

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: “THESE SONGS WILL SAVE OUR LANGUAGE”: RECLAIMING KIOWA LANGUAGE AND MUSIC THROUGH KIOWA SOUND RESURGENCE

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This dissertation examines the intersection of Indigenous language reclamation and music, primarily among the Kiowa Tribe. Through multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, music/language analysis, and participatory action research, I show how music plays a key role in the resurgence of Kiowa language and identity. I begin in Washington D.C. by revealing how Kiowas (and other Indigenous Peoples) strategically use their own modes of storytelling and music making to resist the imposition of settler colonial narratives. Indigenous performers reclaim stories about their language initiatives and challenge problematic congressional language planning and policy. The dissertation then moves towards Oklahoma and examines the language efforts of a community-based institution: the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP). I show how KLCRP used Kiowa Christian hymns—which are performed in the Kiowa language and musical style—as a pedagogical approach to revive and strengthen forms of Kiowa sound and audibility, including speech, music making,

storytelling, and listening. I frame the recovery of these practices as *Kiowa sound resurgence*. I explore the multiple ways in which Kiowas engaged in Kiowa sound resurgence through traditional and non-traditional pedagogies before and during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This dissertation contributes to interdisciplinary dialogues in ethnomusicology, Native American and Indigenous studies, and linguistic anthropology on Indigenous language reclamation and music scholarship. The case study of Kiowa sound resurgence illuminates how Kiowas creatively reclaim, revive, and resurge sound through Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being. The findings of this dissertation have relevance to both academia and Indigenous communities who are actively engaging in efforts of cultural reclamation and resurgence.

“THESE SONGS WILL SAVE OUR LANGUAGE”:
RECLAIMING KIOWA LANGUAGE AND MUSIC THROUGH KIOWA SOUND
RESURGENCE

by

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Acknowledgements

My name is Dennis Zotigh.

I would like to begin by explaining to those who may not know Plains Indian protocols, when an individual is being honored for doing a great deed or succeeding to a prominent position, they should never talk about themselves publicly about their accomplishments. To do so would be considered an act of bad taste and bragging. Therefore, Max has asked me to voice for him.

Max became interested in Native culture while in middle school around 2007, when he attended the Crossroads Powwow in San Antonio. The more Native people saw him at different social events, the more he gained acceptance by local Native community members. He found the San Antonio Native community to be very friendly and began to ask questions about the art of fancy dancing. With the encouragement and support of his new Native friends Max began fancy dancing, a move that would change his life.

After graduating from high school in 2012, Max moved to Harrisonburg, Virginia to attend James Madison University to major in sociocultural anthropology. At JMU he became involved with the Native student community and spent the majority of his free time with his new Native friends. He also began to continue fancy

dancing at events throughout the Mid-Atlantic region and became interested in a new-found passion: Native music. It is at this time we became acquainted.

Max received a B.A. degree from JMU and then enrolled at the University of Maryland in College Park to pursue a master's degree in ethnomusicology. In his new location he began singing with local drum groups at powwows, political protests and community events. He co-coordinated the University of Maryland Powwow which had not be held for many years. Seeing his potential and honest respect toward Native culture he became like family to many Natives in the DC, Maryland and Virginia area. One of the families he became close to was mine.

At the University of Maryland, Max began his M.A. thesis titled, "Songs to Soothe a Mother: Intertextuality and Inter Tribalism in Kiowa War Mother Songs" which focused on how the intertextuality of Kiowa War Mother songs connects Kiowa martial ethos and practices from pre-reservation times to warfare in the 20th century. To accomplish this, he moved to Oklahoma for the summer to research and learn directly from Kiowa tribal elders and knowledge bearers. In Oklahoma he stayed with Native people who treated him like family and trusted him to record their cultural knowledge. Max's new Native relatives endorsed and introduced him to important tribal elders to interview.

