

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION THROUGH PAWNEE MUSIC

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN APPLIED LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma
2016

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION THROUGH PAWNEE MUSIC

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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This thesis is dedicated to the members of the Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of my two uncles. Herb Adson has amazed me throughout this whole process. His unlimited knowledge of Pawnee music is incredible. If it was not for you, there is no way I could have understood the beautiful Pawnee hymns present in this thesis. Steve Moore is one of the last remaining fluent speakers. Whenever I have been stuck with translation, he has always been there for help and for that, I am very grateful. I am also grateful to my committee chair, Dr. Racquel-María Sapién, for your support and guidance throughout my graduate studies. I am not sure if I could have made it through these past 2 years, had you not been there. I would also like to thank Dr. Kimberly Marshall for serving on my committee and being patient with me. Your knowledge of ethnomusicology has helped more than you could ever know. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Gus Palmer, Jr. for serving on my committee. Your endless humor has made this process easier. I also want to acknowledge all the support and prayers from those in the Pawnee tribal community. Thank you and I am willing to repay you with a lifetime of work for the Pawnee language. May the Pawnee language continue to prosper.

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Abstract

Pawnee music has always been a crucial component in the lives of the Pawnee people and have been a source of comfort to those who have needed it. Traditional songs give Pawnee people a sense of identity lacking because of the forced assimilation into mainstream American culture. Because of assimilation, the Pawnee language has suffered a great deal. Just two decades ago, fluent first language speakers still existed in the Pawnee tribe. Now, only a few second language speakers remain. As someone working in the language revitalization field, new and creative ways must be incorporated to preserve and teach the Pawnee language. My main focus in this thesis is Pawnee hymns however, this type of analysis can be used for different genres of Pawnee music. Pawnee hymns, once prominent in the church, began to become obsolete once song leaders began to pass away starting in the late 1980s. Soon, the only domains that the hymns were utilized in were wakes and funerals. This caused the Pawnee hymns to be associated with death, grief, and sadness. However, there has been a resurgence of Pawnee hymns. This can be attributed to a very small group of people that took it upon themselves to revitalize these dying hymns. In this thesis, I argue that Pawnee music can be a vital key in language revitalization. Songs not only have Pawnee sentence structure included inside the songs, but Pawnee songs can create interest in the Pawnee language, which is desperately needed.

Chapter 1: History of the Pawnee Language

The Pawnee language has been in steady decline the last few decades. The language that was once prominent in Pawnee every day life is now only spoken in very few domains, mainly school settings. Prayers have become more and more reliant on English. The one thing that has remained consistent has been Pawnee music. The Pawnee have a strong selection of music that includes war dance songs, Young Dog Dance songs, Native American Church songs, soldier dance songs, hand game songs, Ghost Dance songs, more contemporary powwow songs, and the topic of this thesis, Pawnee hymns.

Unlike other Pawnee songs, Pawnee hymns have been under-studied. Typically, Pawnee hymns are only sung in two domains: at wakes and at Pawnee Indian Baptist Church services.¹ All tribal members, regardless of religious affiliation, attend wakes, but not all attend the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church. As a result, most tribal members do not hear Pawnee hymns on a regular basis. This has caused the hymns to be more endangered than other Pawnee songs, which are sung in more domains. Although this thesis analyses Pawnee hymns specifically, this type of research can be applied to other genres of Pawnee music as well for the purpose of language revitalization. In this thesis, I explore the history of the Pawnee hymns, their social role, their linguistic makeup, and how Pawnee hymns can be a useful tool in language revitalization.

¹ There is not one dominant religion in the Pawnee community. Pawnee people attend the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church, Indian Methodist Church, the Native American Church and the Catholic Church.

1.1 Motivation

My passion for Pawnee language began back when I first learned Pawnee songs as a child. This passion has led me to participate in our tribal gatherings. I have learned our tribal songs in both the powwow arena and Native American Church. I am grateful for being introduced to our tribal ways at a young age but I believe many of our people remain unaware of our dying language. It is important to unveil this problem to the Pawnee community, which I am a member of. Awareness of the Pawnee language problem is crucial to garner community support and allow the community to bring back the language that was once so prominent. If raising awareness is successful, a curriculum plan must be put into place containing new ideas while at the same time, maintaining interest of the tribal community. My hope is that my research on Pawnee music can contribute to this.

Traditional songs are a great entry point into language revitalization, as songs are a rich part of tribal culture. Not only do traditional songs introduce important terms, but they also provide an important story to the people. It is important to learn the history stored within these songs. The Pawnee tribe has many songs- each has its own purpose and time to be sung. Oral history is a vital part of Pawnee history that can be enhanced by an increased knowledge of the Pawnee words that were familiar to our ancestors. As a singer, I see the link that is possible between our language and our traditions within the songs. I believe language revitalization can be greater supported by uncovering the possibilities of cultural knowledge, tradition, and renewed pride. Rather than repetitious

reading of vocabulary words, our language can be broken down into tangible learning activities that can be implemented into curriculum designed around traditional functions. My current study is on Pawnee Hymns. I have been the first from the Pawnee tribe to linguistically analyze the Pawnee hymns. The ultimate goal is to be able to make a Pawnee hymnal for our tribe so that more people learn the songs and also be able to know what is being said.

There is a perception that hymns are “sad” songs and that they are only sung during times of mourning. This is due to the hymns being a prominent part of Pawnee wake and funeral services. Also, the slow acapella style of singing is noticeable when compared to the other traditional songs which are accompanied with a drum and multiple singers. This perception of Pawnee hymns has led to the hymns being severely understudied with only a small handful of people remaining that sing the Pawnee hymns. My work will hopefully allow us to veer away from this perception, while piquing interest in the Pawnee language.

Analyzing Pawnee hymns will not only allow us to understand what the hymns are actually saying but it will also create interest in the Pawnee language. The story inside the hymns would not be complete without the history of the hymns and why the composers made them. In my research, I include both the linguistic analysis and the history of the hymns.

I am conducting this research for the purpose of helping Pawnee language revitalization. Along with helping with Pawnee language revitalization, I hope to add to the small number of texts concerning Pawnee music. To date, there is only one text available covering Pawnee music. Frances Densmore produced the earliest known text

on Pawnee songs called *Pawnee Music*. Other than Densmore's contribution, no major publication exists on Pawnee songs. A small hymnal of 9 selected Pawnee hymns was made in 1999. This thesis contributes to Pawnee documentation by more than doubling the existing number of hymns documented to date. In all, 20 Pawnee Hymns will be collected, archived, and made into a new Pawnee Hymnal for the Pawnee community. This hymnal will aid in language revitalization with curriculum built around the hymnal for those who attend church and anyone interested in the Pawnee hymns.

I hope this adds to the limited selection of accessible Pawnee material. Recently, there has not been much publication or research on the Pawnee people. The most recent publication came in 2014, when a Pawnee elder's project produced a documentary and book. I want this research to be available to all Pawnee tribal members. I also hope this research will inspire other Pawnee tribal members to achieve an advanced degree.

Most of all I want this research to aid in the long-term goal of revitalizing the Pawnee language. Working on the Pawnee language is a lifetime of work and I want to be able to research and archive more Pawnee music. It is important to start working on this now while we still have knowledgeable Pawnee singers to learn from. These singers can also tell the history of the songs and we must not let the chance of researching Pawnee songs pass by.

I want to be able to show how Pawnee music, in this case Pawnee hymns, can help aid in Pawnee language revitalization. Many language revitalization attempts have been made in the past few decades and only minimal success can be seen from these attempts. There has not been an effort that included Pawnee music. Pawnee music has survived because of dedicated individuals who took it upon themselves to learn songs

from elders who have now passed. Pawnee songs can play in a crucial role in Pawnee language revitalization because many Pawnee community members attend the traditional dances and ceremonies where these songs are performed. The community members can already identify the “type” of songs that are sung at certain times. Learning the Pawnee language inside these songs is crucial to understanding the meaning behind the songs.

I feel that Pawnee songs are under utilized in language revitalization efforts. Pawnee songs are sung at all of our Pawnee gatherings. Most Pawnee community members are accustomed to the Pawnee songs. They are easy to remember due the repetitive nature of the songs. It is an easy gateway to learning the Pawnee language. It will achieve greater interest in learning the Pawnee language.

The Pawnee songs themselves hold key sentence structures inside them. Within my research, I have seen the language differ from the early 1920s to present day. Morphemes that were present then are now almost altogether obsolete. Songs can be utilized to show community members what language is inside the songs. I think an equally important aspect of this research would be that the history of each hymn was recorded. Some songs take on a stronger meaning once the history of the song is known. They are not just collections of Pawnee words rather, the composer had a reason to make the song and it had a purpose and a time to be sung.

Each chapter of this thesis is motivated by a desire to illustrate why Pawnee songs, in this case Pawnee hymns, are important to the Pawnee people and why they need to be utilized in Pawnee language revitalization. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the current situation of the language, attempts to revitalize it, and the methodology

underlying this research. Chapter 2 describes the role of music in Pawnee culture. In chapter 3, I analyze a selection of hymns linguistically and provide background on each hymn analyzed. Finally, in chapter 4, I show how the hymns can be used for Pawnee language revitalization.

The church-going tribal members have already shown an interest in having a Pawnee hymnal and learning the songs. With this research, it can give this group a sense of identity that could be lacking. Some tribal members in this group do not attend tribal events. This research will give them a reason to be interested in language revitalization.

1.2 Pawnee Typology

The Pawnee language is a member of the Caddoan language family, which includes the Arikara, Kitsai (now extinct), Wichita, and Caddo languages (Parks 1976:1). Like other Caddoan languages, Pawnee is known for being extremely “polysynthetic in its structure in that words – primarily verbs – are composed of an unusually larger number of meaningful elements (morphemes) that generally in other, non-polysynthetic languages are separate, or independent, words” (Parks 2008:29). Furthermore, Pawnee is also considered fusional because morphemes in Pawnee tend to fuse or change their forms to one extent or another when coming together in word building (Parks 2008:29). The fusional nature of the Pawnee language leads to complex morphophonological processes that may be difficult to teach and learn in second language learning environments of language revitalization efforts.

The Pawnee language belongs specifically to the northern branch of the Caddoan language family, which also includes the Arikara, Kitsai, and Wichita languages (Parks 2008:3). Two mutually intelligible dialects, Skiri (SK) and South Band (SB), comprise the Pawnee language. The differences between these dialects are primarily phonological and lexical. For example, Skiri has only three vowels (i, a, u) occurring in short and long forms, while South Band has an additional vowel (e) occurring in both short and long forms. Moreover, Skiri shortened many vowels that are long in South Band. Consequently, there are various phonological rules for vowel contraction and length reduction that are specific to Skiri. Also, the consonant cluster hr was reduced to h in Skiri and Skiri retained word-initial h, while South Band dropped it.

Aside from the linguistic differences between the Skiri and South Band groups, the Skidi Band was at one time culturally, historically, and politically independent from the Chawi, Kitkahahki, and Pitahawirata Bands, which comprise the South Band Pawnees. These historical differences have shaped tribal, band, and individual identities in profound ways that still have implications today, especially in regards to language revitalization efforts in the Pawnee community. As someone working in the Pawnee language revitalization field, these differences make it a challenge. The hope is that because most Pawnee tribal members are more than one band, these differences will not be an impediment to language revitalization.

1.3 Status of the Language

The Pawnee tribal community has faced various historical processes that have caused a drastic decline in the number of Pawnee speakers. Many of these governmental policies, such as reservations, removal, allotment, boarding schools, and relocation, were purposely meant to ravage our tribal communities and negatively affect the Pawnee way of life. While these policies have had wide-ranging negative effects on our community, the Pawnee people have remained steadfast in trying to maintain, preserve, and revitalize their culture and language.

Like many American Indian languages, the Pawnee language is critically endangered at this present time. According to Ethnologue, Pawnee's language status is at an 8b on Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), meaning that Pawnee is nearly extinct (Lewis, Paul, Simons, and Fennig 2016). Ethnologue states 8b as "the only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language" (Lewis, Paul, Simons, and Fennig 2016). The Pawnee language has suffered because of assimilationist American policies, which have had a profound effect on our cultural and linguistic practices. These policies have had a negative impact upon our language and culture by disrupting the Pawnee way of life. Reservations, removal, allotment, and relocation policies have all contributed to a loss of land and the disruption of social systems that cultivated and promoted Pawnee culture and language.

