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CÁUIGÚ PÒLÁ:YÒP : KIOWA RABBIT SONGS USE IN LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

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CÁUIGÚ PÒLÁ:YÒP: KIOWA RABBIT SONGS USE IN LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

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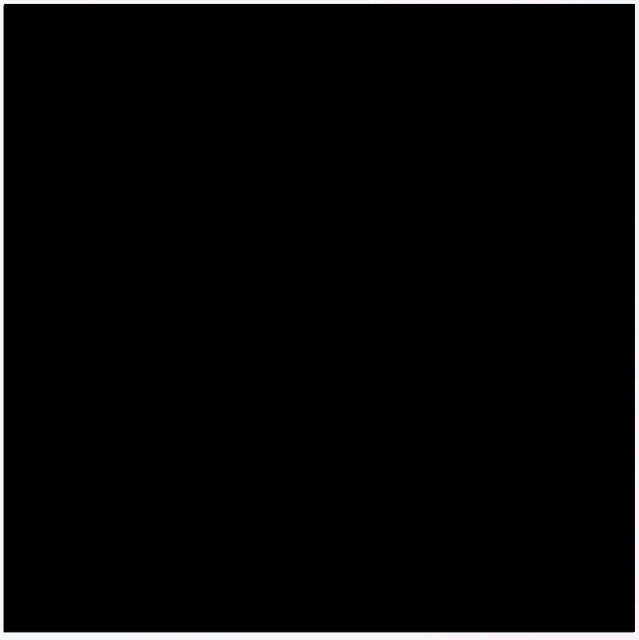

This research is dedicated to all of my big sisters, big brothers, grandmothers and grandfathers, who if it was not for them, I would not be the person I am today.

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Several Kiowa tribal members and community organizations were a part of my understanding of Pòlá:yì: (Rabbit) songs in the Kiowa community. I will forever be grateful to my late Grandparents George Sr. and Marjorie Tah-bone, who served as the Grandpa and Grandma Rabbit for the Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie, OK as long as I can remember. I will always cherish their kind memories and lifelong teachings of Kiowa traditions. It is to these two inspirational individuals I dedicate my work with rabbit songs. I am also thankful to Dane Poolaw and Carole Willis at the University of Oklahoma for their supportive suggestions and resources on Kiowa songs.

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Becoming Warriors

1.1 Introduction

Song and music play an integral part in the development of a person's culture. Children grow up hearing lullabies and melodies from the day they are born not knowing that they are undergoing development of habitus. A child born in the 20th century heard tunes such as *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star* and *Pop Goes the Weasel*. These two samples of songs possess a deep musical history and their origin roots are unknown. These tunes are etched into a person's mental musical library, which will have a profound influence upon childhood memories and formulate cultural worldviews. In the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, songs exist primarily for the reason of creating a tribal habitus for children. Kiowa children begin to formulate their habitus, or way of being in the world through active childhood participation in what is called a Rabbit Society. The Rabbit Society historically was the first warrior society in a hierarchy of the old-style Kiowa warrior societies, exclusively for boys. Today this cultural institution has evolved into a unique traditional song and dance sub-organization for boys and girls, ages newborn to around 12 years old. The dance has become closely associated with the annual Kiowa Gourd Dance ceremonials held in southwestern Oklahoma during the month of July. Each year, the Rabbit members dress in their traditional Kiowa clothing and participate by dancing to their own songs and stories, a vital part of the Kiowa identity.

Kiowa people prefer to self-identify with their tribal name *Cáuigú* meaning 'principal people' rather than the name "Kiowa", a name that was given by neighboring tribes, and it is for that reason Cáuigú will be the term used for Kiowa people in this paper. In that regard *Cáuijo̲gà* will be the term referencing their language. In Cáuijo̲gà, the word for rabbit is spoken as *Pòlá:yì*: (singular) and *Pòlá:yòp* (plural). For the purposes of this paper Pòlá:yì:, Pòlá:yòp, Cáuijo̲gà and other introduced Cáuigú terms will be given using an orthography developed by the late Parker McKenzie and Dr. Gus Palmer Jr.

This thesis intensively explores Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs using language socialization theory as the background for producing greater understanding in regards to the development of habitus through the expansion and application of the songs. The main phenomenon I will investigate is what is learned through the performance of Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs still in existence today and the how can Pòlá:yì: Society songs be used in practical application for second language acquisition in hopes of revitalizing the language.

1.2 Cáuijo̲gà (Kiowa Language)

Cáuigú is a tribe from the North American plains region, whose language is a possible unique branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family. Tanoan refers to the pueblo people of northern New Mexico and Arizona. Most the knowledge regarding the early origins of Cáuigú and their tribal history began through a Smithsonian anthropologist named James Mooney and his publication of *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (1898). According to Mooney, the Cáuigú

lived in the Missouri River region around the year 1700, traveled east towards the Black Hills of South Dakota and eventually moved southward towards the Arkansas and Red River valleys. According to Cáuigú tribal oral tradition, the tribe once lived in the headwaters of the Yellowstone Mountains, in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. During the 1800s, the tribe began its migration east into the open plains and acquiring horses from the Spanish, who were colonizing parts of Mexico and the greater southwestern portion of North America during this time. While Cáuigú always hunted buffalo, the acquisition of horse made it easier for the tribe to travel, live and follow migrating herds. This nomadic lifestyle of following buffalo herds meant encounters with other plains tribes and forming alliances when needed in order to retain economic resources. Cáuigú continued to move south, fighting for territory and hunting grounds against neighboring tribes. According to James Mooney in 1828 Cáuigú territory covered parts of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas and Colorado.

After decades of fighting against other tribes and eventually fighting against white settlers for economic resources, Cáuigú were forced to settle into their present reservation area by the United States government in 1867 with forced signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. Cáuigú people continue to share their reservation lands with the Comanche and Apache tribes in southwestern Oklahoma. Since the establishment of the reservation, the tribe has undergone many federal Indian policies such as the Dawes Allotment Act, federal education and assimilation, relocation and termination. The center of the Cáuigú world covers three Oklahoma counties: Kiowa, Caddo and Comanche. Due to the

Jerome Commission of 1901, the tribe no longer possesses a communal reservation and the majority of its members inhabit their former reservation area in small rural towns and communities near family allotments and tribal program offices highlighted in Figure 1.

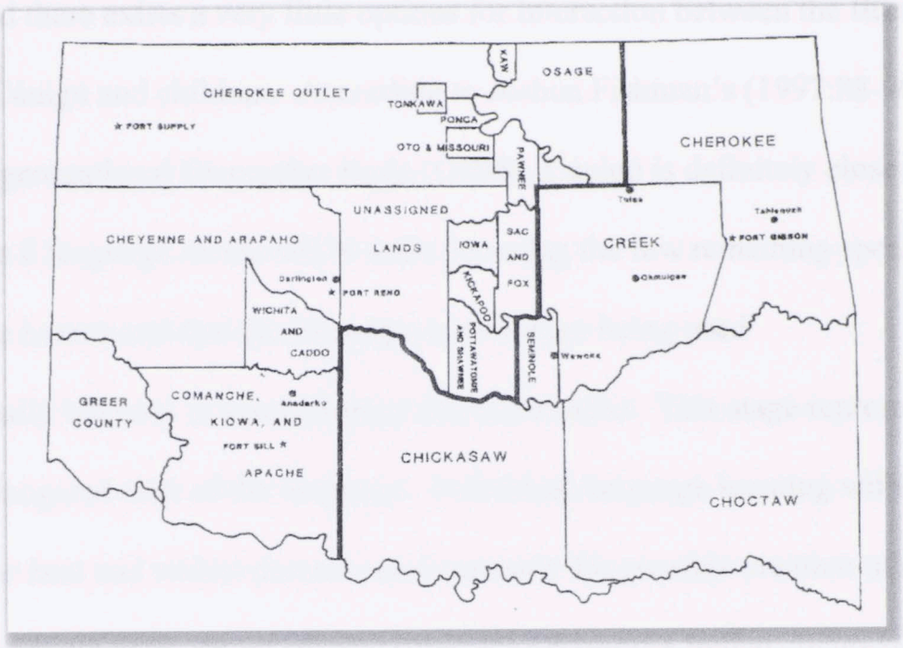

Figure 1. Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservation
Courtesy of John W. Morris, Charles R. Goins, and Edwin C., McReynolds. Third Edition, Updated from the 1980 Census. Copyright (c) 1965, 1976, 1986 by the University of OK. Pub. Press Norman

In 2005, the membership of the tribe was approximately 11,000 in number. Neely and Palmer (2009) assess the number of truly fluent speakers to be between the age level of 10 to 20 and conversational number of speakers range between 50 and 200 people. Through federal government programs such as Indian education and boarding schools, allotment of tribal lands, and the Indian Reorganization Act, the Cáuigú language has almost completely shifted to the more dominant English language.

In 2014, the Cáuigú language is spoken mainly in the southwestern quarter section of Oklahoma. However speakers outside the 1867 Medicine Lodge reservation exist in urban cities throughout the continental United States.

Currently Cáuigú language is not being taught to children as a first language, and there exists a very little options for interaction between the fluent speakers of Cáuigú and children. According to Joshua Fishman's (1997:88-90) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), Cáuigú is definitely close to being a Stage 8 language on the GIDS scale, meaning the few remaining speakers are in old age homes and that the language is no longer being used conversationally but only in short phrases and discussions. This stage represents the most endangered time of the language. Individual language learning within families is the best and widest domain used currently for possible creation of new speakers. There are some rising efforts within the Oklahoma Indian community to teach Cáuigú in university, community, public school and adult class settings (Willis 2009, Poolaw 2009, Palmer 2001, Gonzales 2001). Teaching styles and resources vary from within each class; from formal classes focused on the written aspect of Cáuigú and some more relaxed community classes focus on commands, storytelling and maintaining Cáuigú oral tradition.

The Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma currently has no approved language program and does not recognize a singular orthography as the official Kiowa language orthography. The governmental entity in charge of Cáuigú members supports all types of language learning but does not fund any formal language program itself. With no support from the tribal government, several other state

entities and individual efforts are being made to teach Cáuigú to the nest generation. In this regard, students of higher education can enroll in Cáuigú classes taught at the University of Oklahoma and University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma.

The Cáuigú language continues to be a long-standing interest in the linguistic community. Linguistic work began for the first time in 1918 with fieldwork conducted by John P. Harrington, documenting the structural and lexical resemblances between Tanoan and Cáuigú in his *Vocabulary Of The Kiowa Language (1928).* About fifty years ago, a linguistic analysis of the lexical items between the Taos Pueblo and Cáuigú was completed by Wick Miller, George and Edith Trager (1959), which consolidated and reconstructed the consonant inventory with partially reconstructed roots by Kenneth Hale. The results provided evidence that the Cáuigú and Tanoan languages of New Mexico are indeed closely related. In 1984 Laurel Watkins published *A Grammar of Kiowa*, a collaborative project completed with the late Parker McKenzie, her Cáuigú informant to collect data. The pronominal agreements on the verb and noun class, especially in regards to animacy and inverse number, have been used in morphological theory (Harley and Ritter 2002) and the focus of semantic theory (Harbour 2007). Watkins (1990) and McKenzie (2012) also look at the switch reference system, and Billerey-Mosier (2003) provides an acoustic analysis of the unique four-way stop distinctions in Kiowa.

Cáuigú continues to suffer from an epidemic that has plagued our American Indian communities through North American, a dramatic linguistic shift

to English. A major question is being asked now, how does the tribe preserve the language in the current trend? Cáuigú speakers today acknowledge their language is one generation from passing away. I find it interesting to observe individual cultural traits of speakers. I find that traditional Cáuigú possess unique gifts of speech and use of songs, possibly a trait that is a major part of Cáuigú identity. It is a trait that is learned through the application of songs in everyday life. It is for this reason that Cáuigú is considered by other tribes to be the best drummers and singers at contemporary pow-wows, probably because music penetrates all aspects of who Cáuigú life and it begins with Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs.

1.3 Research Questions

Despite the Cáuigú linguistic shift to English, the Cáuigú have retained their warrior societal structure and adapted it to meet their social needs in a contemporary Cáuigú world. From what is known so far, the Pòlá:yòp have been in existence since the revival of the Cáuigú Gourd Dance in 1958, over fifty years and becoming stronger as the community recognizes the importance of participating in the dance. The respect for traditional songs and dances has not been diminished and still remains as a significant part of Cáuigú indigenous identity. Cáuigú take part in this dance because it constitutes their tribal life and worldview, and initiates their indigenous social life within their tribe. I theorize that through these songs and dances, Cáuigú people are actually creating a culturally specific internal reality or habitus, a tribal way of viewing the world

around them in association with cultural behaviors. This process that Cáuigú people participate in is what is called language socialization.

The importance of Pòlá:yì: songs in language socialization has not been fully understood because it has been overlooked by enculturation studies aimed at understanding the adult forms of Cáuigú society. The way in which Cáuigú children socialize remains unclear. By transcribing what language is packed in Pòlá:yì: songs and how language knowledge is transferred, I emphasize these songs are a valuable language revitalization tool that should be expanded in language learning domains in order to aid children in the creation of the future Cáuigú habitus.

Major literary work researching Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs have been documented in several scholarly works. Selected works include *Kiowa Tales* by Elsie Parsons (1929), Kiowa *Voices Volume 1: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual and Song* (1981) by Maurice Boyd, *The Power of Kiowa Song* (1998) and *The Jesus Road* (2002) by Luke Lassiter, Clyde Ellis, and Ralph Kotay, and also Bill Meadows' book entitled *Kiowa Apache & Comanche Military Societies* (1999). Meadows work goes into the best detail in his discussion of Cáuigú warrior traditions and the hierarchy of Cáuigú society. Within each of these preceding investigations, the existence of the Pòlá:yì: society is recorded but only cited as the precursor into a larger hierarchical warrior structure. These children songs were not recorded or discussed in depth within the published works available. The importance of the society's dance and cultural knowledge that exist inside songs have never been researched and the present time no practical application

exists for teaching Cáuigú songs to younger generations. I will address practical application in Chapter 5 of my own thesis once we have unpacked the linguistic value of Cáuigú language socialization.

Research questions I intend to answer include: 1) what are the Pòlá:yì: Songs? 2) what exactly does a member of the Pòlá:yì: society learn through the performance of songs? and 3) what part do songs play in language socialization and how does a societal member acquire this social knowledge through songs?

1.4 Methodology

This study of Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs is based upon three major areas of focus: 1) the author's participant knowledge of Cáuigú songs acquired through membership in a society through the Cáuigú annual ceremonies 2) a review of ethno historical literature combined with personal fieldwork and an examination of archival sources and 3) a focus on Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: linguistic importance using transcription and analysis of Pòlá:yì: songs.

In this paper I will utilize knowledge I personally have acquired as a member of the Pòlá:yì: providing further insight on the development of my habitus using Pòlá:yì: song and dance. It is vital to understand the importance of habitus as part of my identity and part of Cáuigú warrior society or *Yàpfàhêgàu*. As a Pòlá:yì:, it was my starting point as a warrior, and it was the first organization that encouraged me to learn my Cáuigú language, taught me cultural values, and emplaced a desire to help my tribe and other American Indian people. I started with the Pòlá:yòp at Chieftain Park, went through high school and

eventually attended undergraduate studies at the University of Oklahoma. After graduation with my bachelor's degree, I felt it was time for me to fulfill an obligation to our Cáuigú warrior tradition, and joined the Oklahoma Army National Guard. Being a Cáuigú means to know the warrior tradition that I had grown up with throughout my life. It is a major part of who I am and it continually directs how I live my daily life. Just as the late Gus Palmer, Sr., is quoted previously, it was a beginning for me, just as it is still a beginning for Cáuigú generations today.

From the moment I could walk, my parents encouraged my siblings and I to participate in our Pòlá:yòp cultural activities. The Pòlá:yì: songs were the main event for our family during my childhood. At the time I was seven years old, I was placed in charge of holding our Grandfather Rabbit's (the late George Tah-bone Sr.) drum during the Pòlá:yì: dance at the Kiowa Tia-piah Society. It was indeed an honor for me to be a drum keeper for the leader of the Pòlá:yì:. My brother Sevon Tah-bone was selected to carry his wooden staff, a twisted oak staff carved with a water bird and rabbit carved into its notches. Together my cousin Sevon and I helped our grandfather until we became teenagers and grew out of our Pòlá:yì: age. It was during this time in my life that I learned my way within the Cáuigú world and what was valued among our people. A future discussion of this information from within my own knowledge base will enable me to better compare different ethnographic descriptions and discuss the songs along with their meanings.

In addition to my experiences and reflections of being a Pòlá:yì:, I use several songs previously recorded from various resources of Cáuigú singers. Jane Richardson Hanks recorded three Pòlá:yì: songs, as well as several other children's songs and lullabies in her earliest recordings of 1935 fieldwork in the Anadarko area. Singers included in her collection of songs include White Horse (Chèthá:idè), Old Man Horse, and Belo Cozad. These recordings were made available through the Sam Noble Museum Department of Ethnography and perhaps represent the best quality and oldest recordings of Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs. These songs are transcribed in Cáuigú and translated into English using my own knowledge of the language.

During the 1970s, there was a cultural revival within the Cáuigú speech community. Speakers began recorded what they knew regarding about the Pòlá:yì: songs and stories. These recordings of speakers represent the last generation of truly fluent Cáuigú speakers. In my research for this project, I listened to a female Cáuigú singer named Henrietta Tonkeahma, who recorded *Songs of the Little Rabbits* (1976). These versions of songs will be used in showing linguistic variation over time.

As a member of the Pòlá:yòp: at Chieftain Park, my family video possessed two recording the Pòlá:yòp dance in 1992. My father Clifton Queton, simply wanted to have a family album of his children dancing and made one of the video recordings. An unknown person, who was a visitor at the Kiowa Tia-piah Society during that year, recorded my grandfather and then gave the video to my family years later. These visual recordings present an accurate accounting of

how the Pòlá:yòp: dance is currently being conducted today for the Kiowa Tia-piah Society.

The most recent recording used are dated 2001, 2005 and in 2006. Alicia Gonzales published a Cáuigú language textbook entitled *Thaum Khoiye Tdoen Gyah* (2001) followed by a story book series and CD set entitled "*Kiowa Stories*" (2005) cataloging and recording her knowledge of lullabies and Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs. Following in 2006, a recording was made of the Kiowa Gourd Clan Pòlá:yòp in which the late Gus Palmer Sr. sings he versions of Pòlá:yì: songs along with the history of Pòlá:yòp: and its place in the warrior tradition.

When I began the research for this project I did not know how many songs were available or where it would lead me. In my mind I knew the songs from my Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu (Old Man Rabbit) but I didn't really know when the songs came about or why we had these songs. Once the research began I found there to be numerous songs being used in the Cáuigú community because the Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu:gàu (Old Men) had included many lullabies into Pòlá:yòp society.

