been filtered through the lens of my understanding and experience. Therefore, only those aspects and themes of Lak̇o̱ta culture that I was able to situate within the range of my experience became a part of the study. This work, as much as I can claim it to be a document of Lak̇o̱ta culture, also documents my journey to greater knowledge and the creation of relationships. In addition, I quoted the entire text of the songs in order to allow the reader to develop his/her own relationship with the songs and to encourage the reader to create a relationship with Lak̇o̱ta culture through that text.

My research offers contributions to the areas of cultural and linguistic anthropology and Native American Studies. It also has implications for

language revitalization, language teaching methodologies, and ethnomusicological research. The analysis of the songs will contribute to our understanding of connections between language and culture. They encode relationships between text and context and demonstrate that intertextuality is a major creative force in Lak̇o̱ta culture. Interpretation of the text depends on how well the context is known, and on the relationship that the interpreter establishes with the text. A high degree of indexicality of the text allows one the opportunity to create and recreate context and, thus, culture through relationships. In the end, it is the relationships that matter. The context can be re-created as long as the relationships exist.

This research also advances in methodologies of collaboration in ethnography. Throughout our project, the meanings and relationships were created by the Native people. Thus, they were in control of creating their own ethnography and ethnohistory according to their epistemological laws and rules.

My dissertation will contribute to Native American Studies and studies of oral cultures in general by suggesting songs as texts representing the Native perspective. It presents oral tradition as a cultural record and thus, contributes to our understanding of alternative ways of knowing. In addition, it demonstrates the value of a song text to ethnomusicology.

My model of Lak̇o̱ta culture as a system of relationships explains the diversity that exists in Lak̇o̱ta culture. There are many opinions on the same historical event just as there are many ways to express the same idea linguistically. Native documentation, including the visual, such as rock art, and the verbal, such as songs, by recording relationships rather than just description, allow for flexibility and diversity of opinion and the adaptation of the interpretation to the present. Thus, juxtaposition of relationships with verbal description offers a deeper insight into our understanding of Native American verbal and visual art.

The system of relationships that exist in the culture is familiar to the people who grew up in it or have lived in it for a long time. Language and songs are tools to create new relationships or reinforce existing ones. Lak̇o̱ta have a song for every occasion. In other words, they have a song for any type of relationship that occurs in their culture.

The project will preserve the song texts of the early twentieth century as a tool for further linguistic study and language teaching. It also redefines the meanings of Lak̇o̱ta text by offering translations by fluent bilingual Lak̇o̱ta speakers at the morphemic level as well as larger contextual interpretations. The study raises the issue of importance of recreating of relationships in the community as part of language teaching as well as focusing on meanings created by fluent native speakers of the language.

Our project attempted to bring the old songs back to the community. This work faces the challenge that some of the experiences, modes of linguistic expression, and social behaviors have significantly changed since 1940 when the recordings were completed. The style of songs, their texts, and whether people would be able to use them today and to relate to them were key factors in choosing the songs for re-recording. We still have to consider the principles of the oral tradition: the stories that maintain significance in the present are used and remembered, or that are recreated with new elements and meanings added so that they still relate to the new and changing social present.

There has been much interest in the re-recordings that have already been released. The demonstration compact disk of *Maš̄tiŋc̄ala Olowaŋ* was released in March 2007 and a limited edition of pre-production *Aḳic̣īta Olowaŋ* was presented to the community on the radio in November of 2007. Both compact disks have enjoyed popularity on the local radio station where one could hear at least one song from our recordings per day. However, the supply of Native American music has been increasing. Our recordings will face competition from other drum groups and popular music. So far, the people who still know the Laḳōta language have been enjoying these songs because “they have words.” However, there has been a trend in which young Laḳōta singers would sing traditional songs using the English text. Whether

the re-recordings would appeal to the younger generation, many of whom do not longer speak the language, and what meanings they would have for non-speakers, only time will tell.

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Appedix I. Pronunciation Guide

Vowels

Lak̇o̱ta has five oral vowels and three nasal vowels.

a – as in f**a**ther;
e – as in th**e**;
i – as in mach**i**ne;
o – as in **au**tumn;
u – as in b**oo**t.