Prior to European contact, the Pawnee territory extended from Nebraska to the northern portion of Kansas (Wedel 1936). The four Pawnee bands lived mostly along the Loup, Platte, and Republican River systems. From 1833 to 1857, the Pawnee Tribe ceded the vast majority of their homeland in Nebraska and north central Kansas to the

United States government. (Blaine 1990) In return, a reservation was established in present-day Nance County Nebraska in 1857 by a treaty between the Pawnee and United States government. As a result, the diminishment of the Pawnee land base also equaled the diminishment of a buffer to the influence of the (American) English language and way of life. Approximately twenty years after this 1857 treaty, the Pawnee people were removed to Indian Territory in what is now most of present day Pawnee County in Oklahoma (Blaine 1990).

Fewer than twenty years after removal to present-day Oklahoma, the Pawnee Reservation was allotted to individual Pawnee people, while Pawnee surplus lands would be opened up for white settlement. The Dawes Act of 1887 was an effort by the United States to gain control of Pawnee lands, while breaking up the collective identity of the Pawnee people in order to assimilate them into the American way of life. The loss of the contiguous Pawnee Reservation in Oklahoma greatly contributed to the loss of Pawnee language and culture. This loss of land and the resultant loss of the buffer that existed between the Pawnee way of life and the American way of life interrupted intergenerational transmission of the language.

1.4 Language Shift

The loss of Pawnee cultural and linguistic practices was exacerbated by the boarding school experience during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Pawnee children who attended boarding schools, such as Carlisle, Haskell, and the boarding school on the Pawnee Reservation in Oklahoma, were no longer in the primary care of their Pawnee

parents. Therefore, the intergenerational transmission of the Pawnee language was disrupted. Furthermore, the boarding school experience during these early years traumatized these Pawnee students. Pawnee children were punished severely for speaking the only language they knew, which included being hit with rulers and having their mouths washed out with soap. In an interview for the Pawnee elders' oral history project, a Pawnee elder named Rachel Eaves had this to say about boarding schools,

“It was horrible (talking about the condition) and the food was bad. We used to joke that prisoners lived better than we did. And if we spoke any Indian we would get punished. It was really horrible the things they were allowed to do to us. I remember my friend asked me something and I couldn't answer in English. Like I didn't know how to say it in English. I could only answer it in Indian. And that woman walked by and heard me. Boy was she mean. She grabbed me and took me into the bathroom and washed my mouth with that soap. That lye soap. I don't know how they could do that and get away with it. But that's how most of us were. We didn't know English. We only knew Indian.” (Pawnee Elders Oral History)

Experiences similar to these were felt not only by the Pawnee people but also in Native American communities across the nation, as well. Numerous tribes were forced into boarding schools. For the Pawnee people this led to negative attitudes of Pawnee culture and language, which lowered the prestige of the Pawnee language and made English more desirable. Mrs. Eaves acknowledges this in her interview by saying:

“Some of us didn't talk Indian again after school. Didn't teach it to their kids. We did (pointing to her husband) but they didn't want to learn. They understand us but answer in English. Our oldest don't want anything to do with Indian ways. He's a preacher and sees them (traditional ways) as useless.” (Pawnee Elders Oral History)

This is problematic for people trying to revitalize an endangered language because this negative attitude toward Pawnee is still seen in the some communities. In

the Pawnee community we are continuing to see this attitude. The challenge is to try to reverse this type of thinking so that language revitalization goals can be met.

By the 1950s, another United States governmental policy contributed to the decline of the Pawnee language. During this time, the United States government began an Indian relocation program that was designed to get reservation Indians to move to urban areas and become integrated into mainstream American culture. In Alexander Lesser's book *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: Ghost Dance Revival and Ethnic Identity*, he explains this concept

“The theory was that Indian areas, predominantly rural, could not be developed to support their Indian population, that these areas were in fact overpopulated. Even if unskilled, Indians should be helped to find jobs in and settle in industrialized areas. Those who did, it was expected, would leave Indian reservation life behind and prefer to live in permanently in cities as part of the American labor force” (Lesser xiii).

This program affected Pawnees as well as numerous tribes. It sent Pawnee families across the United States. The logical thinking behind the relocation act was that these people need work and there is no work on their land so why not send them where there is work. I feel that there was also a darker motive behind this. The government wanted to get rid of Indian culture and assimilate native peoples into the mainstream culture.

Relocation during the 1950s led to another disruption of Pawnee social systems, which could have led to intergenerational transmission of the language. However, relocation continued the trend of breaking up the Pawnee people's communal identity by interrupting social interaction, which could have produced more proficient Pawnee speakers.

1.5 Revitalization Attempts

Presently, the Pawnee people must deal with the aftermath of these historical traumas in our Pawnee cultural and language revitalization efforts. Consequently, there are only a handful of individuals with some form of proficiency in the Pawnee language. According to Ethnologue, as recently as 2007, there were an estimated ten speakers of the Pawnee language. However, since then, the Pawnee people have seen a drastic reduction in the number of individuals proficient in the Pawnee language. Today, while there are approximately 3400 Pawnee tribal members, there are as few as two and as many as five proficient speakers of Pawnee. Therefore, less than 1% of Pawnee tribal citizens understand and speak Pawnee. Those who do understand and speak Pawnee are all second language speakers. Currently there are no first language speakers. Only language revitalization efforts can help reverse this trend. The longer the Pawnee community waits, the more of the language is lost.

Several scattered revitalization efforts have resulted in numerous orthographic conventions for the representation of spoken Pawnee. Missionaries, linguists, and community members have all written Pawnee very differently and for different reasons. The missionaries utilized writing as a way to convert Pawnee people to Christianity. This writing system was established so Pawnee people could read the Bible and adopt Christian beliefs. On the other hand, linguists' main goal was to accurately describe the Pawnee language's sounds and grammar. Community members have tried to use

orthographies to better read and write in the Pawnee language, however the orthographies have not always been accurate.

1.5.1 First Language Revitalization Attempt

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Pawnee language revitalization efforts began with the Pawnee Cultural Retention Committee convincing some of the last remaining fluent speakers of the Pawnee language to come together and teach the language. Community language classes were held to teach people the Pawnee language. Ultimately, these efforts resulted in Pawnee people knowing some words and phrases in the language. The committee developed an orthography and produced a Pawnee language book and audio material that is still being utilized in our language revitalization efforts today.

The orthography that the Pawnee Cultural Retention Committee developed can be considered somewhat linguistically accurate. The advantages of this orthography are that the community had heavy input in the orthographic conventions and there is audio available with the book to aid in accurate pronunciation of Pawnee words. Furthermore, this orthography includes both the Skiri and South Band dialects. However, in order to include both dialects, vowel length was not represented in the orthography itself. Instead, the book suggests learners go to a fluent speaker and mark vowel length in the book themselves. While this orthography was very useful in the past, presently, there are no fluent first language speakers of the Pawnee language. Therefore, while the representation of both dialects was an advantage at the time, now it has become a

disadvantage since the last fluent speakers of the Pawnee language have passed away. The recorded audio still helps with pronunciation and vowel length but a recording cannot replace a fluent Pawnee speaker.

1.5.2 Second Language Revitalization Attempt

During the 1990s and early 2000s, Pawnee language activists teamed up with linguist Douglas Parks and the American Indian Studies Research Institute at Indiana University – Bloomington. Dr. Parks’ work on the Pawnee language led to him being approached by the Pawnee Nation to develop an alphabet and curriculum materials to teach the Pawnee language to those wanting to learn the language. Dr. Parks provided an orthography that was very linguistically accurate and distinguished short and long vowels. Dr. Parks already developed one orthography early in his work but revised it. This time, he denoted length by simply doubling the vowel. The one sound to one symbol ratio basically remained the same. The advantage of this orthography is that it is both accurate and easy to type and write. One disadvantage is that there was a lack of community input in making the orthography. A small critique of this orthography could possibly be the lengthening of words by doubling vowels. Ultimately these efforts resulted in the production of a Pawnee language textbook and multimedia lessons. However, the Pawnee language textbook and multimedia lessons are not widely available in the Pawnee community. Most Pawnee community members did not know this type of materials existed. It was only recently that community members found out

about these resources. The multimedia lessons are limited in that they require a computer that runs Windows 95 or later to operate.

1.5.3 Third Language Revitalization Attempt

During the mid 2000s, Pawnee language revitalization efforts focused on early childhood care and the use of language nests to transmit the language to the children. At this time, the Pawnee Language Department developed a new orthography. The new orthography is difficult to discern linguistically. One of the few positive aspects of this orthography is the younger generations' ability to understand it because this is the only orthography they have ever been exposed to. With this being said, there are many disadvantages to utilizing this orthography. First, this orthography was developed with no understanding of the sociolinguistic aspects present in the Pawnee community, such as dialect differences, band differences, historical, cultural, and political differences that affect the Pawnee community. Therefore, the new orthography wanted to standardize the Pawnee language by doing away with these dialect differences believing this would make it easier to learn Pawnee. Aside from the non-linguistic aspects that disadvantage this orthography, the orthography does not represent the Pawnee language and the Pawnee sounds accurately. The new orthography represents ten vowels in the Pawnee language. However, only eight vowels exist in South Band dialect and only six vowels in Skiri dialect. Additionally, this orthography utilizes the symbols,] and < to represent tʃ and r, which are the affricate and alveolar tap in the Pawnee language. Many community members have expressed a negative attitude toward representing the

Pawnee language with these symbols. Their attitudes reflected the notion that these symbols were not aesthetically pleasing and they expressed the belief that these symbols make the Pawnee language look less prestigious than English (S. Moore and H. Adson 11/7/2014). Ultimately, these efforts resulted in some Pawnee children and their parents knowing some words and phrases in the language; however, no proficient speakers of the language were created, because these efforts began to dwindle as grant funding ran out.

These orthographies discussed typically had little to no community input. Moreover, many tribal members spell the Pawnee language as they hear it, which is problematic because different people hear and write the sounds of Pawnee differently. Additionally, there are several ways to write one sound in English and this is very problematic. For example, the 'f' sound in English is represented by the letter 'f' as in frog, the letters 'ff' as in differ, the letters 'gh' as in cough, and the letters 'ph' as in phone. These examples clearly illustrate why it can be problematic when Pawnee people rely on English to spell Pawnee words. Sometimes Pawnee people even forget how to pronounce a Pawnee word they have spelled using English orthographic conventions. Finally, there is one orthography that has had community input, but is not entirely accurate with representing Pawnee sounds. This is problematic because with so few speakers, it is necessary for the language to be represented by a one symbol to one sound correspondence for language learners. This will aid in the appropriate pronunciation of Pawnee words. The main issues with many of these orthographic conventions are the lack of community input and the lack of an accurate standard way

to write Pawnee. These issues have contributed to the lack of a standard writing system in the Pawnee community.

In my analysis of Pawnee hymns, I employ Dr. Douglas Parks' orthography for the availability of resources. Dr. Parks and the American Indian Studies Research Institute at Indiana University – Bloomington have the most Pawnee resources that are available to Pawnee tribal members. The orthography is the most linguistically accurate to date and is computer friendly.

The Pawnee language today is in a critical stage. There have been numerous attempts at language revitalization resulting in limited success. These attempts could be looked at as an advantage. We can see what has worked and what has failed in the past. We must learn from these previous attempts and stay away from the mistakes that affected the language learning in the past. In this thesis, I show how Pawnee music could be utilized in the language revitalization efforts.

1.6 Research Methodologies

The Pawnee hymns present in this thesis were collected in December of 2014 as part of a Christmas gift for the Adson family. Herb Adson wanted recordings of the hymns to give to family who were interested in the Pawnee hymns. As we recorded each hymn, he would share the meaning of the hymns along with backstories and how each hymn was created. I was not able to write everything down, so I returned in January with my recorder. I asked Mr. Adson if he could share everything he could about each hymn. He again included the meanings of each hymn. However, this time he

included the Pawnee words he knew that were present in each hymn. Mr. Adson would explain how he did not know some of the language in particular hymns but wanted to know what it was saying. With that in mind, I transcribed the language inside each hymn on a piece of paper. I then took the transcriptions to Steve Moore, a fluent second language speaker of Pawnee, and he gave me a gloss translation of each line in the hymn. Although Mr. Moore is fluent in Pawnee, there were some hymns that could not be translated. This could be due to the fact that, because the Pawnee hymns were never written down, the language in the hymns could have been changed over the years. This might have led to different versions of the songs from multiple sources, a problem that I address in more detail in section 4.2.