The selection of songs to be used in this study was difficult to decide. In the year 2014, it is hard to decide on what are the original Pòlá:yì: songs and which songs were indeed lullabies that were eventually absorbed into the Pòlá:yì Dance and its context. Gus Palmer Sr.'s expands upon this in his 2006 recording taken from the Kiowa Gourd Clan Pòlá:yì: dance. He states that he used to know all the rabbit dance songs but as time dwindled on in his life, so had his memory of what songs he could recall. Mr. Palmer admits he uses nursery rhymes and

lullaby songs in the dance because those songs' like the Pòlá:yì: songs, were made for children because they were cute like a child.

It is important to understand that songs in the Cáuigú community up until the 1970s were not recorded or written down. Cáuigú people were only unified during the annual Sun Dance encampment during the summer months as documented William Meadows (1999), Jerrold Levy (1958) and James Mooney (1898). According to Meadows and Mooney, Cáuigú once lived under a War Chief or band system of tribal government revolving around the Sun Dance religion. Cáuigú military societies performed many of the preparatory activities for the annual tribal event. Due to social, political, economic and demographic changes placed upon the Cáuigú, the vitality of warrior societies suffered. A warrior could no longer perform the deeds appropriate to gain status within society meaning they could not prove themselves through 1) active warfare 2) bison hunting or 3) participation in pledges at the annual Sun Dance lodge. With the signing of the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867, Cáuigú military societies began to become fragmentized. Meadows states that from 1875 until the present, Cáuigú military societies continued to decline and with the allotment of the reservation to individual families, the band system was weakened and the amount of dances, religious ceremonies and other social forms decreased significantly. Songs today are therefore subject to variation and interpretation. Cáuigú in the 20th century no longer speak the same rich linguistic language as Cáuigú during the 19th century. Due to the allotment of the Cáuigú reservation and the boarding school system establishment in the early 1900s, the tribe stopped creating new

words and older words were forgotten by the upcoming baby boomer generation. Around 1907 and the allotment of tribal land, people began living in isolated areas and gave up their nomadic lifestyle. For language speakers this meant they would only communicate with other speakers who within in their area and create words based upon new ideas and physical objects that were introduced locally. This localization of tribal speakers led to variation of the language based upon where speakers live and the interaction they maintained in a localized speech community. A speaker of Cáuigú living in Anadarko, Ok overtime became different than Cáuigú speakers living around the Carnegie, OK.

One must not ignore the affect boarding schools had on the Cáuigú speech community. Beginning in the late 1800s, Children were sent to schools that prohibited and punished Cáuigú language speech entirely. Students attending boarding schools between 1900 and 1950 grew up with the correct assumption that any speech of their native language was forbidden in society. The result of this federal Indian policy, created a generation of Cáuigú who chose not to speak Cáuigú for fear of punishment or discrimination.

Variation combined with the negative affects of boarding school have led to difficulty in finding tribal elders who remember songs and their relationship to tribal societies. This realization at first posed a problem with analyzing variations in songs and translation. When I began to feel that variation is a good thing, I saw variation prove how rich and intact Cáuigú culture still exists today.

The main criteria song selection was evaluated on what possible contribution to habitus each song contained was happening. This sampling of

Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: song was partly selected based upon my own knowledge of each song through participation as a societal member. I knew a extensive amount about each song in terms of its origin and its relationship to the society but wanted to select songs that I could dissect and use in intense analysis. It was also important that I utilize songs that are well known by many Cáuigú tribal members and still used in both contemporary Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp societies, at the Kiowa Gourd Clan and Kiowa Tia-piah Society. One problem I ran across in my selection process was selecting a deciphering variation. It was difficult to select a variation to transcribe, I attempted to select songs that were clear and easy to hear the words as they were being performed. Sometimes when singing the language, words can almost sound the same. In Cáuigú, tone plays a very difficult part in deciphering what the song is about. In most cases context helped me understand what meaning is obtained in the course of the singing.

For each song analysis, I include three lines. The first line of each song is the Kiowa transcription stemming from my analysis of recorded songs and my knowledge of others. My transcription of songs is represented using a combination of the Parker McKenzie orthography and modifications made by Gus Palmer, Jr. (Palmer, 2001). Parker McKenzie's orthography was used first since it is the only writing system that accounts for all three Cáuigú tones; hi tone [ˊ], a low tone [ˋ], and a falling [ˆ]. McKenzie's orthography also uses vowel underlining to represent nasalization [a̲]. Since Parker McKenzie conducted his linguistic work using a typewriter, he devised a system using replacement letters from the Roman alphabet to represent voiceless and ejective phonemes in Cáuigú.

These replacement letters include; C [voiceless k], J [voiceless t], F [voiceless p], CH [voiceless 'ts' sound], Q [ejective k], TH [ejective t], V [ejective p], and X [ejective 'ts' sounds]. I incorporate the Palmer orthography to show vowel lengthening represented by a colon [:]. There also exist five diphthongs that will be represented using the Roman alphabet. The diphthongs include ai [ahy], au [aw], aui [awy], oi [owy] and ui [ooey]. This compound orthography made the most sense for analysis work because it was the most comprehensive, accurate and easy in terms of typing on a computer.

The second line of each song gives a direct translation of each word. In some instances, I have separated out morphemes, especially suffixes showing tense. I have not separated noun class and number morphemes associated with the noun and pronoun reference in order to simplify this line. I did choose to give the pronouns in linguistic notation, such as 1SG instead of "I." I did this in order to more easily capture differences between Kiowa English. For example, 3PL/1SG reads as "he/she acting on me" and 2INCL is the 'you all but not them/him/her'.

The last line of each song includes a free translation of each word as I understand the language. I do not consider myself a fluent speaker in the Cáuigú but consider myself conversational. I have to acknowledge there are some drawbacks not understanding every word. In cases were I needed more to understand each song, I depended on works published on Cáuigú to help interpret what each word in the song was saying.

I also found it necessary to include some published Pòlá:yì: songs from works by Alicia Gonzales (2005) and Maurice Boyd (1981). Again, these

published sources provide further examples and insight on variation and context in which songs are used currently. These materials are also a prime example of the materials that could be further developed for revival and creation for future Cáuigú habitus.

Although it is unknown when the development of Yàpfahêgàu occurred (cite), it is important to recognize there are still four societies active today. The Jáifègàu (Gourd Dance), Óhò̲mògàu (Omaha or War Dance), Tòkó̲gàut (Black Leggings) and Pòlá̲:yì: (Rabbits) still meet regularly. These traditional warrior societies have been endured cultural genocide and been revived and adapted into modern circumstances.

To recap, this study combines Pòlá̲:yì: songs with archival and ethno historical literature along with songs and linguistic analyses in order to closely look at the Pòlá̲:yì: songs and their variations. My personal experience provides an insight that is not possible in other published sources and contributes to the analysis of the meaning and importance of the Pòlá̲:yì: and Pòlá̲:yì: songs.

1.5 Conclusion

Today, Pòlá̲:yì: songs are a mixture of original Pòlá̲:yì: songs and adopted lullabies for children. Sometimes Pòlá̲:yì: songs are performed by parents to children in the home in order to help children sleep or merely for entertainment. The majority of Cáuigú people knows about Pòlá:yòp and understands it is important to know these songs. Cáuigú children grow up hearing these songs and do not realize their importance until later in life as I did. Gus Palmer, Sr. [briefly

introduce who he was] stated in 2006, "Pòlá:yòp, and they were named way back there, little warriors. It's a beginning, like we have today in thácàui (white) schools' kindergarten. That is where they started. Then step-by-step, they got older and become in one of these other four [warrior societies]. They become warriors" (Palmer, 2006).

Chapter 2

Language Socialization Theory

2.1 Definition

Children are an amazing group to observe and study because they have the ability to play with life and language. They learn and observe how to walk, talk and act in society through cultural processes. But, how does a person become culturally intelligent? Every person comes to be a part of society in some aspect, they learn how the world revolves and they eventually assume a worldview. We also know, they people learn cultural aspects of behavior through a performative process (Kulick and Schiefflin; 351-352). For example, a person has to learn how to be a male or a female, they are not born with that realization. Children are taught by performing actions they observe by their parents and caretakers.

What is left unknown is how children form ideas about their existence in the world. The concept of language socialization concentrates on ideas regarding how language categorizes individuals and generates deeper understanding of a person's existence in the world. Studies on language socialization began during the 1980s in response to significant absences in (a) the developmental psycholinguistic literature on language acquisition and (b) the anthropological literature on adolescent socialization (Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). In 1974, Dell Hymes recognized that affect is at the core of communicative competence, meaning that demonstrations of culturally intelligible stances are of vital importance in the process of becoming recognizable subject in a particular social group. Studies in language socialization have demonstrated these affective

stances are attributed to influence how caregivers react to children and how children speak and act.

Language socialization is indeed a theoretical and methodological concept concerned with the acquisition of what anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu called "habitus", or ways of being in the universe. Researchers have continued to refer to this habitus by another term called world-view. In 1984, Don Kulick and Bambi Schieffelin asserted that language socialization theory was articulated and developed in response to the apparent absence of culture in studies on first language acquisition. The mission of these first socialization studies was to draw out generalizations universal to how sociolinguistic practices facilitated children's acquisition of language (Kulick and Schieffelin 2006). The results produced were in reality flawed due to unrealistic practices of data collection stemming from a selection process that focused on white North American middle class and Northern European children as research subjects. In these case studies, culture was virtually absent because children and their caregivers shared the same sociocultural backgrounds as the researcher. These early findings left culture invisible as a principle that organized speech practices and acquisition of cultural meaningful practices. Linguistic researchers asserted their findings to be universal when in fact language social types were quite variable. Anthropological studies of language in non-Western, low-income white and African American communities demonstrated there exist several variations in which people socialized (Miller 1986; Ward 1971; Heath 1983).