Nasal vowels, aŋ, iŋ, uŋ

Ŋ next to vowels a, i, u, indicates their nasalization, which means that they are pronounced with a lowered velum so the air escapes through the nose and creates the sounds of "an," "in," and "un." In front of bilabial consonants "b" and "p" nasalization creates the sounds of "am," "im," and "um," but in the spelling, "ŋ" is used, e.g. *waŋbli*, pronounced as [*wambli*]. Vowels following the consonants "m" and "n" are pronounced as nasal vowels, but this quality is not indicated in the spelling.

Consonants

Glottal consonants are articulated with a friction in the glottis.

Glottal stops are pronounced separately from the vowel that is following.

The air is completely stopped at the glottis.

Aspirated consonants are pronounced with a slight puff of air.

b – as in **b**oy
c̣ - as in **ch**urch
c̄ - between 'ch' as in **ch**urch and 'j' as in **j**aw

c’ – glottal stop
g – as in **g**ood
g̈- glottal voiced [h]
h – as in German *na**ch***
ḧ - as in German *na**ch***, but glottalized
ḧ’ – glottal stop
j – as in fu**s**ion
k̄ – unaspirated, between [k] and [g]
k – aspirated, as in **c**at
k̈ - glottal ‘k’
k’ – glottal stop
l – as in **l**ight
m – as in **m**other
n – as in **n**one
p̄ - unaspirated, between [p] and [b]
p – aspirated, as in **p**in
p̈ - glottal ‘p’
p’ – glottal stop
s – as in **s**un
s’ – glottal stop
s̈ - as in **sh**all
s̈’ – glottal stop
t̄ - unaspirated, between [t] and [d]
t – aspirated, as in **t**in
ẗ - glottal ‘t’
t’ – glottal stop
w – as in **w**ood
y – as in **y**ellow
z – as in **z**ero

Appendix II. Song Titles

Akiciŋa Olowaŋ – Veteran Song (modern context)

Caŋte T'iŋza Olowaŋ – Brave Heart Society Song

Haŋ Waciŋpi Olowaŋ – Night Dance Song

Huŋka Lowaŋpi – Huŋka (adoption) Ceremony Song ("They sing for a relative")

Ic'ilowaŋ – Personal Song

Iki Iyaŋka Olowaŋ – Horse-racing Song

Iwakiciŋpi – Honoring Dance, also known as Victory Dance

Kamiŋe Olowaŋ – Committee Honoring Song

Mastiŋcala Olowaŋ – Rabbit Dance Song

Mato Pejuta Wicak'u Olowaŋ – Giving-Bear-Medicine Song.

Mato Wapiya Olowaŋ – Bear Doctoring Song

Mazasala Olowaŋ – Penny Song

Miwatani Olowaŋ – Mandan Society Song

Nige Taŋkiyaŋ Olowaŋ – Big Belly Society Song, also, *Ska Yuha Olowaŋ*

Omaha Olowaŋ – Omaha Song

Oskate Olowaŋ – Journey Song, refers to a journey for entertainment purposes

Ozuye Olowaŋ – Journey Song, may refer to a war expedition or educational journey in the pre-reservation times; sometimes translated as "war" or "war party" song

Sḱa Yuha Olowaŋ – see *Nigė Ṫaŋḳiyaŋ Olowaŋ*

Śuŋḳaḣ Olowaŋ – Courting Song

Ṫaṫaŋḳa Olowaŋ – Buffalo Song

Ṫoḳala Olowaŋ – Kit Fox Society Song

Ṫuŋweya Olowaŋ – Scout Song

Uŋkc̄ela Yut̄apȧi Olowaŋ – Peyote Song ("Cactus eating song")

Wablenic̄a Odowaŋ – "Orphan" Song

Wakt̄egli Olowaŋ – Honoring Dance Song ("Kill-and-Came-Home Song)

Waḳaŋ Olowaŋ – Personal Medicine Song

Wanagi Wac̣ipȧi – Ghost Dance Song

Wawoḳiya Olowaŋ – Honoring Song for a person who helps others (e.g., held a giveaway)

Wayawa Olowaŋ – School Song

Wic̣aśa Iṫaŋc̣aŋ Ṫalowaŋ – Honoring Song for the Leader

Wiḣpeyapȧi – Giveaway Song

Wioyust̄e Olowaŋ – Love Song, ("Woman-Liking-Song), interchangeable with *Wioyusp̄e Olowaŋ*

Wioyusp̄e Olowaŋ – Love Song, ("Woman-Catching-Song")

Wokīksuye Olowaŋ – Memorial Song

Woyuonihaŋ Olowaŋ – Honoring Song

Yuwipī Olowaŋ – *Yuwipī* ceremony song