After receiving the free translations, I analyzed the hymns linguistically. I used my own knowledge of Pawnee, as a competent second language speaker, and my training in linguistics to analyze the hymns. However, due to Pawnee's complex morphophonology, linguistic analysis was a long and arduous process that was not as simple as breaking down phrases into smaller morphemes. In addition to descriptive works such as Parks (1976), I consulted with other linguists and Pawnee speakers in order to parse and gloss each hymn. Once this long process was completed, I would return to Mr. Moore and get his opinion on the linguistic analysis to see if he agreed with the analysis. Most of the hymns were successful, although two are still being analyzed, including one that is present in this thesis.

One of my goals for this thesis is to create a hymn book that will do three primary things. First of all, it will provide people involved in language revitalization with a much-needed resource that can be used for curriculum development. Secondly,

it will document not only the hymns themselves and their linguistic forms, but also the stories that accompany them. Finally, the idea for the Pawnee hymns in my research was to still be able to sing these hymns even if everyone who knows the hymns had passed away.²

For this last goal, I wanted to be able to use an instrument to play the tune of the hymn along with Pawnee translations to be able to sing the song correctly. However, I have no idea how to read music or produce musical notations. I told a friend and colleague of mine, Camille Prevett, about my project and she agreed to try to analyze the hymns, musically. A long process, she would listen to the hymns and use a keyboard to find the notes that went along with the hymns. She then used a website to digitally add notes to a music sheet. After each hymn was completed she would let me listen to it to see if I thought it was correct or sounded like the hymn. Once we felt each hymn was correct we would finalize it and save it. Analyzing the hymns in this way led to some unusual musical notation, especially with the time signatures. This is not surprising given our method, the musical complexity of the hymns, and the fact that Western

² While researching other work on Native American hymns, I would come across only hymn translations. The hymns would be written out in the native language then translated into English. The Otoe language department found the book *An Elementary Book of the Ioway Language with an English Translation* by Rev. William Hamilton and Rev. Samuel Irvin published in 1843. This book had bible translations along with Ioway hymns. This was a great find but the hymns could not be sung. The translations were there but one could not possibly know how the song went.

musical notation is sometimes incompatible with songs in Native languages. However, I am confident that despite these challenges, the linguistic and musical analysis in this thesis will allow the hymns to survive and continue to be sung as long as there are Pawnee people to sing them.

Chapter 2: Role of Music in Pawnee Culture

2.1 Religions

The Pawnee people were very spiritual in their every day lives. This spirituality led to numerous ceremonies that honored *Tiirawaahut*, the ancient Pawnee word used for God. These ceremonies were frequent and ranged from bundle ceremonies consisting of only a few people to ceremonies that involved everyone in the tribe. The one thing that the ceremonies had in common was Pawnee music. The few remaining ceremonies that are active today utilize of some type of Pawnee music. After removal from their original territories to Indian Territory, three religions emerged for the Pawnee people.

2.1.1 Pawnee Ghost Dance

It is said that the Cheyenne and Arapahos brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee in the late 19th century. The Ghost Dance movement began with a vision that a Paiute man named Wovoka had. Wovoka was the son of a well-known and well-respected Paiute prophet. This helped spread the Ghost Dance movement. Wovoka fell asleep, or died, and was taken to another world where he saw God. God had with him all the people that had died long ago who were engaged in their old time sports and ceremonies, all happy and forever young. The land was pleasant and full of game. In Alexander Lesser's book *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* Lesser writes about God's message to Wovoka:

“God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites; that they must

work, and not lie and steal; that they must put away the old practices that savored war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five successive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event.” (Lesser pg.53-54)

This movement caught on with tribes across the plains. It is here that the Ghost Dance came to the Pawnee. Pawnee elder Nora Pratt says this when asked about what the Ghost Dance meant to the Pawnee people,

“...that’s where a lot of them got their blessings. They’d go into a trance and they’d see different things or hear songs and then they’d bring it back when they’d come out of it...they dance for four nights, four nights and days and then they’d cook, the women folks, they’d cook and feed. They had seven singers that was the main ones. These seven carried out the four days out, four days and four nights. They’d stay up all night and sing Ghost Dance songs. Sing so many songs then they’d rest and they’d get up and talk to the people while they were resting and then when they get through, well they get up and dance again. And they say hold hands, hold hands don’t break, don’t let that spirit come in. They said a bad spirit might come in if you don’t hold hands...and if someone went into a trance well then they’d fall down and they’d just go around them.”
(Pawnee Elders Oral History)

In the aftermath of the incident at Wounded Knee, the Ghost Dance movement began to decline across tribal nations. The Pawnee Ghost Dance was no exception. However, the Ghost Dance began being associated with the Pawnee Hand Game. The songs that are sung for the hand game come from the songs that were sung for the Ghost Dance. This has caused some tensions between certain people because some believe that these songs needed to be separate from hand games because hand games are more social where the Ghost Dance was more serious. But when the Ghost Dance started to become obsolete, the Pawnee Hand Game was a way to keep that tradition of the Ghost Dance going, which why it is sometimes called the Ghost Dance Hand Game. Even

today, during what can be called “intermission” between games, Ghost Dance songs are still sung in their true form, where everyone makes a circle around the big drum and in unison, move to the left, right foot first (Lesser 1933).

2.1.2 *Native American Church*

It is said that the Comanche brought the Native American Church to the Pawnee in the early 1900’s (Swan 1999). This religion is still going strong today among the Pawnee and various other tribes. There are two stories of how this religion came to be. The first story comes from the Comanche. The leader, Quanah Parker, was gored by a bull and close to death when he heard the peyote plant talk to him. He ingested the peyote, which through God, healed him. He then brought this back to his people and began spreading it other tribes. (Moore 4/22/15) The Pawnee have another story of how it came to their people. A young girl was left by accident by the tribe, as they were moving. She could not survive on her own and was close to death. As she lied down preparing for death, she heard voices talking to her. She did not see anyone around her. She got up and saw that she was standing in a field of peyote plants. They told her to take the peyote and eat it and it will help her. She did and as a result, became healed. She took this back to her people (Moore 4/22/15). I have heard this story before and more research needs to be done on this story, as it conflicts with other stories of how the religion came to be. Most Pawnees acknowledge that the Comanche brought this religion to them. However, this story is not uncommon among tribes that practice the Native American Church religion. In Daniel Swan’s book *Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief*, he finds this common theme among stories by saying,

“although a number of stories are recorded for the mythical origin of the Peyote Religion, certain consistent themes emerge: someone lost (usually a woman) who experiences spiritual distress, hunger and thirst and finds physical and spiritual comfort through Peyote personified” (Swan 1999).

This ritual begins by going into the teepee in the evening, usually on Saturday night and not coming out until Sunday morning, all the time praying to God and ingesting the ground up peyote. It is often said by the Road Man, person who is responsible for the service, that, “we don’t come in here (the teepee) to talk about God, we come in here to talk with God.” Main events of the ceremony include midnight and morning water, main smoke, breakfast and the noon meal. It is after midnight water is brought in that morning songs are supposed to be sung, but this does not always happen. Although the primary topic of this thesis is Pawnee hymns as sung in the Baptist Church, the method of linguistic and musical analysis is employed and can be applied to other genres of songs.

2.1.3 Mission Churches

Around the same time as the Native American Church began to emerge, the Mission Church was established. This appealed to the Pawnee as a place to turn to just as the Native American Church was. But it was here that differing ideologies began to emerge. One ideology includes the idea that if you went to the mission church, you had to give up your traditional ways. There have been countless stories of people throwing away their traditional items, beadwork, feathers, drums etc. because of this ideology.

Mission services were originally given in English and translated into Pawnee with the help of translators. Members soon began giving up traditional beliefs and customs. There was a lack of identity that was missing. It was not until hymns in the Pawnee language helped fill this void. Instead of singing Standard English hymns, the Pawnee people got the chance to sing their native language, which helped make the transition easier.

Long before the Bible was introduced to the Pawnee people, they knew God and his Son existed. In 1991, the late Pawnee elder Nora Pratt in an interview said, "...that's what our people taught us, always go to maker and his son, Piiraa'u' Witiiaahuuhuts (Pawnee word for Jesus). They always say that's the way they explain Jesus, so if you understand Indian then you know what that means. That's Jesus, that's in Indian to the old people way back there." She continues when asked if this was before missionaries:

"Well they knew about him but he, they called him Piiraa'u' Witiiaahuuhuts. That was God's son but, they, later on when they started using English, they'd say Jesus. But back then they'd say Piiraa'u' Witiiaahuuhuts. They knew about him them old people way back then. I asked one preacher one time I said, would you tell me how our people knew that we had a God and his son? I'd often wondered I said how they ever found out and that preacher couldn't even answer me. He said I don't know, I don't know but in the bible it says Jesus, God had Jesus his son."

The interviewer asked for clarification on the fact that before the people even knew about Jesus, they were talking about Him but in the Pawnee language, Nora answered, "Yes, they already knew about Jesus way back then. Before the missionaries ever came and told them they already knew about Jesus" (Pawnee Oral History). The teachings that the elders passed on to previous generations beyond Mrs. Pratt's generations ran parallel with the teachings from the missionaries. The Pawnee were sincere in their belief in Ati'as Tiirawaahut ti haaruskitaakuu (god, Father in Heaven). Because of their

devout faith, they were gifted with power to do miracles. They were known as a religious and spiritual tribe.

Missionary work with the Pawnee tribe began when they were still living in Present-day Nebraska. In 1836, a Presbyterian missionary, John Dunbar, developed one of the first Pawnee orthographies to aid in the Christianization of Pawnee people (Parks 2001:82). Later, following in his father's footsteps, John B. Dunbar developed another orthography in the mid 1800s. This was the beginning of the Missionary work. In the mid 1880s an interdenominational organization began work among the Pawnee tribe and established the Pawnee Mission Church. A short time after this the mission work was turned over to the Methodists (Osbourne ND). The Methodists, for some reason, could not relate to the leaders of the Pawnee. In the book *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns*, the authors discuss the Methodists' tactic of extended camp meetings. It says of the large camp meetings that it is "a practice that reflected both Methodist and Kiowa tradition of extended religious gatherings. Realizing that short services were inconsistent with many traditional Kiowa practices." They continue by saying that "some of the hallmarks of mission work on the KCA Reservation in the decades to come were the annual conferences, camp meetings, and revivals at which hundreds of Indians camped for weeks at a time, just as they had in earlier days" (Lassiter, Ellis, Kotay 36). During the progress of the Pawnee Methodist program, a group of sisters often planned four-day camp meetings with the same intentions as Lassiter, Ellis and Kotay described in their book among the Kiowas. This helped connect the Pawnee people to the missionaries. The extended camp meetings were familiar with the tribe. Traditionally the Pawnee were semi-nomadic in lifestyle. They

would move annually to winter and summer homes. In Pawnee oral history, the Pawnee and Wichita tribes would annually visit each other for as little as a week to months at a time in what they call the Kuuskahaaru. This is continued on today for two weeks at a time during the summer months.

From one of the camp meetings came a movement that a Baptist Mission be built. Soon a request came from Missionaries of the Baptist Faith that Baptist missionaries would come and live among the Pawnee. In 1909, the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board constructed what would become known as the Pawnee Indian Baptist Mission and continues to be utilized today. One of the prominent and influential names at the beginning of the Pawnee Indian Baptist Mission was Reverend J. G. Brendel, who was the first Missionary who connected with the Pawnee. He won the hearts by not only by his teachings in the church, but Reverend Brendel would go into the homes of his congregation and eventually make himself one of them (Osbourne ND). This showed the Pawnee his strong belief in his obligation to his work. Another influential person was Mary R. Jayne. As the Mission continued to grow from its humble beginning, Miss Jayne organized the Women's Missionary Society, or Women's Mission Union (WMU) as it is referred to today (Osbourne ND). The Women's Missionary Society became a very useful tool in the evangelization for the Mission. One of the Pawnees who converted to Christianity was Mary Peters.