Kiowa Elder Delores Toyebo Harragarra shared her experience of working with Max. "Our family met Max Yamane in the summer of 2017, at the Kiowa Language and Cultural Revitalization Program community outreach event in Tulsa, Oklahoma," she said. "Max was interested in Kiowa songs. We invited him to our

home in Carnegie, Oklahoma for a visit and discussion of his study of various Kiowa songs. Max is a very engaging young man, very respectful of Native American culture. Our family is very fortunate to have met Max. He has endeared himself to not only our family but to other Kiowa tribal members as well.”

During his first summer in Oklahoma, Max went to powwows and competed in the Men’s Fancy Dance category. At powwows he was invited to sit in various powwow drums by other Southern Plains singers. He quickly picked up songs of different tribes and learned how to lead them. Over time, Max also began composing powwow songs. His talents were discovered by the lead singer of the well-known Otter Trail powwow singing group. He was invited by the lead singer to travel with them to singing engagements throughout Indian Country. After several summers of travelling, the lead singer of Otter Trail endowed Max one of the most prestigious gifts in Indian Country, his own personal song.

“My adopted son Max was once asked to serve as the head man dancer for the Tunica Biloxi Powwow in Louisiana," said Alexander Santos, lead singer of the Otter Trail Singers. "The greatest gift an individual can receive is his own personal song. So, I composed one for him to use for just such an occasion. That song was made even more special due to the words added by Mr. Ralph Zotigh. That’s a sign of someone who is loved and admired and makes that particular song even more special.”

Through his work on his master’s thesis, Max developed an interest learning the Kiowa language. To gain this knowledge, Max participates in the Kiowa

Language and Cultural Revitalization Program twice each week. In this program, Max and Kiowa educators virtually meet with Kiowa elders to learn language, customs and history. Max actively practices the Kiowa language while participating in this program and with his Kiowa family.

Beyond powwows and educational endeavors, Max also works to assist tribes, tribal programs and tribal organizations with grant opportunities for special projects as a contractor with Tribal Tech, LLC and their parent agency, the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) in Washington, D.C.

Young Brinson, Team-Lead Program Specialist for Tribal Tech, LLC, had this to say about Max: "Max Yamane is a prized Program Specialist here at ANA. He is dedicated to serving his grantees in all capacities and has been instrumental on various high-level deliverables. He is one of our Language Think Tank team members and is always providing great insight on language resources and pedagogies. Max is a what I'd like to call a grantee's best friend given all he brings to the table."

Max recently completed his dissertation as Ph.D. candidate in ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland with research interests in American Indian Southern Plains music and dance, powwow, Indigenous protest music and language reclamation and music. His dissertation primarily examines how music and sound play supportive roles in reclaiming language. It is framed under the theory and praxis of Indigenous resurgence, a pathway for decolonization and Indigenous revival. Like other respected non-Native researchers and scholars before him, Max's curiosity, openness to learning, facilitate a relationship-building approach that has

allowed him to gain the trust of his Native informants and record information directly from respected Native peoples.

Max would like to gratefully acknowledge and thank the Kiowa Tribe and the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) for allowing him to participate and learn the Kiowa language and culture. The greatest gift that anyone could ever give is to share who they are as a people. Max would especially like to recognize and show appreciation for the Kiowa Elders, Delores Harragarra, Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune, Velma Eisenberger, Martha Nell Poolaw, Marian Two Hatchet, Brenda Sullivan, Mabel Cozad as well as the late Ernest “Iron” Toppah, Helen Topaum Eckiwaudah, and Juanita Ahtone for sharing their invaluable wisdom and knowledge. He would also like to thank members of the Norman and Anadarko KLCRP cohorts: Melody Redbird-Post, Cricket Rhoads-Connywerdy, Laurel Good, Judith Hunter, Deanie Lucero, Hozshona Post, Chelsea Wright, Antonia Belindo, Charles Eisenberger, Carolyn Kauley, Alice McClellan, Kimberlly Shook, Vena Maria Tawkoity, Angelyn Connywerdy, and Courtney Tsoitigh-Yarholar. Max would like to acknowledge Tim Yeahquo for teaching the art of puppetry the Kiowa way, and David Pohlemann for continuously inspiring him to learn Kiowa language and song. Max also thanks and recognizes Phil “Joe Fish” DuPoint, Aye-kee-mah (Julia Noel), and Warren Queton for their support in this dissertation project.