Other skewed research includes classic work conducted by Margaret Mead on child socialization in Samoa and New Guinea. Mead contended that children acquire cultural values through a concept of enculturation not socialization. This implies that children are simply empty vessels once born and cultural values are poured into each individual. Another issue with enculturation was it assumed all children were completely enculturated by the time they reached puberty, and adolescence was a time to train and enculturate other members of the social group. A sizeable part of Mead and her colleagues' work is seen as controversial because their research ignored language and its role in the development of social behaviors all together. Mead and her followers were more interested documenting how enculturating processes were different among different societies. The process of how children in society are socialized is the basis for language socialization theory. It addresses the lack of culture in language studies, by insisting that all people, go through a social process on the way to becoming competent members of particular social group and become competent only by socializing through language and socialize to become users of that language.

In order to conduct proper language socialization work, Kulick and Schieffelin state there are three criteria for proper research. Each work should be 1) ethnographic in design, 2) longitudinal in perspective and 3) should demonstrate the acquisition or non-acquisition of particular language and cultural practices over time and contexts. In essence, language socialization studies ask: "How do different kinds of culturally specific subjectivities come into being?"

(Duranti: 351) This exemplifies the criterion through which we will be investigating Cáuigú Pòlá:yì: songs.

Chapter 3

Related Studies on Cáuigú Socialization

Previous ethnographic scholars used their training in anthropological theory and fieldwork to make arguments and support their hypotheses with analyses of data. Current data sources on Pòlá:yì songs are a combination of narratives, recordings and ethnographies mention the Pòlá:yòp society as the beginning stage into a larger adult warrior tradition. Central to my research is an advanced understanding of the Pòlá:yòp history and the formation of Cáuigú social habitus through the performative practice of cultural song and dance. Offering an in depth analysis of the data, I will analyze each song's terminology and contribution to Cáuigú socialization. Indigenous communities use tribal songs and dances as tool to socialize their children into culturally intelligent individuals. Human beings are constantly negotiating their identity because of the human desire to feel accepted or belong to a particular social group. Many cultural and linguistic socialization processes have yet to be documented, such as the case with the Pòlá:yòp society.

One central question for understanding Cáuigú socialization through song is what historical information has been documented on Pòlá:yòp and how would this information relevant to the socialization of Cáuigú people today? The following sub-questions will be utilized:

1. Where does the Pòlá:yòp fit in Cáuigú society?
2. What historical roles did Pòlá:yòp play among the tribe?

3. What social, historical, and political events have influenced the Pòlá:yòp?
4. What does this historical documentation say about how Pòlá:yòp socialized children?

3.1 Literature Review

Historical data is scarce on when the Pòlá:yòp society emerged and was established among the Cáuigú tribe. If you were to ask me as a former member of the Pòlá:yòp, the story I could recite was much like the story you hear in *Kiowa Voices Vol. 1* recorded by Maurice Boyd (1981) who worked directly with the Kiowa Historical and Research Society to document oral tradition and narratives regarding societies, dances and songs of Cáuigú. In conducting discussing the historical research available on Pòlá:yì society and songs, I believe the creation of the Pòlá:yòp is a great place to begin.

In *Kiowa Voices Vol. 1*, Boyd documents oral tradition of the Pòlá:yòp society and documents its existence through tribal narratives. According to oral tradition, an old Cáuigú man was left behind from the tribal encampment as punishment for a breaking tribal law. On the brink of death and alone, he was cared for by a family of rabbits and brought back to life. As documented by Boyd, it is tribal belief that the old man learned specific songs from the rabbits, and was instructed to take the songs back to his tribe in order to teach young boys how to become good warriors. This old man is credited with bringing the dance back to the Cáuigú. The Pòlá:yòp were originally all boys, trained to become

helpers in putting up the Sun Dance arbor with the Old Calf Woman's Society, a respected Cáuigú women's society, by placing sand on the ground in the middle of the lodge. The leader of the Pòlá:yòp became known as "Grandpa Rabbit" who was the song leader and organizer of society events (Boyd: 77-80).

A tribal language teacher and historian Alecia Gonzales also reiterates the same this story of Pòlá:yì: society creation her in Cáuigú language book entitled *Thaum Khoiye Tdoen Gyah* (2001:167-170). In comparison the stories Alecia Gonzales and Maurice Boyd accounts are almost exactly alike. Both accounts include aspects of a tribe of rabbits showing compassion for an older warrior and then giving the warrior a dance along with songs to sing for children.

In a 2006 dance of the Kiowa Gourd Clan Pòlá:yòp, Gus Palmer Sr. records his knowledge of Pòlá:yòp its historical progression Pòlá:yòp into other warrior societies. He states "they are little warriors and we want them to grow up to become good adults". Throughout this recording, we hear stories and songs relevant to children's identity as Cáuigú. Much of what is said is in the English language, but there is a sizeable amount of Cáuigú language in the songs and song explanations. I personally am intrigued Mr. Palmers' description of "Split Boy" or Záidètàlyì: and how he is trying to teach the children about things that happen in the Cáuigú frame of mind.

"One time years ago, no telling how many years ago, they called him Záidètàlyì:, he came from heaven. He was dropped from heaven this story goes. Gà sáumí (its noteworthy) this story. It's hard to believe but these things happen" (Palmer, 2006).

Mr. Palmer sums up what Pòlá:yòp is all about it up it two words, *gà sáumí*. He is saying it is noteworthy to learn these songs and stories because they

are apart of a Cáuigú being. While these stories may seem like a fairy tales to non-Cáuigú people, a true Cáuigú person believes these occurrences actually took place at some point in history. This is the basis for our Cáuigú habitus, this belief in supernatural beings and this idea of magical power or *dáu:dáu:*. Songs and stories that project this type of oral history are an invaluable asset to my research because it demonstrates each songs' important gift to a supernatural Cáuigú habitus.

According Cáuigú oral tradition, all animals use to speak Cáuigú and several tribal songs originated as gifts from animals such as snakes, rabbits, wolves and others. Many Pòlá:yì: songs speak of small animals such as rabbits, prairie dogs, quail and frogs because Cáuigú believe all small animals are cute and can represent the behaviors of their children at times. The performance of these songs and this dance become embedded as part of traditional Cáuigú life. Through Pòlá:yòp, children formulate their ideas about magical or dáu:dáu: events that happen in Cáuigú history. Stories of Cáuigú are parallel to stories Walt Disney Pictures would want create into a feature films, but this is more than a story to our Cáuigú children because this mentality infiltrates the reality in which Cáuigú people live today.

Ethnologist James Mooney is credited with conducting the earliest fieldwork on the Cáuigú reservation beginning in the spring of 1891, specifically working with Cáuigú calendar records. He initiated his research among the Cáuigú during a religious transitional time between the Sun Dance religion conversion to Christianity underway by missionaries living within the reservation.

The last attempt to hold a Cáuigú Sun Dance took place in 1890 and the event was still fresh in the minds of tribal members when Mooney began his study. According to James Mooney (1898:359), Cáuigú tribal leaders who sought permission from the Indian Agency to hold one last Cáuigú Sun Dance during the summer of 1890. The Sun Dance did not occur due to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs assault on tribal dances. These early Cáuigú informants were able to draw upon memories of their nomadic buffalo hunting days and political positioning of the tribe prior to war the United States in 1875. It is also important to note that his research population still possessed knowledge of traditional warrior structure before the Cheyenne peace agreements were made in 1867.

Important in Mooney's writing on the *Calendar History of Kiowa Indians* is an accounting of sixty years of Cáuigú history through translation of both the Little Bluff and Little Bear calendars. Through his translation with knowledgeable speakers and historians, Mooney was able to document Cáuigú people inhabiting the Yellowstone mountain region prior to 1700 and the establishment of an alliance with the Crow and obtaining the Sun Dance religion before moving southeast onto the plains towards Black Hills area. Mooney writes that the Cáuigú migrated on the southern plains in the late 1700s and made peace with the Comanche around 1790 (1898: 162-164). During the migration the Cáuigú adopted socio-cultural forms considered typical of the nineteenth century plains tribes and embraced a mobile hunting and raiding economy which emphasized the horse, tipi and buffalo. The Sun Dance religion became the center of Cáuigú social organization. Data in scarce on when band divisions were

formulated but the Sun Dance encampment was divided into six bands: *Cáuigú*(Kiowa), *Kíet* (Big Shield), *Kótályôi* (Black Boys), *Qáutjáu* (Biters), *Qogûi* (Elks), and the *Kútjáu* (Pulling up) (Meadow 1999: 35).

Mooney is the first to reference the Pòlá:yòp and he placed the children's dance group among the six other orders of warrior sodalities. He remarks each society was indeed separate, "each having its own dance, songs, insignia, and duties" (229). Cáuigú warriors were first enrolled as Pòlá:yòp in the military order and promoted according to merit or necessities of war.

> "Boys above the age of eight or ten years were drilled in their future duties as warriors by certain old men. The step of their dance is intended to imitate the jumping of a rabbit" (Mooney: 230).

The other warrior societies documented by Mooney included the *Áljóyi:gau* (Young Sheep), *Chejánmau* (Horse Headdresses), *Tò:kó:gàut* (Black Legs), *Jáifègàu* (Gourd Society), and *Qóichégau* (Principal Dogs). These adult warrior's societies were completely different from bands camping as part of the Sun Dance encampment. Promotion between societies was not hereditary but men were promoted through deeds performed in battle and warfare. These warrior societies were ranked just as the U.S. military might rank a soldiers based on the possession of certain skills. A contemporary military comparison may be drawn forming understanding independent qualifications of training such airborne, air assault or Special Forces training. Cáuigú warrior societies were setup and ranked in a similar fashion, some societies possessing greater prestige than others. Pòlá:yòp was the beginning of a training cycle for young men, with the highest rank existing being the *Qóichégau* or Principal Dogs.