2.2 Social Role of Hymns

2.2.1 Origins of Pawnee Hymns

Mary Peters was the daughter of Martha WhiteEagle and Chief WhiteEagle, a prominent leader among the Skiri band of the Pawnees. Chief WhiteEagle was a very traditional man. It was not until later in his life that he was able to navigate both the traditional world and the Christianity world. I believe that his daughter, Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters, helped introduce him to Christianity. Like her father, Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters grew up as a traditional Pawnee (Taylor 2/10/16). She would eventually become a leader among the traditional Pawnees but turned away from the old traditional Pawnee ways for Christianity. She quickly had the same influence among her people for Christianity. Through her devout belief in the Pawnee Indian Baptist Mission; the Pawnee people got their first Pawnee native hymns. Just as the Kiowa Missionaries encouraged the Kiowa to compose hymns in the Kiowa language, Pawnee Missionaries did the same. In *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns*, the authors say at first the Kiowa people were hesitant and “refused at first, saying that it would be too much like the old ways. It would sound too much like the old songs. Those ladies (the missionaries) kept on him though, and he finally came out with a song; after that, these hymns took off.” (Lassiter, Ellis Kotay 114) This is very similar to what happened to Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters. Once she made the first one, more and more came after that. Of the 20 hymns recorded and archived for this thesis, 14 are original Pawnee hymns composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters. These hymns are still used today by the Pawnee people.

2.2.2 *Community Impressions*

Pawnee hymns inside the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church play a crucial role inside the church. They symbolize many things for not only the congregation but also for the preachers themselves. Two Pawnee tribal members who are also preachers were interviewed for this thesis. I wanted to not only get the congregation and the singers' point of view, but also the preachers, who usually conduct wake services and funeral services. The Pawnee hymns serves as a call to start the services, birthday and holiday recognition, remembering loved ones, and a source of identity, an identity that has continued to dwindle from what it used to be.

When the Pawnee were confined to reservation life in Nebraska, their buffer to western ideologies was beginning to shrink. Before they had their whole territory to roam without outside influences. Even when they were confined to their reservation they still had some of this buffer left. Their language and culture was still intact. Once they came to Indian Territory their land base and buffer had declined. Once land was opened up to white settlers around the Pawnee territory the buffer was lost. The language and culture were negatively affected. What the Pawnee have left in terms of language and culture is only a fraction of what it once was. At the first church services, an interpreter was needed. Soon English became the dominant language in the church and the loss of identity began.

Warren Pratt, Jr. is a Pawnee tribal member who is also a preacher at the Cushing Indian Baptist Church. Mr. Pratt acknowledges hymns and identity by saying:

“The Pawnee hymns give the people a sense of identity. Especially when we sing the hymns in the language. Even non-natives that learn these songs, It's like they accomplished something and they have. They are able to see the identity and the culture embedded in the hymns. They see us at Native people with these hymns. These hymns are more than just songs. They represent a different way of thinking. In “Indian” way of thinking, a person can say ‘he’s a good man’ and

you know exactly how that person is. You don't have to say that he is a nice man or takes care of his family or a hard worker. 'He's a good man' captures all of that. Like the hymn (sings the Pawnee hymn) *Jesus we tatiira he, istuu we tatiira he*. It says 'Jesus He is coming. Again He is coming.' All that says that we need to worship him because he is coming again. It's all captured in that phrase and in that song." (Pratt 2/5/16)

When asked about what Pawnee hymns mean to him, Pawnee preacher Jordan Kanuho says:

"For me as a preacher in particular, Pawnee hymns give me a better connection to my Pawnee culture. It gives me a Pawnee identity. The Pawnee hymns give me something that I can sing that is more personal to me versus the hymnbooks in the church and, now, we have praise and worship songs. They are like Chatikstaaka (white people) hymns that were made by them. The Pawnee hymns were made by relatives. There is more of a connection with them. So when I sing them at a church service or wake service, or during a funeral, they are more personal to me and to our Pawnee people." (Kanuho 2/12/16)

It is clear that the Pawnee hymns give Pawnee church members a sense of identity. The hymns vary differently than "regular" Christian hymns. Mr. Kanuho gives an excellent point of the difference. There is a wide selection of "regular" Christian hymns and they are widely available. There are numerous books analyzing hymns and their context. Currently, however, there is no literature concerning Pawnee hymns. To learn the Pawnee hymns, members have to seek out those who still can lead. To date, there is only a handful that can lead more than a few hymns and only one person who can lead all of those present in this thesis. When a person learns how to sing these specific hymns and learns the meaning behind them, it gives them a sense of accomplishment. It gives them an identity because they are more personal to the Pawnee people.

As stated earlier, the Pawnee hymns hold various roles inside the church and the services. Mr. Pratt says he uses the hymns as a "call to start the service. I don't just get

up there start preaching. At the beginning of the services, sometimes the people aren't paying attention or catching up with each other and when they hear the hymns, they know the church is about to start" (Pratt 2/5/16). I asked Mr. Pratt how his congregation receives the Pawnee hymns. Mr. Pratt is the preacher of a multi-tribal church. Many different tribes comprise his congregation. He says:

"I haven't had any bad experiences with the Pawnee hymns specifically. No one has said anything bad to me at least. But because there are different tribes at the church I preach at, I have had to learn other tribe's hymns. If I can't sing them, I will have someone else sing them. But when I preach at the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church, I only sing Pawnee hymns. Once I sang another tribe's hymn, Creek I think. One person did notice but they didn't make it into a big deal." (Pratt 2/5/16)

2.2.3 Hymns and death

Hymns have an unusual association with death. What were originally made as worship and prayer songs, are now sometimes seen as "sad" or "mourning" songs. This has led to the Pawnee hymns decreasing prestige and some singers have not had the same desire to learn these songs compared to other Pawnee songs. One of the domains that exist for hymns is at wake and funeral services. This is where a lot of people are introduced to the hymns for the first time. In the book *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion*, the author Michael D. McNally writes about the Ojibwe hymns and death by saying "In addition to its increasing association with encounters with danger, native hymn singing also took on a marked association with illness, dying, and grieving" (McNally 78). McNally describes the early missionaries acknowledging this hymn connection with death by saying:

"Later missionaries wrote often about being summoned to deathbeds and about being deeply moved by native hymn singing, even when the performances were uneasily beyond their control. A semi-autonomous tradition of hymn singing

had begun to emerge around the figures of certain elder, especially women elders, living in the shadow of their own death...Hymns became associated with illness and dying, but even more lastingly they became associated with grieving, Missionaries were increasingly aware of how hymns were incorporated into mourning and burial practices.” (McNally 78)

The Pawnee hymns are also seeing the connection to death. Only a small fraction of the Pawnee people regularly attends the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church. This small fraction hears the Pawnee hymns weekly and does not immediately associate the hymns with death. Mr. Kanuho who grew up hearing attending the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church does not see this association. He says:

“From my own past and from my own experience with the hymns, I grew up in the Indian Baptist Church. So that was my introduction to the Pawnee hymns. This is where I first heard the church hymns, not necessarily at wake services. If I only heard them at wake services or even introduced to them at a younger age during wake services, then I think I would have a stronger association between the hymns and death. But for me, I don’t think of them in that perspective, I mean I sing them there at the wake services and funerals, but because I grew up hearing them in the church I don’t see them as only sad songs. I see them as prayer songs.” (Kanuho 2/12/16)

The majority of the Pawnee people do not attend the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church. These people are introduced to Pawnee hymns at wake and funeral services. It is easy to see why they associate hymns with death. If this is the only domain a person is hearing the Pawnee hymns, then once they hear these hymns they will unknowingly connect these songs to death, sadness, depression and grief. Hymns have also been considered “sad” songs in other tribes as well. There is a general impression that hymns are not the favorite choice of songs to learn and sing among tribal singers. However when hymns have been studied and analyzed, it is easy to see that hymns are actually about praising God and his son Jesus Christ. Herb Adson is one of a few who can lead

the hymns in both the domains where the hymns are sung. Mr. Adson wanted to learn the hymns because as he said:

“I wanted to put a different meaning to these songs. I didn’t want to be sad when I heard them, because for a long time that’s what I thought. I thought they were sad songs. So when I moved back from California, I went to those who could still sing them, my elders, and learned as much as I could about these songs. I learned the meanings of these songs and it was positive message. I began to sing them at church with them. Pretty soon they began to pass away and eventually it was just me singing them. It happened really quick. I was just learning from these guys and now it’s just me. The preacher would ask me to sing these songs so I sang what I could. It was usually just me singing but I felt that I needed to sing these songs. Now, some know the songs or at least the tune. They can chime in now and help me out.” (Adson 4/10/15)

If this attitude could be shared among tribal people, these hymns can flourish.

2.2.4 Hymns and Healing

Native American people have experienced unimaginable trauma throughout their history. Historical trauma is continuing to impact Native American’s life today. The bones and artifacts of relatives are still on display throughout not only the United States but around the world. Not only are bones still on display but also continued to be dug up. Ancient graves have been vandalized. Also the boarding school era has led to the decline of cultural ceremonies and is a major factor that has led to the current state of the Pawnee language. There has been a loss of identity that has fallen upon American Indian people and in particular, the Pawnee people. In this I will argue that traditional music, including hymns, affects the mental and physical well being of people and establish how music can help heal those who have had illness that has been caused by historical trauma.

The previously unseen videos of the Pawnee elders' project I worked on in the summer of 2014, provided a snapshot into the life of Pawnee elders who have experienced a great change in life style from when they were children to becoming elders in the tribe. They had the unfortunate experience of going through boarding schools, losing identity, relocation to other states for work, and witnessing vanishing culture ceremonies, all things associated with historical trauma. I will be talking about four historical traumas that have been factors into the lives of the Pawnee people and how music can help not only the physical well being of the Pawnee people but also help reclaim Pawnee identity. It is important to show how these historical traumas have affected the Pawnee people.

2.2.4.1 Historical Trauma 1 – Massacre Canyon

Prior to European contact, the Pawnee people were traditionally living in an area that stretched from what is present-day Nebraska into central Kansas. The Pawnees were divided into two bands, the Skidi and the South Bands, comprised of three different bands. During 1864-1877, the Pawnee sided with the US government against their natural enemy tribes. The Pawnees called the scouts raaripakusu', meaning "constant fighters" or "persistent fighters" (Van De Logt 3). They were under the direction of Major Frank North and asked to protect the expanding Union Pacific Railroad, which they did. However, in 1873 the Pawnees expressed a desire to go on a summer hunt. The agent in charge gave the permission for the Pawnee to go. Between 350-400 Pawnees left for the summer hunt along with an agent, most of which were women and children. Two former scouts were also with the small hunting party, Sky Chief and Traveling Bear. The Pawnees traveled along the Republican River and was

headed home when a large war party of Sioux attacked, while the trailing agent passively stood by. Mark Van De Logt's book describes this battle in his book, *War Party in Blue*, "Although greatly outnumbered, the Pawnee warriors put up a brave stand. After several hours of several hours of relentless fighting, at least sixty-nine Pawnees lay dead." (Van De Logt pg.173) This event, known as Massacre Canyon, was one of the factors that led to the removal of the Pawnee tribe to what was called Indian Territory.

2.2.4.2 Historical Trauma 2 – Forced Removal to Indian Territory

The removal of the Pawnee started in the mid 1870's. The Pawnee were removed in three waves. The first wave was in 1874. This was more of a voluntary removal. Only a few actually removed and most were South Band. The next year, 1875, the rest of the South Band Pawnee were more forcefully removed. In 1876, the Skidi were forced to remove. Once the Pawnee had been relocated to Indian Territory, what is now Oklahoma, they were in great distress. Their spirit was broken, as anyone's would be after what they endured. It is hard to imagine what they were going through. The Sioux at Massacre Canyon had just massacred the Pawnees, the United States government broke countless treaties when they failed to protect them, they lost their land to white settlers who killed off most of the buffalo and they were forced to walk to Indian Territory during the winter. At this time the population had declined greatly from approximately 10,000 a generation before the forced removal to around 600.

The Pawnee were at a lost and depressed. Their identity had been stripped from them. Gone were the days of freedom and now their whole world seemed to be crumbling and confined to their reserve in Indian Territory. Pawnee elder Mandy Echo

Hawk recalls stories that her parents, Hiriam and Jenny Good Chief making the walk down. She says, “They said it was cold. It was a hard time for them. I don’t know how they made it, honestly. People were getting sick and dying.” (Pawnee Oral History) The interviewer then asks why she thought so many of the thousands that came to Indian Territory did not make it. “Probably because of sickness, weather, starvation-they didn’t have anything,” the elder replied sadly’ (Pawnee Oral History).

Transitioning to life was not easy. All ten of the elders in the interviews were part of the first generation to be born in what is now Pawnee, Oklahoma. Each spoke about their experiences in the boarding school system.