Max would not have been able to stay in Oklahoma without the help from people who became like family to him: Alexander Santos Sr., Nicole Pavatea, Alexander Santos Jr., Bryson Sanchez, Delores Harragarra, and Kenny Harragarra.

He acknowledges that they most graciously allowed him to stay and became a home away from home.

Max would not have been able to get through his graduate career without the love and support from the Native community in the DC-Maryland-Virginia area. He wants to express his gratitude to Erin Marcum, Gabriel Keesing, Joe Gains, Michael Nephew, Lance Fisher, Giovanna Coronado, Otto Hamilton, Lisa Gunn, Lisa Long, Chris Eaglehawk Jr., Misty Rose Nace, Jenn Night Bird Miller, John Hoffman, Daron Carreiro, Dawn Toppah-Landon, Dani Martin, Jess McPherson, Juanita Mendoza, Angel Washington, Fredericka Joseph, James Anquoe, Sandy Tiger, Manuel Rodriguez, Sam Riding In, Emmerson Shenandoah, Karen Malicoat, Louis Campbell, Tomas Alejo, Sonya Begay, Mary Phillips, Shawn Ironmaker, Nick Courtney, Victoria O’Keefe, Nick Renshaw, among many others. His two closest friends Brandon “Kota” Harley and Anthony Cergnul, gave him encouragement that led him to complete his dissertation.

Max wants to thank his colleagues at the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) for their friendship and support: Amy Zukowski, Ty Braschi, Maria Boyd, Hope MacDonald Lone Tree, Terry Rose, Mia Strickland, Mark Allender, Mardella Richardson, Michelle Suave, Heather Sauyaq Jean Kwamboka Gordon, Vanessa Adkins, Travis Roberts, Pablo John, Samantha Arthur, Kristi Synold, Brent Huggins, Meli Beverly, Jeremy Martin, Darah Soloman, Jill Kane, Courtney McCuster, Kamakani Furukawa, Rondelle Clay, Angela Camos, Napua Harbottle, Angel Washington, Kenneth Akuowle, Eric Watson, Candi Carmi, and Jenica Baty. He is

continuously inspired by the mission of ANA to support community-driven initiatives that promote the goal of Indigenous self-sufficiency and cultural preservation.

Students are products of teachers that guide them. Max would like to thank his advisor, Fernando Rios, as well as Siv Lie and Larry Witzleben for their guidance and support at the University of Maryland. He also received much help from committee members outside of the division, including John-Carlos Perea and Bayley Marquez. Max would also like to thank Ana Patricia Rodríguez for serving as dean's representative on his committee. He is most gracious for the support from his colleagues, Victor Hernandez-Sang, Maríangel Villalobos, Ilsa Yin, Benjamin Jackson, Donnie Scally, Meghan Creek, Gabby Cameron, Maya Cunningham, Joshua DeBell, Julia Kuhlman, Jackson Mann, Allie Pecoraro, Nicole Steinberg, Ellie Van Hattem, Leili Asanbek, Shari Feldman, Anastasia Maksiuta, and Anthony Bock. Outside of the University of Maryland, he received much support from his friends and colleagues in ethnomusicology, Renata Yazzie, Breanna McCullough, and Kelsey Fuller-Shafer, as well as from scholars Clyde Ellis, Mary Linn, Luke Eric Lassiter, and Erik Gooding.

Lastly, he would like to recognize and thank his mother, Jill Yamane, brother, Miles Yamane, his late father, Dr. Grover Yamane, and his partner, Evelyn Cortus, for their unceasing love and support.

As a part of his life's journey, Max would like to donate his dissertation and research notes back to the Kiowa people to share with future generations of Kiowa members.