The practice of the Sun Dance religion was focused upon the acquisition of individual power for success in warfare and life so warriors could be promoted from different societies (Mooney: 229). This acquisition of power or prestige would continue to be a motivating factor for Cáuigú societal membership.

Individual power in the 21st century continues to be an important concept in Cáuigú Yàpfahêgàu or warrior structure, as the methods of acquiring social status have changed in the community, people desire to be leaders and respected from within the community. While the Sun Dance is now extinct, Cáuigú people are still acquiring individual power through societies such as the Black Leggings known as Tò:kó:gàut and the Gourd Society as the Jáifègàu through achievement in the United States armed forces or being a spiritual leader from within the tribe. Cáuigú may also attain power through their knowledge and expertise of songs, language and cultural traditions. This quest for individual power and status may be the primary inspiration for a Cáuigú member to begin in this Yàpfahêgàu lifestyle as a child.

In 1929, Elsie Parsons, an historical ethnographer wrote an account of Cáuigú tribal history and their migration to southern plains, entitled *Kiowa Tales*. The stories were recorded between November and December 1927. Parsons also includes a section on the *War and Dance Societies* and suggests the Pòlá:yòp had no initiation and no function in the camp circle. I disagree with Parsons on this note because she begins her discussion of Pòlá:yòp by stating the society had no function then she directly enters a description of dance and a ceremonial give-away taking place among the members of the society.

> "In charge of the rabbits there was a senior who was the head of the tsaidetali groups, and therefore put over the boys to bless them…in the dance the boys would hold their hands up behind their ears to represent rabbit ears. Their dance step is bending the knee" (Parsons: 90).

It is important to note that Parsons documents this dance and feast as an activity in which expressions of cultural identity were taking place. In this case, the society member's father and family honor their young member of the Pòlá:yòp after recovery from sickness by holding a dance and feast accompanied by giving of gifts extended to other families and friends. During her fieldwork Parsons was unable to document the regularity of these Pòlá:yòp meetings and dances due the decline in men's societies and ceremonials, but she does document how the dance was performed in the Cáuigú camp circle.

In 1945 a book entitled *The Ten Grandmothers* was published by Alice Marriott, an ethnologist that spent two summers and eight years conducting research with the Cáuigú and recording interviews from various tribal members between the years 1935 and 1936. Her book discloses information on Pòlá:yòp order and positions the society at the beginning of Cáuigú Yàpfahêgàu (warrior structure). Marriot indicates that an individual's social status and prestige correlates with the social ranking among Cáuigú military society. Status was ranked according to deeds performed in warfare by relatives of certain families. For example, a war chief or a member of the Qóichégau, top ten warriors of the tribe, would have much greater status than beginning warriors. Gus Palmer (2006) ascertains that in order to be a part of Qóichégau, a person had to perform 40 war deeds before you were eligible to be taken into that society. Prestige and status was carried over into families and relatives famous warriors. Pòlá:yòp

members who possessed family members enrolled into higher echelons of Cáuigú status were promoted to an upper levels of warrior society.

In 1935, Weston La Barre conducted fieldwork and documented interviews with a Cáuigú informant named Little Henry. Henry reveals a perspective accounting for the transition of warrior societies to the arrival of the reservation and allotment periods. According to the La Barre document, warrior society meetings almost stopped with the last Sun Dance and had no further purpose in the tribe during the allotment time frame. In La Barre's field notes, Henry talks about his initiation into the Tòkógàut and the promotion from Pòlá:yòp to Tòkógàut.

> "If a man is past the polányi age he can get into any society. Doesn't have to have a big war record. He might not even have gone on a war party" (La Barre: 556).

The quote discusses warrior promotions after the reservation period took place. Warriors start out in the Pòlá:yòp and during the time of the reservation establishment, warriors were promoted throughout Cáuigú society without records of battle deeds, as written by Mooney and Marriott. La Barre's notes contain no statement in support of battle record promotion but do ascertain that age requirements of some societies were less than members of other societies. No exact figures were available during his fieldwork due to the fact that most societies were not operational.

After the establishment of the reservation, the Cáuigú were trying to maintain their Yàpfahêgàu (warrior) traditional structure in the absence of their Sun Dance religious beliefs. During the allotment period, many dances and songs

were sang and performed in secret on individual land allotments for fear of United States retaliation against any religious demonstrations. The Pòlá:yòp changed and diffused into a cultural institution in Cáuigú communities for the cultural training of young Cáuigú boys because young men were aspiring to prominence and respectability.

In 1959, Jerrold Levy conducted a dissertation on Cáuigú political and social organization on the tribe at a time when cultural revival was taking place around the American Indian Exposition. Like Marriott and Levy, he agrees that males, youths progressed from Pòlá:yì: to Áljóyi:gau before advancing into older societies. Children who belonged to more prestigious families were recruited into upper level societies to serve as errand boys or *Aujoqi*. Levy could not clarify evidence as to whether or not societies had a formal, absolute ranking or if a person's prestige could change with their membership of certain societies (Meadows: 44). Levy primarily focused on the existence of the class stratification in the Cáuigú community, subdividing status into two upper and two lower classes systems, he identifies these levels as the "haves and the have nots" (64). The two upper classes were entitled *ôde* or *ôgop*, who possessed more wealth and war honors than the *ôde gufa* which was the next class down from the *ôde* class. The two lower classes of Cáuigú citizen were called the *káu:aun* and *daufô*. The *káu:aun* class was considered respectable but poor and the *daufô* class was not only poor but they did resources to improve their social status. The only recognition in his dissertation on the Pòlá:yòp (Levy: 15) is one comment in

which he mentions a "of the six societies one was for boys, one for youths and untrained warriors."

Like Elsie Parsons, Wilbur Sturtevane Nye recorded stories from Cáuigú informant George Hunt, Cáuigú historian from 1878 to 1942. Nye accomplished his fieldwork from 1933 to 1937, a time when Cáuigú people wanted and needed to document their history for future generations (1962). In *Bad Medicine and Good,* Nye documents the Pòlá:yòp in a chapter entitled *The Medicine Dance*, in which young Pòlá:yòp were imitating older men by hunting rabbits, coyotes and other small game. He states:

> "The young boys had their own military order, something like the Boys Scouts of today, which was called the rabbits. They lived in their own tipis during this [Sun Dance] time and had their own entertainment" (Nye:59-60).

William C. Meadows (1999) conducted more extensive work with the Cáuigú, Comanche and Apache tribes of Oklahoma from October 1989 until 1999 and documented historical details of military societies. For his analysis of the Cáuigú data he separates the status of warrior's society into four sections: 1) pre-reservation to 1875, 2) reservation era 1875 to the last Sun Dance in 1890, 3) post Sun Dance/decline era 1890-1941, and 4) revival from 1941 to present. According to Table 1: Cáuigú Military Societies (41), Meadows argues that there were eight male warrior's societies including two different societies from Mooney, called Cáuitemgop (Bone Strikers) and Óhoma:gau (Omaha or War Dance Society). Like Palmer (2006) and Mooney (1898) historical analyses of Pòlá:yòp, Meadows states the society was where military training began.

> Kiowa had a *de facto* age-grading based upon war and socioeconomic status in their preservation societies. The Pòlá:yòp (Rabbits) consisted of boys from those who were able to walk up to the ages of twelve to fourteen. This society trained the boys in skills they would need in adult life. The Rabbits met, feasted, and danced like other societies, were supervised by adult leaders, and learned by emulating adult societies (Meadows: 40).

Meadows analysis of Pòlá:yòp society is considered the most recent ethnographic work available on Cáuigú societal organization. His writing includes detailed historical information about the duties of the Pòlá:yòp in the Sun Dance encampment prior to the reservation period and accounts for meetings held by the Pòlá:yòp, brush dragging, and parades throughout the camp circle. Meadows argued that other than simply growing up in the Pòlá:yòp, there existed no set pattern for joining one of the four adult warrior societies. Generally most non-prominent Pòlá:yòp moved into the Áljóyi:gau when they reached the age of puberty or remained there until the age twenty. Male warriors joined a society based on family membership, inheritance, invitation, to fill a broken friendship, or even because of a relative or friend's membership. If a male joined an upper society directly out of the Pòlá:yòp, it indicated his favored (áu:dé) status among the tribe. Meadows points out the social stratification of warrior societies and argues that Mishkin (1940) recognized but did not explore the fact that Cáuigú society was structured according to age and achievement (Meadows: 90). Meadows suggest that there were several indicators of age-graded stratification overlooked by Mishkin, which existed based a person's social, economic and political status but due to federal reservation policy, the older economic and social lifestyle was exterminated from Cáuigú practice. Meadows contends:

> ...Every male started in Pòlá:yòp and were taught skills and behavior (feasts, dancing, giving-away, group cooperation, coup recitations, acknowledgement and maintenance of authority positions) needed as an adult warrior-based culture (92).

After 1875, active participation in warrior society continued but due to changing demographics due to Anglo-American encroachment, removal of Eastern Indian occupations, disease epidemics, economic competition and warfare with various groups, all the societies experienced a dramatic decline (Mooney 1898). Altering the status requirements were access to active warfare, buffalo hunting, and participation in communal Sun Dances. Cáuigú men were now serving as tribal police or working labor extensive jobs on construction and maintenance of Indian agency buildings and schools (Nye 1937). Forced assimilation policies took Indian youth from their homes and interrupted their maturing process for extended periods of time. This was a disruption in the participation in Pòlá:yòp and Áljóyi:gau societies producing generational gaps in the foundations for placement in upper level warrior societies. Older warriors soon died off and there were no replacements as fewer and fewer members possessed the skill set to be a member of the four military orders. This would be known as an inactive period meaning that ritual knowledge was held by a decreasing number of individuals.