2.2.4.3 Historical Trauma 3 – Boarding School Era

The Pawnee culture, lifestyle, and language have been at a steady decline since the boarding school era. Pawnee, like so many other tribal languages, was forbidden to be spoken in the boarding schools. Pawnee children were punished severely for speaking the only language they knew, which included being hit by rulers and having mouth washed out with soap. Pawnee elder named Rachel Eaves had this to say about boarding schools:

“It was horrible (talking about the condition) and the food was bad. We used to joke that prisoners lived better than we did. And if we spoke any Indian we would get punished. It was really horrible the things they were allowed to do to us. I remember my friend asked me something and I couldn’t answer in English. Like I didn’t know how to say it in English. I could only answer it in Indian. And that woman walked by and heard me. Boy was she mean. She grabbed me and took me into the bathroom and washed my mouth with that soap. That lye soap. I don’t know how they could do that and get away with it. If they did that today they would be thrown in jail for abuse. (laughs) But that’s how most of us were. We didn’t know English. We only knew Indian.” (Pawnee Oral History)

Mrs. Eaves later acknowledges that intergenerational transmission of not only language but culture as well had begun to stop. She says:

“Some of us didn’t talk Indian again after school. Didn’t teach it to their kids. We did (pointing to her husband) but they didn’t want to learn. They understand us but answer in English. Our oldest don’t want anything to do with Indian ways. He’s a preacher and sees them (traditional ways) as useless.” (Pawnee Oral History)

It is interesting that Mrs. Eaves and her husband acknowledge this change in ideologies, the traditional views versus the contemporary church views.

Many of the elders echoed what Mrs. Eaves said about the experiences. Most went to the boarding school at Pawnee, “Gravy-U” as one elder called it because of the type of food that was served daily. Other elders talked about other tribes coming to Pawnee. Some were enemy tribes and some were from tribes that were never in contact with Pawnee. Pawnee elder John Jake said, “There was a boy that came from out west. I never had heard of that tribe before. He would always sneak out and run away. Well then in a few days they would bring him back and a few days later there he would go sneaking off again. He didn’t like it. He wanted to go home” (Pawnee Oral History).

2.2.4.4 Historical Trauma 4 – Indian Relocation Act

In the early 1950s, the United States government passed the Indian Relocation Act. In Alexander Lesser’s book *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: Ghost Dance Revival and Ethnic Identity*, he explains this concept “The theory was that Indian areas, predominantly rural, could not be developed to support their Indian population, that these areas were in fact overpopulated. Even if unskilled, Indians should be helped to find jobs in and settle in industrialized areas. Those who did, it was expected, would leave Indian reservation life behind and prefer to live in permanently in cities as part of the American labor force” (Lesser xiii). This program affected Pawnees as well as numerous tribes. It sent Pawnee families across the United States. I could see the logical

thinking behind it. These people need work and there is no work on their land so why not send them where there is work. I feel that there was also a darker motive behind this. The government wanted to get rid of Indian culture and assimilate into the mainstream culture.

The Indian Relocation affected a lot of Pawnee families. There are countless stories of families who had to leave their home, culture, and language. They moved to big cities around the United States only to find them missing home. This often led to depression for so many Pawnee families. Eventually this feeling led to many coming back home and trying to pick up where they left off.

2.2.5 *Music as Medicine*

The Pawnee have a rich body of traditional songs. The songs range from hymns sung in a cappella to war dance songs which is sung by a group of singers with drumming and women singers. Songs are very important to our ceremonies. Songs contain in them one of the last domain for the Pawnee language to survive and thrive. In Marina Roseman's *Dream Songs and Healing Songs from the Malaysian Rainforest*, she looks at and records Temiar music. Roseman explains throughout her work that music is more than just a tune. She explains what how the songs come to the Temiar. They have to dream the songs and the animal's spirit gives them the phrase and "line by line (or, as Temiars say, 'mouthful by mouthful') the spirit guide sings, and dreamer repeats until, upon awakening, the song is firmly embedded in the dreamer's memory" (Roseman 3). This gives us a better understanding into what songs contain inside. Songs

can help lift a person's spirit. It is easy to associate feelings, both good and bad, with certain songs. The following are case studies involving Pawnee songs as medicine.

In the case of an elderly Pawnee couple, Pawnee music helped them while they were going through what can only be assumed as depression caused by being away from the Pawnee community due to the Indian Relocation Act. The oldest daughter talked more into detail about this later on during my research. She was talking about the importance of Pawnee songs and how they make her feel better and how they can lift a person up who is feeling bad.

“My mother and father were out there on the west coast. My father had just lost his job and I felt that they were in a real dark place. They were depressed. My mother would call me crying. I had just recorded A. L. and A. P. (Pawnee elders who have since passed) singing these hymns. They went over the hymns and the meanings behind them. I only got to listen to that (cassette) tape a couple of times. I told my mother that I would send her a tape for her and dad to listen to. ‘It will make u feel better,’ I told her. It did make her feel better. Her and dad would listen to it as they drove around. But once they got back to here to Oklahoma they must’ve lost that tape because I haven’t seen it since. I only got to listen to this tape a few times and I wished I would’ve made a copy of it. But back then it was a big hassle to make it. I’d have to find another cassette player and record from tape player to tape player.” (Personal Interview)

It was then that she began to find what was missing. She needed to be back around her people. They moved back shortly after this.

In the summer of 2013, I was participating in the Breath of Life language conference in Washington, D.C. I was part of a team researching the Pawnee language. During the weekend break of the conference, a member of our team invited to take us to the beach. This member of our team is a Pawnee tribal member from Pawnee who had been working in Washington, D.C. since the late 1980s. He had recently retired and was still battling cancer during this time. His wife was driving us and he began to feel ill during the ride to our destination. He was slouched over in the passengers seat. He did

not want to stop as we getting close and on the highway. I asked him if he wanted to listen to some music. I plugged my phone and played our traditional Pawnee hand game songs that we had recently sang during a pervious hand game. He began to listen to it and started moving his head to the rhythmic drumming. He then began moving his hands, as if he was hiding an imaginary bead in his hand. After every song he would say “I haven’t heard that song since...” followed by a story of a hand game he was at. Soon he was sitting upright with his eyes closed keeping beat with his body. I asked him about the hand game songs he was listening to. I asked particularly what he felt when he was listening to the songs. He said ”I hadn’t heard those songs for 20 plus years. I remember when J. K. , A. P. , P. J. , those guys. They would be singing and I would be giving it this kind” begins to move arms as if he was hiding the bead. “I always wanted to go out there and sing but I was never any good (laughs)” (Personal Interview). At this moment, it seems that hearing these songs took him to his younger self in Pawnee. These could be a slight example of Joseph Calabrese’s concept of emplotment. The songs are acting as a guide. It is putting Tom back into his younger self and he is reliving this moment of time. He is seeing the faces of the singers who have passed away.

S. T. was a Pawnee elder who had recently passed away from pneumonia. When she was in the hospital, she began to have trouble breathing. She began to panic. Her vital readings began to rise. Her niece had some Pawnee hymns on her phone and as they were trying to talk to the elder to try to calm her, the niece asked “Aunty do you want to hear some hymns?” The elder nodded her head as best as she could. Soon the niece began to play the hymns. As the hymns continued her frantic erratic breathing

began to slow. Her levels began to drop. He closed her eyes and began moving her head with the slow rhythmic tune of the songs. After each one she would say under her breath “That was a good song.” I did not get to ask the Pawnee elder about these songs, how she felt, or what they reminded her of. I can only hope that the hymns took her somewhere similar to where the Pawnee hand game songs took the member our Pawnee team at the Breath of Life Language Conference to, and at that time gave her peace of mind. The songs comforted her when she needed it. In Chad Stephen Hamill’s *Songs of Power and Prayer in the Columbia Plateau* he says “DeSmet observed their use of song (in this case hymns) as primary vehicle for spiritual expression” (Hamill 39). I cannot help but wonder if the Pawnee hymns gave her peace on a spiritual level. For a religious woman such as her, these songs could have brought her back to being at church and hearing the songs for the first time. It could be her way of expressing her love and acceptance of God and his son Jesus Christ.

Traditional songs can be powerful for the mind as in the previous examples. I feel like once they are associated with their ceremonies, they can heal incurable diseases. In Joseph Calabrese’s *A Different Medicine: Postcolonial Healing in the Native American Church*, he says “The goal of facilitating hypnotic suggestion is also implied by the rhythmic drum beating that occurs throughout the night, as well as the rule that the participants should fix their attention on the symbol-laden central altar.” (Calabrese 118) I think that the rhythmic songs can be added to get into this mindset. Also I feel they hypnotic is the wrong word to use to describe this process. You are opening up your mind to hear answers, to let God into your heart, to see something that is going to help you. Calabrese alludes to this in his book. He says that “one must come

upon one's beliefs independently through the sacramental experience of Peyote consumption." (Calabrese 98). Calabrese does a good job in describing the ceremony itself and the symbolic meanings but does not get into detail of songs. This could be that each Peyote meeting is different with a different purpose or could be that he is not fluent in Navajo, thus cannot understand the meaning of the songs. In the Pawnee Native American Church, there are songs that can be sung when someone needs help. One song in particular is for the fireman. This song is sung when the fireman needs help. This can be if he is feeling sick, struggling with his fire, going the wrong way around the altar etc. Also there are songs that the roadman sings when a participant is getting sick. The words expressed in the song talks to the person. It tells them that this peyote is there to help. That it should not be something to fear. This feeling can happen when the person is eating too much peyote and letting the peyote get ahead of them. When someone knows the language of these particular songs, in this case Pawnee, you can see how important these songs are. Again I go back to Roseman's description of the Temiar's songs. A lot of feelings, history, language, and life lessons are embedded into songs.

Traditional songs of healing can also be found at the "big drum." This term is references the size of a different drum. Unlike the small drum used in the Native American Church where only one person is drumming, the big drum is meant to be sung on with multiple people. Pawnee traditional dances and Pawnee ceremonies utilize this drum. In Pawnee, one of the oldest ceremonies still remaining uses the big drum. The Young Dog Dance was performed since we lived in Nebraska. No one knows how long ago this ceremony was created. It is a healing ceremony. These first songs that were

used in this ceremony were given to the Pawnee people by young dogs or by young dogs that were turned into men, depending on which origin story is being told. The Young Dog Dance is a healing ceremony that benefits the whole tribe, if they are feeling ill. Not only from sickness but also mentally and spiritually. The language inside these songs are very important. In J.L. Austin's *How to do things with words*, he talks about how language is more than just statements. There is much more that goes into speech. But I wonder what his take is on songs? When researching Pawnee war dance songs, I was always told that it does not say all that in the words. The words are constrained because they have to fit the tune. There is much more to the songs than just the words that are being sung. I feel that J.L. Austin explains this idea really well. As I said eluded to earlier, songs remain an important domain for language to be used. This is why it is important to include these domains in language revitalization.

In Michael McNally's *Ojibwe Singers: Hymns, Grief, and a Native Culture in Motion*, he says about the Ojibwes "Since the Ojibwe lived and moved in oral tradition, song texts and tunes had no life apart from concrete moments of performance." (McNally 30) Pawnee oral traditions, life lessons, and history are captured in our traditional songs. If language is allowed to die, all this is lost. There are only a handful of people that still know what songs are talking about and the stories that accompany them. It is important to learn Pawnee for the purpose of these songs and the messages that are embedded into them. Like the Pentecostalism preacher who uses language in his healing by saying, "you're healed", it is important to learn the language being used in the songs. They too could have meaningful and powerful words that can heal.

In the Powwow arena are songs are full of language. During the annual Veteran's Day Dance, each war has its own song, usually composed by a person that was in that particular war. Along with the war songs (WWI, WWII, Korea, Vietnam, Desert Storm and Operation Enduring Freedom) there is also POW and MIA song. The Pawnee men who created the songs are said to have made these songs when they became lonesome for home. This gave them somewhere to escape to. During the Veteran's Day Dance a spirit can be felt in the arena while singing these songs. Luke Lassiter explains this spirit really well in his book *The Power of Kiowa Song*. He says:

“I had felt it before, but it was strongest now. It rushed my head at first, a pain so excruciating that I thought I would black out. My voice was hoarse, but I sang harder. I also sweated harder. My clothes were so wet I could have been mistaken for a swimmer fresh out of the water. I opened my eyes – all the singers seemed filled with intensity. The men dancers yelled louder; the women “lulued” longer. Billy Eaves sat directly across from me. His eyes were closed. I closed mine again. My pain dissipated. Then, all at once, I felt light but firm and confident; unsettled but calm and composed. Self-confidence and well-being bent my whole form and scattered any despair and emptiness I had as if they were waves yielding to a ship's bow. Any problems I felt I had seemed meaningless. I felt overwhelmingly humbled.” (Lassiter 64)

This quote does a better job than I could at describing this feeling when the spirit is there at the drum and around the arena. This spirit can move people. I have seen it make men in soldier's uniform dance as if they were in full regalia. It is definitely hard to explain. I can sum it up only as Calabrese put it when a person has to experience it for them selves. It is a unique feeling that is only possible by the singers and the songs. I was always told that without singers, there could not be a dance. And without songs there cannot be singers.

Chapter 3: Linguistic Structure of Hymns

3.1 Introduction and Background

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of the Pawnee hymns. At a recent Pawnee language meeting, there was a suggestion that a Pawnee hymnal be made. Numerous tribal members seconded this idea. There is a strong interest in learning these hymns. However, the Pawnee hymns were in trouble of being lost and not being passed on to the next generation. A small group of people took it upon themselves to continue these songs.

As I have mentioned earlier, Herb Adson was one of these people and it is him who we owe a great deal to. Mr. Adson's family was relocated to California during the Indian Relocation of the 1950s. When Mr. Adson returned from California in the early 1980s, he sought out elders who still regularly sang the Pawnee hymns. Those elders were Albin Leadingfox and Phillip Gover. Mr. Adson asked these elders to teach and explain these hymns to him. He said “they told me to come by after they ate lunch at the elderly meals place. So I went over there and they were all full and after some stories, they began to sing for me. I had my recorder and they would sing hymn after hymn” (Adson 4/10/15). Although they sang the hymns for Mr. Adson, it was not just the songs he was after. He wanted not only the words of the songs, but the stories behind the songs. The next time he met with the two respected elders, he asked them about the meaning and the words that go along with hymns. Mr. Adson says “they were tight (lipped) with the words for whatever reason but they told me what the songs was about, the meaning behind them. But they wouldn’t go line by line and tell me what each word

meant. They would just say things like ‘that is a song of praise’ or ‘that’s a prayer song.’ things like that” (Adson 4/10/15). What Mr. Adson is alluding to is very common in all Pawnee songs not just the Pawnee hymns.

To fully understand the Pawnee songs, one must know the meaning and story behind the songs along with the words. In many songs the words do not make sense even to a fluent speaker. However, if you know the history and meaning of a song, a new understanding of the song becomes available. In this chapter I will not only look at the language in the songs, but also the meaning behind them.

3.2 Language structure within hymns

The selection of the hymns for this thesis was mainly based on their popularity. The seven hymns present are the favorites of the tribal community. Also, my interviews with the three Pawnee preachers gave me more reasons to choose these particular hymns. For the preachers, they choose the hymns they sing due to the meaning. Some of those hymns have been included in this thesis.

3.2.1 Hymn 18

Hymn 18 in the appendix is a favorite among the Pawnee community. This seems to be one of the hymns everyone is familiar with. When Mr. Adson or another song leader is not present at church, this is the song everyone can sing. This is due the repetitive nature of the song and the simplicity of the Pawnee words. The words in this hymn are very common to the Pawnee community. The phrase *tuuraahe*, meaning ‘it is good’ is one of the most recognizable phrases. This phrase is heard at dances, at social

gatherings, at churches, and in many songs for different occasions. This phrase is prevalent in this hymn.

This hymn was composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters and is sung to the tune of the Standard English hymn *Take the Name of Jesus With You*. Although this is sung to the tune of *Take the Name of Jesus With You*, it does not translate as the Christian hymn does:

Verse 1:

Take the name of Jesus with you,

Child of sorrow and of woe;

It will joy and comfort give you,

Take it then where'er you go.

Chorus:

Precious name, oh how sweet!

Hope of earth and joy of heav'n;

Precious name, oh how sweet!

Hope of earth and joy of heav'n;

Verse 2:

Take the name of Jesus ever

As a shield from ev'ry snare;

When temptations round you gather,

Breathe that holy name in prayer.

[Chorus]

Verse 3:

*Oh, the precious name of Jesus!
How it thrills our souls with joy,
When His loving arms receive us
And His songs our tongues employ.*

[Chorus]

Verse 4:

*At the name of Jesus bowing,
Falling prostrate at His feet,
King of kings in heav'n we'll crown Him
When our journey is complete.*

[Chorus]

(Source: hymnary.org)

Instead the Pawnee hymn 18 is as follows:

(1) Pawnee Hymn 18 composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters

<i>a.</i>	<i>Jesus</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>tatiira</i>	<i>he</i>
	Jesus	now	I – to come	vocable
		ADV	1.A – to come	

“Jesus here I am (here I come)”

“I am coming and it is good.”

g.	<i>Jesus</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>tuuraahe</i>
	Jesus	now	it is - good way
		ADV	3.A – good way

“Jesus is good (Jesus’s way is good)”

h.	<i>we</i>	<i>tatiira</i>	<i>tuuraahe</i>
	now	I - to come	it is – good way
	ADV	1.A - to come	3.A – good way

“I am coming and it is good.”

Gloss translation:

Jesus, here I am.

I’m coming back again to you.

It’s a wonderful feeling that I’m back again following Jesus.

Jesus is waiting to take me home with Him to God in Heaven.

As stated earlier, Pawnee hymn 18 is a favorite in the Pawnee community. The hymn and language inside the hymn are great for beginners who are being introduced to the hymn style singing and language learning. The Pawnee hymn differs from the Standard English hymn in length and the message in the hymns. The Standard English version has many verses, and although both are worshipping songs, the Pawnee version is straight to the point. It talks about a person coming back to Jesus. The idea is that the person has devoted their life back to Jesus. And when a person devotes their life back to

him, it will be a wonderful thing. Chapter 4 looks at why it is important to understand the language inside the Pawnee hymns and how this can be utilized for Pawnee language revitalization.

3.2.2 Hymn 1

Pawnee hymn 1 is a relatively new song. Composed in 2011, this song came to Mr. Adson by accident.

“I wasn’t trying to make a hymn. I was sitting here (at the house) like I am now. I think I was singing ghost dance or Young Dog Dance or something like that and this little tune came to me. So I kept singing it. Pretty soon the words started to fit in the song. I call it a song of praise. God has been so good to me in my life. He’s not only been good to me, but my wife, my kids, my grandkids as well. I am just so thankful that he (God) is in my life. He directs me and keeps me on the road that I am and the life I try to live. I try to live the best life I can. I like to stay home and not be tempted. What other people do is their own business but I don’t want to be smoking a cigarette or drinking or gambling. That’s because I have that strong relationship with God. So that is what I want people to know about that song. I want people to be able to sing it and know what I felt and know what this song means to me. It doesn’t say all of that in the song but that’s the story behind the song I made” (Adson 10/30/15)

(2) “Song of Praise” Pawnee hymn 1 composed by Herb Adson

<i>a.</i>	<i>ati’as</i>	<i>tiirawaahat</i>
	1.POSS – Father	tii-ra-ø-a.waa.hak
	ati-as	this – expanse

“Our Father in Heaven”

<i>b.</i>	<i>ati’as</i>	<i>tiirawaahat</i>
	1.POSS – Father	tii-ra-ø-a.waa.hak

God in Heaven

I am thankful for you,

and your son for being in my life

Unlike the Hymn 18, this song is an original song, meaning that it is not based on a preexisting hymn. In this hymn, the ancient word for God is used. *Ati'as* *Tiiraawahut* is translated as:

Ati'as

Tiiraawahut

ati-as

tii-ra-ø-a.waa.hak

this-ABS-3.A-expanse

(Parks 2008)

In Hymn 1, *Tiiraawahut* is explained as this expanse, but it is much more than that. *Tiiraawahut* covers everything visible and non-visible to the eye. To the Pawnee people, *Tiiraawahut* covered everything. They knew there was a God who created everything. This was the best way to explain this concept at the time. In contemporary times, it is more common to hear *Ati'as Tiihiraskitaaku*, which is translated as:

Ati'as

Tiihiraskitaaku

my/our father

ti-ø-hiras-kita-ku

IND.3.A-3.A-lead-on top.sitting

“My father who sits up there”

(Parks 2008)

3.2.3 Hymn 14

Hymn 14 was composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters. It was made for the Women's Mission Society. As mentioned earlier, Mary R. Jayne created the Women's Mission Society, or Women's Mission Union (WMU) as it is known today. Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters was a strong helper to Miss Jayne and the Women's Mission Society. The Women's Mission Society was a group that helped the Pawnee Mission Church (now the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church) with functions and weekly services. They strongly influenced the Pawnee children by helping them "attend Church services by chaperoning them from the Pawnee Indian Boarding School to the Pawnee Church Mission and back" (Osbourne ND).

This hymn has many functions in the church services. It can be utilized for different reasons. It is specifically used for services that are during Mother's Day, if the church services are following a woman's funeral out of respect, or if there are hymns that are requested to be sung at a woman's funeral or wake services. Mr. Adson states:

"This song is for the Women's Mission Union, the WMU. Mary Peters made this one. I try to sing this one at Mother's Day at the church. Also if someone wants a hymn at a wake service or funeral, if it is a woman I usually sing this one. It talks about you're going or you're coming back. So it is more appropriate than ever to sing this song." (Adson 4/10/15)

Pawnee Hymn 14 is as follows:

(3) Pawnee Hymn 14 composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters

a. *ratsiiwaa*

abs.dual incl.to go

we (2) go

"We (you and I) are going."

b. rutsiiwaa uhta
abs.dual incl.to go INT.
we (2) go intend
“We (you and I) are going to go.”

c. ratsiiwaa
abs.dual incl.to go
we (2) go
“We (you and I) are going.”

d. rutsiiwaa uhta
abs.dual incl.to go INT.
we (2) go intend
“We (you and I) are going to go.”

e. Jesus irii ratsaa
Jesus ADV abs.dual incl.to go
that one shortened version of ratsiiwaa
“Coming to Jesus”

f. ratsiiwaa
abs.dual incl.to go

we (2) go

“We (you and I) are going.”

g. rutikutacikskapaakis

ADV-IND3A-1.P-BEN-VT

then/there-he-me-for-feel pity for

“Then he felt pity for me”

Gloss translation:

we (you and I) are going

we are coming to Jesus

He will have pity on me (and you)

Hymn 14 was composed for the Women’s Mission Society, or Women’s Mission Union however; this society no longer exists in the modern day Pawnee Indian Baptist Church. If this group wanted to return, this hymn would be a great start because of the backstory and meaning of the hymn.

3.2.4 Hymn 13

Pawnee Hymn 13 is similar to Pawnee Hymn 14 in that it was made by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters and that it was made for an organization. The Brotherhood Club or Society was very similar to the Women’s Mission Union in that it did similar work for the Pawnee Mission Church. They too assisted the church in many different aspects and were influential to the men in the Pawnee community. The Brotherhood Club would meet once a month and help plan events for the Pawnee Mission Church, such as the

feelings/prayers

sung version of tuuraahe

“the feeling is good”

<i>d.</i>	<i>Ati'as</i>	<i>irii</i>	<i>rawaaku</i>	<i>ahaa</i>	<i>re</i>
	N	ADV	V	vocable	vocable
	ati-as	that one	you-say/speak		

“Father is saying or speaking”

Gloss translation:

My friend

over there it's good

the feeling is good

that is what Father (God) says

Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters made this hymn specifically for the Brotherhood Society, or Club, but as with the Women’s Mission Society, this organization is no longer active. These hymns must not be wasted. The history of both organizations is captured in the back-stories of these two hymns. Not only can the language be revitalized in these hymns, the organizations could be revived too.

3.2.5 Hymn 15

Pawnee Hymn 15 is very popular hymn but is difficult for some to sing due to the amount of words inside the hymn. This hymn is known as the Easter song due to the fact that it talks about how Jesus was hung on the cross. As expected it is specifically sung during Easter time. This song, along with Pawnee Hymn 7, is

something that is really special to the Pawnee people. In Pawnee oral stories, the Pawnee once had special powers given to them by Tiirawaahut. Through Tiirawaahut, they were able to perform spectacular things unimaginable in today's modern world. The meaning behind this hymn fits in this category. To love people so much that God gave his son to die on the cross was something that was very special to the Pawnee people.

The words inside hymn 15 does not capture all of this story as Mr. Adson explains.