From 1890-1941, William Meadows details the activities organized by warrior societies that took place. He suggests that following the last Sun Dance of 1890, small society gatherings were probably taking place but not at the same scale surrounding the Sun Dance encampments previously. The Óhoma society continued in the Cáuigú community particularly around the Red Stone area,

Tokógaut was revived in 1912 according to a calendar drawn by Andy Domebo suggesting that the Tokógaut reorganized that summer and that dances were held on individual allotments in the Stecker Cáuigú community. According to an interview with Parker McKenzie, a self taught linguist and historian born in 1897, " no gourd dances (Jáifegau) were during his youth prior to the one which was held on Tsoodle's allotment on Zólto (Stinking) Creek in 1912", then in association with the Fourth of July and Armistice Day dances were held in the Carnegie area on various allotments throughout the 1920s. Jáifegau was then held from 1912 to approximately 1928 until a tornado killed the wife of a Cáuigú tribal member named Lone Bear. Other dances were documented as late 1937 by Alice Marriott's field notes.

> "While the frequency of Rabbit Society functions undoubtedly decreased together with the decline in men's societies and tribal-level integrative ceremonies, so did the society's importance as a unifying agent that introduced and prepared children for many of the social activities they would be exposed to as adults" (Meadows: 113).

In 1957, Cáuigú elders in Carnegie, Oklahoma, revived the Jáifegau or gourd dance and consequently Cáuigú dancing. The dance was organized around the 4th of July weekend and became today what is known as the Cáuigú Gourd Clan. The dance since 1957 has split into factions known as the Cáuigú Warrior Descendants, Cáuigú Tia-piah Society of Carnegie, and Oklahoma Tia-piah Society. The dance is not a celebration of the Independence of the United States. The weekend is a holiday when Cáuigú can request time off from their modern day jobs, and this weekend happens to fall on the time of year when Sun Dance once took place. Similar to the Sun Dance arbor once erected and use for the

religion, a brush willow arbor is created in a circular camp fashion. Cáuigú now setup individual camps with tipis, canvas arbors with the dance arena in the center of the encampment. With the revival of the Jáifègàu, the Pòlá:yòp, brush dragging, Óhoma and social dances were revived in association with the annual encampments. Different from other ethnographic accounts of Pòlá:yòp dancing, Bill Meadows gives more structural aspect on the dance during the annual Gourd Clan celebration.

According to Meadows (114), the Pòlá:yòp day begins 10:00am. Grandpa Pòlá:yì: organizes the children and prays for the beginning of the festivities. The Pòlá:yòp are given trash bags with which they rapidly clean the dance grounds of debris left by the adults. After conducting their chores, the dance begins and their songs are sung. Parents come out and watch their children dance and the kids hop up and down in tribal regalia and the children are rewarded with treats such a candy and cake. There is a consciousness regarding earlier Cáuigú traditions and symbols attached to this identity of Pòlá:yòp dancing which remains a vital and adaptive part of contemporary ceremony.

In a 2006 recording of Gus Palmer Sr. documents his knowledge of Pòlá:yòp its historical progression Pòlá:yòp into other warrior societies. He states "they are little warriors and we want them to grow up to become good adults" (Palmer). Throughout this recording, we hear stories and songs relevant to children's identity as Cáuigú. The performance of these songs and dance in the modern Cáuigú ceremonies tells us that the society is still functioning and

creating identity around this process of song and dance but what has what is actually learned within the songs?

Chapter 4

The Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp in Oklahoma Today

Pòlá:yòp or Pòlá:yì: were originally comprised of only boys from walking ages to approximately ages twelve to fifteen, or those boys who outlived the rabbit age. At the beginning of the 21st century the number of fluent Cáuigú speakers was below two hundred people and steadily declining. Yet, contrary to this linguistic decline, there exists an overwhelming participation in the performance of Pòlá:yòp dancing and singing at the tribe's modern summer celebrations. Linguistic and sociocultural studies on adult participation in societies have not focused upon use of language in Cáuigú socialization. Thus, no work has documented the Pòlá:yòp society and the important contribution to identity formations and possible contribution to second language acquisition. It is important to discuss the continuance of the Pòlá:yòp society and how Cáuigú identity is being created through imitating behaviors, performing stories, songs, and dances diffused from old warrior traditions.

Throughout my life, I have held a profound interest in Cáuigú identity through performance of song. I hypothesis is that embedded in Cáuigú songs exists the motivation needed for language revitalization because it within songs that Cáuigú identity is intertwined and bound to the socio-cultural context in which the songs are performed. At this point my research changes switches to using an ethnographic lens in order to express Pòlá:yòp dances in modern day Cáuigú society.

Pòlá:yòp dances today happen at two ceremonial Gourd Dance ground in rural Carnegie, OK. Another gourd dance ground is located north of Lawton, OK at a place called Tia-piah Park. Tia-piah Park is a ceremonial ground privately owned by a Cáuigú Family with the last name Bigbow, descendants from a Cáuigú Chief Bigbow. During the time this paper was written, the patriarch of the Oklahoma Tia-piah Society passed away and it is unknown through my experience if the organization still possessed a Pòlá:yòp dance.

During the summers, the former Cáuigú reservation region is covered with large fields of cut wheat and hay. Creeks and rivers divide the landscape into tribal communities and localities. Temperatures can reach record highs and the wind at time can feel blow across the plains bringing a feeling of a hairdryer blowing hot air into person's face. Yet, it is during this time of year that Cáuigú are the most restless and have a yearning to camp. It is the time of year when the cottonwood trees blossom, filling the air with floating waves of cottonwood fluff and seedlings. Older generations of Cáuigú associate the cottonwood seedlings with the annual tribal Sun Dance, the one time a year when all Cáuigú came together.

According to ethnographic records the last Cáuigú Sun Dance took place in 1890, and since that time there have been many changes in Cáuigú styles of dance and songs. The older warriors societies that were once the owners of the songs and dances have adapted into organizations that take on new meaning and new generations of membership. During the time of the Sun Dance encampment,

different warrior societies camped together and had distinct roles, dances and songs, which identified members of particular society.

According to my research, all warriors began their journey in Yàpfahêgàu beginning as little warriors in the Pòlá:yòp. They learned by imitating older warrior societies. Pòlá:yòp possessed their own horses and would assist active warriors on war journeys, a common task in plains warrior life. They also assisted the annual Sun Dance encampment with the preparation of the ceremonial lodge by bringing sand from the river bottom. Over time the role of the Pòlá:yòp has changed and diffused into a cultural institution for children. Characteristics of this institution teach children to find their place in modern Yàpfahêgàu and infuse Cáuigú worldview into young minds. This is way of becoming Cáuigú.

Figure 2. Contemporary Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp Society.
Photo courtesy of Summer Morgan Photo Collection

Today Pòlá:yòp dances are associated with the Kiowa Gourd Clan and Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie celebrations held on July 2nd, 3rd and 4th. The dance tentatively starts about 9:00am but usually runs on "Indian time" or whenever the Grandpa Rabbit and his Pòlá:yòp get ready. At the Kiowa Tia-piah Society of Carnegie celebration, the precursor to the Pòlá:yòp dances usually a Pòlá:yòp parade. Grandpa and Grandma Rabbit lead the children through encampment in contemporary street clothes or traditional Indian clothes, whatever clothing the children are able to wear. Children are always encouraged to dress up in the traditional Indian clothes for the dance, and sometimes they are given prizes or money if they dress up by Grandpa and Grandma Rabbit . The Pòlá:yòp parade awakens the entire encampment, it allows people to know the children are up and ready to dance. Grandpa Rabbit hollers "Bè Hâ!" tells all campers to get and come watch his Pòlá:yòp dance.

At the campground of the Kiowa Tia-piah Society, there exist two arenas for gourd dancing, one east and one west arena. After the parade, Pòlá:yòp children gather in the east gourd dance arena. The arena is simply decorated with red, white and blue flags, a brush arbor or often the outside of the arena is marked with colorful benches and chairs. Parents, grandparents, and visitors come out and watch the children gather and start their day with dance and song. Grandpa Rabbit comes out into the arena and says a prayer for the day's events and tells his children how proud he his of each participant. Children our instructed to make rabbit ears with their hands. It is articulated that each child is told to place two fingers up on each hand and place one hand on each side of their head to mimic

rabbit ears. One finger on each side of their head indicates an owl, an adverse omen in Cáuigú culture. Grandpa Rabbit begins to hit the drum and starts the Pòlá:yòp calling out song, letting all Pòlá:yòp know the dance as begun.

Children dance by mimicking the hop of a rabbit in their Cáuigú clothing and some children in the contemporary clothing. Some little boys dress attempt to dress exactly as older Cáuigú warrior once dressed, in the Cáuigú plains style. These Pòlá:yòp are adorned in cloth shirts with buckskin tied and beaded leggings, wearing beaded tassels worn in the front to differentiate a Cáuigú. Around the left shoulder is a bandolier of mescal and silver beads with a tied bundle of Indian perfume tied upon the bandolier behind the left shoulder. Around the waist, boys and men wear black shawls accompanied by leather beaded belts and cloths sashes. On the feet Cáuigú buckskins moccasins are worn. Moccasins are usually beaded with two lines running down the front and jingles tied for decoration but there are also some moccasins that are fully beaded. Not all Cáuigú boys possess older styles of dress but they also dance in regular street clothing or they may tie on a mixture of traditional regalia and street clothes. I have often witnessed Pòlá:yòp dance in a sash, bandolier and moccasins. I have also seen very little Pòlá:yòp come out and enjoy the dance dressed only in diapers.

Figure 3. Male Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Jimmie Mamaday
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Figure 4. Male Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Ray Doyah
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Young Pòlá:yòp girls dress in brightly colored cloth dresses and buckskin dresses. Today girl's dresses usually belt with a sewing al, knife pouch and a silver braid for carrying firewood attached. Some young girls also keep their dresses simple and tend to wear a sash with no sewing or knife attachments. Girl

moccasins are made of buckskin and taller than the Cáuigú men moccasins, but similar because usually beaded have two lines beaded on the front. Leaf beadwork can help identify a Cáuigú women and men in contemporary Cáuigú clothing. Leaves can be beaded or sew into different colors, represent the Cáuigú migration from a northern country.

Figure 5. Female Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Daughter of Reverend Kickingbird
Courtesy of Kiowa Historical and Research Society

Figure 6. Female Pòlá:yì: Regalia, Halycon Grace Bigbow
Photo Courtesy of George and Heather Bigbow Levi

During the dance children have fun imitating rabbits and animals as they dance. The songs that are performed express the cuteness of Cáuigú children. The children dance for about an hour with Grandpa Rabbit until he is tired from singing or the children are tired from dancing. Some children are able to sing a few simple songs, and the favorite is the Prairie Dog song. Parents enjoy taking pictures and honoring the kids by placing money as gifts for visitors at their feet as they dance. Pòlá:yòp dances are also an opportunity for relatives give names to children, names that are either passed down within families or new names that are made for particular people. After the completion of the dance, Grandpa Rabbit gives all the children gifts and a host camp feeds the participants breakfast and provides snack baskets and games for the children to play.

The journey and diffusion of the Pòlá:yòp society is a truly fascinating phenomenon in Cáuigú socialization and identity creation. The songs and dances are continuing today despite an enormous loss of Cáuigú language. It incredible that the tribe found a way to transform these songs and dances taken from an older warrior tradition and developed their usage into a modern day socialization mechanism developing children's habitus of tribal life. Because of the importance Pòlá:yòp plays in the creation social identity and habitus, the Cáuigú will continue to take part in the performance long in the future.

Chapter 5

Pòlá:yì: Songs

What do Pòlá:yòp songs communicate to younger generations? To fully understand how habitus and identity are formulated we need to pull apart and understand the meaning of the language comprised in societal songs. The Cáuigú oral tradition relies heavily on the telling of traditional stories handed down from generation to generation. Cáuigú Grandparents are historically credited with being the teachers of Cáuigú children because the adult parents were usually busy with the daily tasks of the tribal lifestyle. Pòlá:yòp has developed into an institution where Cáuigú warrior habitus is established within tribal youth. Children are socialized into tribal society and learn sociopolitical bounds and well as tribal identity.

Cáuigú storytellers often display different versions of tribal songs, how each song was created or how they were once used. Each song retains important meanings and transfer instructions or lessons on cultural ways of life. Some songs that were originally children's lullaby songs and were also adopted into Pòlá:yòp because they contained excellent messages of cultural knowledge and identity. Some songs and stories were specifically sang in wintertime, after the first snow and told until the first spring thunderstorm. Most all of contemporary Pòlá:yòp songs speak of animals because all animals are cute when they are young, and its relates to the cuteness of children. It is also an important Cáuigú belief that all animals use to speak and understand Cáuigú language, and it is remembered through lessons taught in Pòlá:yòp society.

5.1 Black Horn Spoon Song

The following song is a favorite among many Cáuigú families and it was not a part of the original Cáuigú song group but has been added in recent years.

At a honoring for Bill Koomsa Jr. in 2001, Billy Evans Horse told a story about the origination of this contemporary Pòlá:yì: song. The song was created from a time when the tribe was living in the Yellowstone River region of the Rocky Mountains. The tribe lived as mountain dwellers and winter was approaching the tribe at a time when not enough food had been collected to feed the tribe. During this time, when a child was an orphan, the tribe provided a caretaker of the child, another family member or especially a grandparent. One orphan boy had living in the tribe lived with his grandmother. Many times the young man was treated poorly among other tribal members. One day after being bullied by other young Cáuigú boys, he went to his grandmother's tipi on the outside of the encampment to sulk for being mistreated. He felt sorry for himself and through his body on the ground at the base of the door and landed on his grandmother's cooking spoon where it was broken. Mr. Horse stated when the black horn spoon was broken, the young boy received a blessing from the creator. Once the boy broke the spoon, and looked outside the tipi, he could smell wet buffalo hide, meaning a possible buffalo herd was east of the encampment. The boy informed his grandmother what had happened and he was disciplined for breaking the spoon. She pleaded with him not to inform the chiefs about his blessing because they may take action and leave them once the encampment broke. Persistently pursuing the chiefs of the tribe during those days about what

had happened with the spoon, and while it took some persistence in convincing the people he knew where a buffalo herd was, they finally agreed and sent out of hunting in that direction. A few miles from camp, they found a buffalo herd that had been trapped in some snowy cliffs in the mountains and the Cáuigú were able to take the meat back to the tribe and provide meat for the rest of winter.

The following song and story are important to Cáuigú habitus formation because they address where the Cáuigú were at one point during their migration and the song contains a lesson about Cáuigú courage and a sense of tribal well-being. The language is simple enough for children to understand and it speaks of how children can act when they are young, such as when the young boy "pouts in his tipi".

(1) Black Horn Song (As sung by the late George Tah-bone Sr.)

a. yah hey yah hey yeh yeh yeh
yah hey yah hey yeh yeh yeh

b.	Thàu:kó:	gàt	váui:xèp	nàu
	antelope.horn	1SG	forget	and
	"I lost the black horn spoon and"			

b.	tá:cyóidé	é	tá:hòl	nàu.
	grandmother	3SG/1SG	spank	and

"my grandmother spanked me."

c. Kòm: dó:bà à tháu:qàu,

tipi.inner.lining 1SG not listening

"As I pouted and lay at the base of the tipi,"

d. chè à ó:dè dáui:àumgà.

when 1SG there.became doctor

"it was there I became a doctor."

e. hey yeh yo hey yeh

What I find most interesting regarding this song is the reference to receipt of power or medicine during times of grief or anguish. In the older warrior society, warriors aspired to receive spiritual power from the creator to use in times of warfare. This idea of medicine or *dáudáu* still applies Cáuigú socialization. Members of Cáuigú society are still searching for ways to gain prestige and respect among their society, and with an active warrior structure still carried through tribal organizations such as the Pòlá:yòp, a person still is able to gain more respect and stature by knowing who they are in Cáuigú society.

5. 2 Sun Lodge Song

Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu Gus Palmer, Sr., began his Pòlá:yòp dance with this song in 2006 at the Kiowa Gourd Clan celebration in Carnegie Park. The Pòlá:yòp were actually a warrior's society in the beginning, which meant that its members

had a job to perform on war journeys with different warrior societies. The Pòlá:yòp society members also had responsibilities during the annual Sun Dance encampment. One of their duties was to help the Old Calf's Woman's society prepare the lodge and the grounds. Mr. Palmer remarks that these young boys would bring the sand from the river bottom and place it inside the lodge.

As the song Black Horn spoon tells a story of historical significance and acquisition of power, [the story of] the Sun Dance lodge describes the primary role of Pòlá:yòp members during the summer Sun Dance. The last Sun Dance on record took place in 1890, yet this song still discusses the main role the group performed during the annual Sun Dance ritual.

(2) Sun Lodge Song (As sung by Gus Palmer Sr., 2006)

a.	Tàlí:	qí	jói	bát	à:	hâ:
	boys	wood	house	2.PL	get.ready	raise
	"Boys, prepare to raise the arbor,"					

b.	jòi	dàumale	bát	auiaum.
	house	sand	2.PL	do.again
	"prepare the sand in the lodge,"			

c. gau bé yái gùn,

and 2.INCL play dance

"play like you are dancing,"

d. bé yái qájái yáiaum,

2.INCL play chiefs pretend

"pretend you are little chiefs,"

e. máu:hól gà chólhàu!

prepare 3SG that is right

"get ready and prepared!

f. Bat dót-jé-jàu.

2.INCL look.attractive-all-FUT

"You will all look attractive."

The language used in this particular song is attractive to young children because it grants them prestige calling them *qájái* or chiefs. One of the fun parts of Pòlá:yòp society for adults is watching the children imitate older adults as these little chiefs and Indian women. [I think] this is a vital part of the development of Cáuigú habitus, as they learn how to be culturally competent through personal experience. The learn how to dress, how to dance, how to talk, have fun and establish a relationship with their Cáuigú identity. Most importantly, the

language positively reinforces their roles as members of a larger warrior structure and they have fun doing it. It is begins to develop their understanding of respect and prestige, learning they have roles and obligations to fulfill in order to belong to the warrior tradition.

5.3 Grandmother's Song

Pòlá:yì: songs also teach traditional ways of behavior and important cultural values. In traditional Cáuigú culture, there exist a practice of respecting grandparents and elders as teachers. In the past Cáuigú children use to listen to stories and songs in order to learn a vast knowledge of cultural behavior from their grandparents. This practice of oral tradition has diminished with the passing of language speakers and *Grandfather/Grandmother* rabbits.