“This hymn talks about Jesus, they hung him on the cross. When it says ‘Jesus siiwetiiirawetaakaauuts’ that means they hung him on the cross. Like that hymn talking about Jesus walking on the water, this one was something that was an amazing unbelievable event. When those old folks would talk about this song they would relate it to John 3:16. For God so loved the earth, the people, that he gave his only son to save all those who believed in him. This is why we should worship God and his son Jesus. It may not say all that in that song but that is the meaning behind it. So with all that, all that those old folks told me, with that they hung him on the cross theme, I always try to sing this on Easter. Not only on Easter. I sing it through out the year too, but especially at Easter.” (Adson 4/10/15)

The linguistic analysis of hymn 15 is incomplete. This is due mainly to the fact that my source for the hymn is not a fluent speaker of Pawnee. The hymn was sung based on memory alone due to the fact that the hymn was not previously recorded. The singer, Mr. Adson, only knew the back-story of this song and did not know if the words were correct. After asking one of the Pawnee's few fluent speakers, a translation could not be made. However, because of the popularity of the song, it is included here partially analyzed. Question marks in the parse line indicate an element that was unanalyzable with the resources I had available.

(5) Pawnee Hymn 15 composed by Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters

a. *ati'as* *tiitakuu* *ahaaskitaku*
1-POSS-father IND 3.A V V
ati-as this one sitting above sitting on top
“Our Father in Heaven”

b. *ati'as* *tiitakuu* *ahaaskitaku*
1-POSS-father IND 3.A V V
ati-as this one sitting above sitting on top
“Our Father in Heaven”

c. *irii* *ahuu* *raa'u* *iraa ciraahaa*
ADV ADV V ?
its here yes be the cause
“Yes it is right here. It's good”

d. *he* *ciksu* *ke tiitaarii*
vocable N ?
 feelings/prayers ke-ciir
“The feeling/prayer is good”

e. *Jesus* *siiwetiiraawetaakaanuts*

3+. ADV. 2.A.N.V

Jesus they-now-plural-wood-on-lay something down

“They laid him on the wood (Jesus they hung him on the cross)”

f. *Jesus siiwetiiraawetaakaauuts*

3+. ADV. 2.A.N.V

Jesus they-now-plural-wood-on-lay something down

“They laid him on the wood (Jesus they hung him on the cross)”

g. *aha saakuu iraa’u iratiiraarii*

?

?

“

h. *he ciksi ke tiitaarii*

vocable N ?

feelings/prayers ke-ciir

“The feeling/prayer is good”

Gloss translation:

My Father in Heaven

It’s right here

The feeling is good

They hung him on the cross

We should worship him

There needs to be more study conducted on Pawnee hymn 15. Although the gloss translation was given by a fluent speaker, line-by-line translation could not be given. The hope is that the more knowledge acquired about the Pawnee language could eventually make line-by-line translation actually possible.

3.2.6 Hymn 16

Like Pawnee Hymn 15, Pawnee Hymn 16 is difficult for some people to learn due to the complexity of the Pawnee words in the song. Even Mr. Adson is not one hundred percent sure that he is saying the words right.

“I’m iffy on the words to this song. I didn’t have a recorder to record this song back then, so I can’t go back to check it. I had to learn this from memory. I hope I am saying these words right, I think I am but not entirely sure. A lot of people like this song too, it’s just that the words are tough. Almost like a tongue twister I guess you could say.” (Adson 4/10/15)

Pawnee Hymn 16 was composed by Sam Young. Sam Young’s hymns differ in style from that of Mary (WhiteEagle) Peters. Mr. Young’s hymns are more up-tempo in style. This song asks that people live a good life so they can get to Jesus.

(6) Pawnee Hymn 16 composed by Sam Young

a. rawa hiru iraari
INTJ INTJ N
greeting go on friend/brother of a man/sister of a woman

“Hello my dear best friend/brother/sister”

b. ku kara siiwitska ru
 Indef. Proclitic neg.abs 2.p.V
 yes/no question don't you want vocable
 "Don't you want..."

c. cikstit raakuu waraa
 adv infinitive mode VD – shortened version of waraaciks
 well mild command angry/mad
 "...well, don't be mad."

d. ciruu tiirakatiiraraaru
 ADV 3p.Ø.plural yet/still
 he/she/it plural new/make fresh/renew
 "yet he still makes them new"

e. rawa hiru iraari
 INTJ INTJ N
 greeting go on friend/brother of a man/sister of a woman
 "Hello my dear best friend/brother/sister"

f. ku kara siiwitska ru
 Indef. Proclitic neg.abs 2.p.V

I'm iffy on the words. It talks about Jesus walking on the water though. When Jesus walked on the water it really amazed people. It was really something to the Pawnee people that a man could do that type of thing. I hear from other tribes refer to Pawnees as magic or having powers. The ability to change into animals, change things into living things, things like that. So I could see why a song was made about it." (Adson 4/10/15)

In George Bird Grinnell's book *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales*, he uses Pawnee oral history to describe the powers that the Pawnee people possessed which Mr. Adson eluded to. Grinnell describes the Pawnee "being religious people. They worship *Ti-ra'-wa* (Tiirawaahut), who is in and of everything" (Grinnell 17) and it is through Tiirawaahut that they are given these powers. He describes numerous stories of including communicating with loved ones who have passed, people who come back from the dead, people meeting Ati'as (God), animal lodges, and medicine men who would show their powers in front of the Pawnee people. Late elder Nora Pratt, a participant in the Pawnee Oral History project, remembers seeing Pawnee Indian doctors show their powers. She says:

"He turned these pumpkins into geese and they would sit there. They said there was two of them. They'd walk around, they said. I never did see it myself but that's what they were telling. And when they would take them back, well they would sit down and they'd be pumpkins again. So that's something magic I'd say. That was something, a gift, a great gift to them. I would say that's different things that they'd perform like that different things that happened I guess way back there and here in Oklahoma. That was a lot to see something like that." (Pawnee Oral History)

Pawnee preacher Mr. Pratt also talks about Pawnee Hymn 6. As a preacher he often sings Pawnee hymns during wake or funeral services. He explains the use of this particular hymn:

"I often sing this hymn when the family is in need of something amazing or encouraging. Let's say that the death was tragic. Like it was a car wreck or a small child. The family needs their spirit to be picked up. They might need to believe in something that will lift them up. So this is when I will sing this song

because it talks about Jesus walking on the water. It is something that no one else can do. It is something amazing that happened and it gives the family hope or something to hold onto.” (Pratt 2/5/16)

(7) Pawnee Hymn 6 ‘Jesus Walking on the Water’ composed by Mary (WhiteEagle)

Peters

a. *ruu* *we* *rii* *huukitaku*
 ADV ADV CONTINGENT V
 then/there now mode water-on top
 “There he is on top of the water”

b. *ti* *Jesus* *tiira*
 IND 3.A IND 3.A V
 its Jesus he-to come
 “... it is Jesus, He is coming”

c. *kitska* *rehuukitaaku*
 N assertive V
 water asser.water-go on top
 “Walking on the water”

d. *ti* *Jesus* *ru* *we* *tiira*
 IND 3.A ADV ADV IND 3.A V
 its Jesus then/there now he-to come

“Jesus he is coming”

e. *Ati’as tiira kitaaku*
N IND 3.A V V
father he-to come on top

“My Father above”

f. *uu he raaruu ruu we tiira*
DEM ADV IND 3.A V
vocble just that now he-to come

“There he is coming”

g. *ti Jesus ru we tiira*
IND 3.A ADV ADC IND 3A V
its Jesus then/there now he-to come

“Jesus he is coming”

Gloss translation:

He is walking on the water

He is coming

Here he is coming on the water

Jesus is coming

My Father in Heaven

There he is, he is coming

Because of the meaning and language in the song, this hymn is a very popular hymn. Because the Pawnee people were amazed with the impossible, a person walking on water, this hymn could help revitalize more Pawnee oral history stories.

Chapter 4: Hymns and Pawnee Revitalization

4.1 Hymns for Language Revitalization

The Pawnee have a comparatively large inventory of songs. The song categories range from war dance songs, hand game songs, Young Dog Dance songs, Ghost Dance songs, Native American Church songs, Soldier Dance songs, organization songs, hymns and various ceremonial songs. It is because the Pawnee are rich in music that there is a misconception by some tribal members that the Pawnee language is strong with the Pawnee community.

It is also assumed that all the singers are fluent in the Pawnee language but this is not the case. Most of the time it is easier to not learn what the song is actually saying, but rather just memorize the tune of the song. Some singers think that there will be time to learn the words eventually. But this attitude leads to learning more and more songs and never learning the meaning behind the songs or the words that go along with them. This leads to songs being sung at inappropriate times. I, too, have been guilty of this. Before I started learning Pawnee, I would sing songs based on what I liked. Inside the Native American Church, this led to me singing songs that were designated for morning time during the nighttime. I did not realize that I was doing this until I actually started looking at the language inside the songs. In the dance arena, I would sing a song that was about the Pawnee capturing an Otoe chief. This was problematic as I am of Otoe descent as well as Pawnee. Understanding the purpose of songs and when to sing them is a perfect example of how to preserve not only Pawnee songs but also a creative way to get people interested in language revitalization.

As stated in chapter 1, there have been numerous Pawnee language revitalization attempts with minimal success. There have been memorized phrases and nouns but not much else. As someone working in the language revitalization field, it is always a challenge to find ways to spark interest in a language community. In the Pawnee community, we must navigate many personal feelings about the language. Those who are interested in the Pawnee language will sometimes argue with each other about how the Pawnee language is being taught, how the Pawnee language is being spelled, which dialect needs to be taught first, separate language classes for each dialect, thinking there is only one way to say certain things, etcetera. It seems that these types of feelings have gotten in the way of real progress. But how do we get to those who are not committed to Pawnee language revitalization? We must find a way to get these types of people interested in the language. We need to find ways that will spark interest that other language revitalization attempts did not try. We must look to domains that are manageable rather than looking at unrealistic domains, such as being able to speak Pawnee everywhere and at any time. Pawnee songs are a great domain to utilize because Pawnee songs are sung at every Pawnee community function. One situation that has to be navigated is the number of different groups that are prevalent in the Pawnee community.

4.2 Challenges

4.2.1 Multiple sources

One challenge highlighted in hymn 15 is multiple sources that do not agree. In 1999, a small group of people put together a Pawnee Hymnal containing 9 Pawnee hymns. Some of the hymns that were listed in the hymnal were sung slightly differently

than the hymns in my research. Hymn 15 was one of these hymns. In the 1999 Pawnee hymnal, this hymn has conflicting translations than the hymn in my research. However, because the hymns were never previously recorded it is difficult to say which version is correct.

4.2.2 Factions of the Pawnee community

Inside the Pawnee community, there are separate groups that need to be addressed before language revitalization attempts can be taken. Groups differ in the amount of culture and language they are exposed to due to participation in Pawnee culture events. The first group of the Pawnee community are those who are traditional. This group of people attends all the dances, including Memorial Day dance, Pawnee Homecoming, Veteran's Day dance, Young Dog Dance and the hand games. This group includes singers, dancers and spectators. This group is eager to learn the language and should be one of the first groups to target when trying to revitalize the Pawnee language. They are often exposed to the most songs that are in the Pawnee language. These types of songs are by far the largest category of Pawnee music. With help from the MC (Master of Ceremony), tribal members who are not at the drum singing are able to identify certain songs throughout the dance. They are able to sing along with songs. Since they already know the tune of the songs, it would be more appealing to the tribal members to learn the words in the song. This is a great way to introduce them to the Pawnee language by having them learn words and phrases they subconsciously already know.

The second group is the group that attends the Native American Church. Native American Church songs is the next largest selection of Pawnee music. The Pawnee

tribal members that attend Native American Church services are most likely going to be exposed to the Pawnee language in prayers as well as in the songs. Pawnee Native American Church songs are rich with Pawnee forms that provide everyday conversation. These would be ideal songs to use for revitalization. In one example the question “are you here?” is asked talking about God. Later in the same song God answers “I am coming.” The song breaks down as:

a. *kawerasiira’*
 yes/no interr.ADV.abs.2A.V
 yes/no-now/here-you-to come
 “Have you come?”

b. *we* *tatiira*
 ADV 1.A - to come
 now *I - to come*
 “I am coming”

It is common to hear the beginning of prayers inside the Native American Church service in the Pawnee language. Some Native American Church members believe that prayer is powerful and by saying a prayer in a native language, in this case Pawnee, adds more to a prayer.

“God gave us our language. It makes us unique. It makes us different from other tribes. When God hears our prayers in Pawnee, it makes it different than any other

prayers. It stands out to him. This is why it is important to be able to at least greet God in your prayer. It gets his attention” (Moore 4/22/15).