Similar to the Black Horn Spoon song, the next song discussed is also a about an orphan child that lives with his grandmother. The song is entitled the Grandmother's Song, referring to a small buffalo calf that the orphan child desired to kill in order to express his appreciation to his grandmother for raising him. Because he loved her so much he decided he would bring back the intestines, a Cáuigú delicacy, for her to eat. The gesture was very appropriate because the grandmother had reached the age where her teeth had fallen out and the intestine would be the perfect meal for her gums to chew (Gonzales 2005).

(3) Grandmother's Song (As sung by the late George Tah-bone Sr.)

a. Xalí gà álbàu.

calf 1SG chasing

"I am chasing a little calf."

b. Xalí gà álbàu.

calf 1SG chasing

"I am chasing a little calf."

c. Gà hàun dàu álbàu.

1SG/3SG no breath chasing

"Out of breath I am chasing it."

d. Gà hàun dàu álbàu.

1SG/3SG no breath chasing

"Out of breath I am chasing it."

e. Tháu:yàu gà jê-jàu gàu,

ears 1SG/3SG catch.FUT and

"I will catch it by the ears,"

f. haya nen káui+bàu jólèqí-jàu.

where 1SG skin+bring throw.FUT

"where I will skin it and toss it around."

g. Tà:jé séthái yàn àu câunjàu nàu

maternal.grandmother small.intestine 1SG bring FUT and

"I will bring Grandma the small intestine and"

h. gà áutháimàujàu.

she gum-FUT

"she will gum on it."

i. Gà áutháimàujàu.

she suck/gum+fut

"She will gum on it."

This is song was originally not apart of the Pòlá:yì: dance but was told as a young boy's story, according to Hanks (1935). Today, the song is sung at most Pòlá:yì: ceremonies and is sung at no particular time of the dance. The song itself has been known as the "Grandmother's song" or "Consideration Song."

There are variations of how songs and stories are communicated. Alecia Gonzales like many other Cáuigú elders restrict Séndè or trickster stories to winter months. Among Cáuigú oral tradition, trickster stories are told between the first winter snow up until the first spring thunderstorm. Some Cáuigú lullabies were instructed in similar fashion originally only told during the winter months. Some songs and stories have been incorporated in the Pòlá:yòp because the context around the Pòlá:yòp is deemed as appropriate.

Pòlá:yì: songs are embedded with cultural values, and there is a large amount of that a child could absorb hearing this song. In this case, children could learn about different words for buffalo, an example is the word *xalí* referring to a small buffalo, which is different from other terms used for buffalo such as *áugáufî* or *páu*. Also, children are exposed to terms for organs that are considered edible in the Cáuigú diet referring to *séthái,* a small intestine highly prized by Cáuigú. Cáuigú people once included many animal organs into their daily diet, such as buffalo or cow *bót* (stomach), *jául* (liver), and *secáui* (punch). While some Cáuigú may find these foods revolting, children may be okay eating traditional foods such as jául or séthái because of the reference made to this song. Perhaps this song could be used to remind children of the food Cáuigú hold as highly prized delicacies.

Songs singing about catching a buffalo by the ears and pulling out the intestines for grandma negatively impact most European cultures, but in the case of the Cáuigú, is a very acceptable way of life. It also is very playful for children to imagine, chasing down a baby buffalo. To a Pòlá:yì:, this song is hilarious because it speaks of a young boy chasing after this baby buffalo and tossing it around by the ears. Does say if he actually caught it or if this was actually an action that was accomplished. While non- Cáuigú people may view this songs as barbaric, a Cáuigú child sees this as fun and meaningful. Cáuigú people would seen this young boy had great respect for his grandmother and wanted to do something good for her, and attempting to chase down a buffalo with your bare

hands while unrealistic, the gesture of wanting to conduct an act in appreciation your grandmother is what is important.

Chapter 6

Pòlá:yì: Songs Application

Up to this point we have discussed the transition of Pòlá:yòp over a range of time and evaluated the ethnographic literature published and touched the surface of Pòlá:yòp function within the tribe. We also have broken down parts of three songs to ascertain what exactly a member of the Pòlá:yòp learns through active participation in the society. It is now time to apply what we have learned through this discussion and begin to understand this complicated idea of Cáuigú Yàpfahêgàu habitus. The final criteria qualifying this study to be a study in language socialization involves what is actually learned through the application of songs. Is the language being learned, or is it only the distinct cultural practices being absorbed with the absence of language?

The answer in the case of the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp society is obviously the latter. While the Pòlá:yòp society has remained intact for over one hundred years, retaining its close relationship to the older warrior tradition from which the tribe evolved, children are no longer using songs and dances to learn the language. I ascertain that because Cáuigú people still desire to possess status and prestige among their community, parents want their children to learn cultural practices and habitus of warrior society but do not require children to learn the language.

In 1962, a social psychologist named Lev Vygotsky offered a concept called sociocultural theory. This concept states that language learning is suppose to be essentially a social process situated within sociocultural settings. According to his theory, simple innate minds undergo a cultural diffusion in order to obtain

higher more complex mental functions. This transformation occurs through something entitled symbolic mediation, which is essentially a link between children's mental state and its categorization of higher-level functions provided by language. Results through this type of language learning produce children with heightened awareness of their abilities and control over their thoughts.

Cáuigú children are learning cultural habitus not through language but through interpersonal interaction, meaning the communicative events and contexts, which occur between Cáuigú members. What is needed for effective interpersonal interaction to take place requires mediation between learners and experts, a level of learning which Vygotsky calls a Zone of Proximal Development. This developmental learning exists between the cultural experts called Pòlá:yì: Qáptàu and the learning members of the Pòlá:yòp society. This area of learning can only occur with by assistance of experts in the language or cultural knowledge. Using this template as the basis for cultural transfusion, an individual can advance their thoughts of habitus by performing and collaborating with other people. Essentially Vygotsky is stating that children should learn through communities, meaning that kids will learn more effectively with the support of parents and adults around them.

So how do we apply these songs further and turn the trend around and start beginning to teach more language learning pedagogy through songs? The solution is easily identifiable, we need use more songs and stories in classrooms and homes. Songs for children are an integral part of the socialization practice. Children themselves find the dances meaningful and fun and would probably

learn more language if the elders and conversational language speakers would speak more regularly. Language speakers need to focus on diffusing more language rather than only teaching the culture. The focal point would then turn to teaching culture through application of language.

There is definite need for the creation of more speaking domains using the language in the tribal community. Language lessons need developed and taught so that children may learn the words to the songs and understand the language meaning and stories from which the songs originate. Some ideas that come to mind are domains such as language camps from tribal organizations, tribal school programs or even a tribally funded afterschool language program. There exist around fifteen Cáuigú organizations that perform social functions such as pow-wows, prayer meetings, encampments, and tribal giveaways. These organizations could host language camps focusing on teaching children more of the language while also including the dance to make the event engaging for families. Perhaps one day the tribe would be in a position to create a tribally run language program. This program could establish a curriculum that would include teach language to younger generations using programs such as an afterschool Cáuigú program or even work with the local public schools to establish in-school instruction. Application means that we need apply these songs in everyway possible before it is gone.

A child's language is normally a major part of their native culture and a large part of their tribal habitus, meaning habitus includes attitudes, knowledge and skills, which are transmitted from each generation to the next. Application

needs to be made from public schools, into tribal programs and eventually into individual family homes. The contexts exist for interpersonal interaction because we still have the Pòlá:yòp songs, the only need is for the development of performance domains.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The Pòlá:yòp is a traditional institution of education, in which children learn a specific tribal habitus through the performance of songs, stories and a unique dance associated with animals. A member of the Pòlá:yòp negotiates their tribal identity through interaction with other Cáuigú children in the context of a ceremony held every summer. Pòlá:yòp membership is the beginning process of each tribal member's identity creation. By actively participating in this institution a person is able to categorize events and express personal identity as Cáuigú.

The Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp does socialize individuals using a context that includes language. Using the criteria laid out by Kulick and Schieffelin on language socialization, I have attempted to understand how people become socially and culturally intelligent members of the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp. In conducting this research, I presented and offered a discussion in regards to the limited ethno-historical work performed on Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp previously, making this presentation ethnographic by design. I have also studied the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp over a long period of time making this discussion longitudinal, from the latter part of the 19th century, up to the present year, spanning the data over one hundred and twenty-five years. I have also attempted to understand what is being learned in the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp, is it language or it is only the worldview. That is a major criteria of language socialization studies.

In the case of the Cáuigú, the members of the Pòlá:yòp are not learning the tribal language and are not socializing to use their own language. It is the context

in which the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp takes places that is socializing people and creating identity. Essentially, the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp are learning a dance and not learning the language. While this dance is still an institution that continues to be of vital importance in the perpetuation and the creation of tribal habitus, what will happen if the language dies, will tribal habitus be lost or will it totally be perpetuated in the English language? If that happens, so much will be lost in terms of worldview and Cáuigú musical creativity.

The answer to the Cáuigú language problem is simple. The Cáuigú people need to think beyond the current language status and develop ways to incorporate Pòlá:yòp songs and dances into more of our language speaking domains and classrooms. As a people, the Cáuigú we are fortunate to still retain a rich warrior tradition, which is intact to this day through our many community clubs and organizations. Those organizations and especially the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp need to reinstate Cáuigú language back into ceremonial life and invigorate within our children the understanding that what it means to be Cáuigú is not by simply knowing a dance but by knowing language. I am warrior today physically, mentally and spiritually because of the upbringing I obtained in the Cáuigú Pòlá:yòp. The main point I have learned in this research project has been that our own tribal songs can still help us save our tribal language. It is time for our Cáuigú language warriors to speak out and create a new song from our souls.

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