Most Native American Church people often remember being in Native American Church services with our late first language speakers. They often talk about how they would be able to speak to each other after meetings in Pawnee and conduct whole church services in the language. The Native American Church faction are strong in culture and are eager to learn more about the songs they sing and the language of prayers. Language revitalization with the Native American Church group would be beneficial to them and would help the Pawnee language thrive in this already established domain.

The third group in the Pawnee community is those who attend the Pawnee Indian Baptist Church. The selection of Pawnee songs for this group is very limited and very much under studied. At most there are twenty Pawnee hymns to choose from. In each Sunday service, two Pawnee hymns are sung by the song leader. There is only a short amount of time that the songs are sung which leads to a very small window of practice in learning the Pawnee hymns. It was this situation that led to this study. The need for documentation of the hymns and the production of a hymnal will help this group preserve the hymns and gives them a gateway into Pawnee language revitalization.

The last group in the Pawnee community are those that do not attend any of the tribal activities. This could be because of personal choice or because they no longer live

in the community or near the community. Some tribal members live out of state but still possess the desire to learn the language to make them feel more connected to their home and their people. Language revitalization for this group is a challenge but songs could help with this group, as well. Recently at the tribal dances, recording devices have been used to record the songs. This is for people who cannot make it to the dances. Again, Pawnee songs can help with language revitalization for these people but it will be a challenge.

The lines separating these groups are very blurred. There are Pawnee tribal members that are part of two or three different groups. This is out of necessity because of the need for singers. Once a person becomes a singer of Pawnee songs, other community members expect that they can sing all Pawnee songs in all occasions. This leads to singers learning songs that cross into different groups. It was once thought that a person had to choose only one group.

“A while back ago, those old folks would say you had to choose between that big drum or that little drum (war dance arena or the Native American Church) or become a church man. It was like you had to choose one way and not partake in any of the rest. Now you can't do that because all of this would go away. There will always be a need for singers. You have to learn war dance and powwow songs and NAC songs and hymns. Otherwise we will lose it.” (Adson 4/10/15)

It is the language that gives us, as Pawnee people, our identity. It keeps the Pawnee people connected to their ancestors and to the Pawnee community. It does not matter what type of Pawnee music one prefers, it is always going to have the Pawnee language inside it. Learning the Pawnee language is crucial to knowing the meaning of songs. Future research includes analyzing other genres of Pawnee music. The research for this thesis only captures one genre of Pawnee music. Every genre of Pawnee music

is new territory for research. To date there is only one major publication on Pawnee music. In 1929, Frances Densmore wrote the book *Pawnee Music*. This publication by Densmore was very detailed. The book analyzes songs that are not sung today. Densmore looks at songs from the Morning Star ceremony, Buffalo Dance ceremony, Lance Dance ceremony, and the Bear Dance ceremony. In the 1920's, these ceremonies were prevalent among the Pawnee but now they are obsolete. Only remnants of these ceremonies remain. Ceremonies that once had numerous songs are now only remembered by one or two songs. Densmore did an excellent job in documenting these ceremonial songs and it gives us an example of how to analyze and document Pawnee music.

4.3 Conclusion

Although this thesis specifically looks at Pawnee hymns, this type of research can and should be applied to other types of Pawnee music. Much can be learned from the different genres of Pawnee music. The Pawnee language is frozen inside the songs at the time they were made. Songs can show language that was once prominent and in everyday use but now is becoming obsolete. In Pawnee hymn 16, the negative prefix *kara-* is used inside the hymn.

<i>ku</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>siiwitska</i>	<i>ru</i>
Indef. Proclitic	neg.abs	2.p.V	
yes/no question	don't	you want	vocable
“Don't you want...”			

This form is becoming obsolete on the Pawnee community. Most tribal members only use the prefix *kaakaa-* or the more common prefix *kaakii-*. However, during the time

this hymn was made the prefix *kara-* was frequently used. It is possible to bring this negative prefix back into normal use by using this specific hymn. Pawnee music must be utilized. It could uncover more language that is becoming obsolete in today's speech. Pawnee songs capture conservative forms that reflect the time when the songs were made. These forms and their syntax may be reintroduced through language revitalization efforts that have Pawnee songs as their focus.

After several attempts at Pawnee language revitalization, new innovative ways are essential to success. Pawnee songs alone are not the answer to this problem. However, Pawnee songs accompanying curriculum would be helpful and gain interest in the Pawnee language. The repetitive language use in the songs and the frequent use of these songs are a great opportunity for language revitalization. This opportunity must not be wasted. If we continue to wait or not utilize the Pawnee songs, the songs maybe lost. It is crucial now to archive and study Pawnee songs and it seems that this attitude is shared among Pawnee community members. Singers are coming together to learn and record as many songs as possible. It is an exciting time for the Pawnee community and an exciting time for untouched research.

Pawnee music is linked to identity for the Pawnee people. Without Pawnee music the language, which is already in a very endangered state, would not have a domain to thrive in. As shown in this thesis, Pawnee music cannot only help tribal members in language learning but it can help with the well being of the people. Pawnee music can help heal tribal members mentally and physically. It can take tribal members temporarily back to the past, for elders this means a time when they were young. It is important now to keep these songs alive and healthy.

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Personal Interviews.

Appendix: Pawnee Hymns

Pawnee Hymn 1

1 A- ti- as 2 Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut 3 A- ti- as Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut 4 râ- wa- i- rĩ a- wâ- 'u

5 Je- sus 6 Pĩ- ra- û- ra- â- 'u 7 A- ti- as Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut 8

9 râ- wa- i- rĩ a- wâ- u 10 11 A- ti- as 12 Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut

13 A- ti- as Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut 14 râ- wa- i- rĩ a- wâ- 'u 15 16 Je- sus

17 Pĩ- ra- û- ra- â- 'u 18 A- ti- as Tĩ- ra- wâ- hut 19 râ- wa- i- rĩ a- wâ- 'u 20

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
 Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 2

1 Je- sus we tú rá hê 2 3 Is- tú we tâ tí ra 4

5 hê 6 Je- sus we tú rá hê 7 8 we tâ

9 tí ra tú rá hê 10 11 Je- sus we tú rá hê 12

13 Is- tú we tâ tí ra hê 14 15 Je- sus 16

17 we tú rá hê 18 19 we tâ tí ra tú hê 20

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 4

1 A- tí- as 2 3 A- tí- as 4

5 kú ċiks 6 tâ pí 7 û- rú 8 î- rí

9 â hâs ki- tâ- kú 10 11 12 A- tí-

13 as 14 A- tí- as 15 16 kú ċiks

17 ka- pâ- ċiks ka- pâ- kís 18 19 20

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 5

1 Rû ra kû ta 4 rû ra

5 kû ta A- ti-

9 as i- rî râ- rû ra- kâ-

13 we 14 Rû ra kû ta

17 rû ra kû ta

21 Cîk- sù we ta sù-

25 ta 26 A- ti- as i-

Detailed description: The musical score for 'Pawnee Hymn 5' is written in a single treble clef staff with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The piece is divided into seven systems, each containing four measures. Measure numbers 1 through 28 are indicated above the notes. The lyrics are syllables: Rû, ra, kû, ta, rû, ra, kû, ta, A-, ti-, as, i-, rî, râ-, rû, ra-, kâ-, we, Rû, ra, kû, ta, rû, ra, kû, ta, Cîk-, sù, we, ta, sù-, ta, A-, ti-, as, i-. The music features various rhythmic values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. Some notes are beamed together or have slurs over them. The time signature changes from 3/4 to 4/4 and back to 3/4.

29 rî a- hâ- 30 rû 31 Rû ra 32

33 kû ta 34 rû ra 35 kû 36

37 tâ 38

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
 Music notated by Evan Tonsing
 Music notation edited by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 6

1 Rû- he- rî û kits- tâ- kû Tî Je- sus

5 re- hû 6 Kits- kâ- re- hû- ki- tâ- kû 7 Tî Je- sus

9 rû we tí- ra 10 A- tí- as 11 tí- ra

13 ki- tâ- kû 14 Ū- he- râ- rû

17 rû- we- tí- ra 18 Tî Je- sus

21 rû- we- tí- ra 22

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
 Music notated by Evan Tonsing
 Music notation edited by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 7

1 Rû- sí- rá ê tù- 2 te- rit 3 irî- â- he 4 kû- hû- rî

5 Je- sus we we 6 ti- kû- hû- rî 7 Je- sus 8 we we

9 ti- kû- hû- rî 10 rá- kû kû- ċi- ra- sâ- 11 tâ A- tí- 12 as

13 i- rî- ra- hâ- 14 rû

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Evan Tonsing
Music notation edited by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 8

1 2 3 4
Á- hú A- tí- as â- hú A- tí-

5 6 7 8
as ti- kú ta- čiks- ta â- hú A- tí-

9 10 11 12
as ti- kú ta- čiks- ta Je- sus

13 14 15 16
re- hú â- rí- ka â- hú â-

17 18 19 20
hú A- tí- as ti- kú ta- čiks- ta

21 22 23 24
ke- tú tut- pá- kâ ú â- hú

25
rí Á-

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Evan Tonsing
Music notation edited by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 10

1 Čik- sù we tâ- tú- tâ

5 Čik- sù we tâ- tú- tâ

9 A- tí- as í- rí- ra- há- ski-

13 ta- kù Čik- sù we tâ- tú-

17 tá Čik- sù we tâ- tú-

21 tá A- tí- as í- rí- ra-

25 há- ski- ta- kù Čik- sù we tâ-

The image shows two staves of musical notation in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). It contains six measures of music, each with a single note on a half note. The notes are: G4 (labeled 29), A4 (labeled 30), B4 (labeled 31), A4 (labeled 32), G4 (labeled 33), and F#4 (labeled 34). The lyrics 'tû-', 'tâ', 'Çik-', 'sû', 'we', and 'tâ-' are written below the notes. The second staff continues the melody with two measures: G4 (labeled 35) and F#4 (labeled 36), with lyrics 'tû-' and 'tâ' respectively. The system ends with a double bar line.

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore

Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 12

1 Je- sus rû- hû- rî 2 3 4 Je- sus

5 rû- hû- rî 6 7 Je- sus hu wa-

9 há kû- hé 10 11 Is- tú ta-

13 tí- rá hé 14 15 stâ We

17 tú- hû- rî 18

19 a

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Evan Tonsing
Music notation edited by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 13

1 I- rā- rí 2 ĭ- rí 3 a pā-

4 rí 5 tú- rā- he 6 Čik- sù he

7 ra- tú- hā 8 A- tí- as

9 ĭ- rí 10 ra- hā- kú 11 ra hā-

12 rú

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 14

1 Rut- sí- wâ 2 rut- sí- wâ û ta

3 4

5 rut- sí- wâ 6 rut- sí- wâ û ta

7 8

9 Je- sus í- rí 10 rut- sá 11 rut- sí- wâ

12

13 ra- 14 kâ- kû 15 ti- čiks- 16 ka- pâ-

17 18 kis

Pawnee translations by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 16

1 Ra- wa- hi- ru i- râ- ri Ku- ka- ra- sí- wits- ka ru Čiks- tit râ-

5 kû- wâ- râ Či- ru tí- ra- ka- tí- ra- râ- ru Ra-

9 wa- hi- ru i- râ- ri Ku- ka- ra- sí- wits- ka Je- sus ra- kû

13 ra- sû- te- rit 14

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 17 (Amazing Grace)

1 A- tí- as se ra- tí- rá

5 hé i- rí- kû- ra- sí- ra a-

9 wê tí- kû sù- rá hâs- hé Is-

13 tú rá tú rá hé A- tí- as

17 se ra- tí- rá hé i- rí- kû-

21 ra- sí- ra a- wê tí- kû sù-

25 rá hâs- hé Is- tú rá tú rá

29 hé A-

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
 Music notated by Camille Prevett

Pawnee Hymn 18

1 Je- sus we tâ tí ra hê

2 3 4

5 Is- tû we tâ tí ra hê Je- sus

6 7 8

9 we tâ tí ra hê Is- tû

10 11 12

13 we tâ tí ra hê Je- sus we tû râ

14 15 16

17 hê we tâ tí ra tû râ hê Je- sus

18 19 20

21 we tû râ hê we tâ tí ra

22 23 24

25 tû râ hê

26

Pawnee translation by Taylor Moore
Music notated by Evan Tonsing
Music notation edited by Camille Prevett