Sincerely,

Dennis Zotigh (Kiowa, Isanti Dakota, and Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo)

Cultural Specialist and Writer

Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian

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Kiowa Pronunciation Guide

I implement the Modified Parker McKenzie Kiowa Orthography¹ used by the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) in this dissertation. It is based on the original Parker McKenzie Kiowa orthography² with some slight variations:

Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography—Original Parker McKenzie Orthography

[b replaces *f*= (sound in-between *p* and *b*)

p' replaces *v*= (sound is a plosive *p*)

ts replaces *ch*= (sound is a soft aspirated *s*)

ts' replaces *x*= (sound is a plosive *ts*)

[d replaces *j*= (sound is in-between *d* and *th*)

t' replaces *th*= (sound is a plosive *t*)

[g replaces *c*= (sound is a soft *g*)

k' replaces *q*= (sound is a plosive *k*)

ñ replaces underlined words= (nasalizes a vowel or diphthong)

The following consonants stay the same:

p= (sound is regular English *p*)

s= (sound is regular English *s*)

t= (sound is regular English *t*)

k= (sound is regular English *k*)

l= (sound is regular English *l*)

z= (sound is regular English *z*)

Vowels and diphthongs stay the same:

a= (ah)

au= (aw)

ai= (ah-ee)

¹ See Poolaw and Poolaw 2016.

² See Meadows 2010:xix-xx.

ai= (oy)

e= (ay)

i= (ee)

o= (oh)

oi= (oh-ee)

u= (oo)

ui= (oo-ee)

Inflections on vowels stay the same:

á= (slightly raised pitch)

à= (slightly lowered pitch)

â= (slightly raised pitch followed by slightly lowered pitch)

Elongation of phoneme stay the same:

Háuuñ:dé óñ:dé::= (elongation is denoted by a semicolon and sounds
háuuuñdéee óñndéee)

Acronyms

ANA	Administration for Native Americans
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BIE	Bureau of Indian Education
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
KCA	Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (Reservation)
KLCRP	Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program
LPP	Language planning and policy
NALA	Native American Languages Act
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PISL	Plains Indian Sign Language (also known as hand talk)

Introduction

Towards the Pathway of Kiowa Sound Resurgence

“Without songs, we can’t do the things that make us Kiowa. If we stop speaking the language, then it is all meaningless.” This is how Kiowa language teacher, Cricket Connywerdy (Kiowa/Caddo), describes the importance of music and language to the Kiowa People. Currently, there are approximately twenty Kiowa Elders who are fluent in the Kiowa language. While there is a drastic decline in the number of Kiowa language speakers,³ Kiowa musical practices remain vibrant and are commonly performed at Tribal gatherings, ceremonies, and inter-Tribal powwows.⁴ In light of the prominent role that Kiowa music making plays in Kiowa cultural life, the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) made the strategic decision to use Kiowa songs—especially Kiowa Christian hymns—as a pedagogical approach to reclaiming the Kiowa language.

Today, most Indigenous communities in the world engage in some form of cultural revitalization. Settler colonial governments and their institutions engage(d) in acts of dispossession, erasure, and genocide against Indigenous Peoples, and impose(d) and enforce(d) forms of cultural erasure in an attempt to, as U.S. general Richard Pratt infamously said in 1892, “kill the Indian, save the man” (Adams 1995). The U.S., similar to other settler colonial nation-states, caused a severe decline in Indigenous languages and other forms of Indigenous cultural practices through draconian tactics of removal and forced

³ Many Tribes throughout the U.S. either have very few or no fluent speakers. There are only a handful of Tribes that have a few hundred or more fluent speakers, such as Diné, Lakota, and Cherokee. Kiowas are in the middle, and are at a critical point of losing fluent speakers.

⁴ In the late 19th and early-20th centuries (reservation era), the U.S. government sought to eradicate Kiowa music, dances, and ceremonies in an attempt to forcefully assimilate Kiowas into white-dominated American society.

assimilation. Despite these assaults, Indigenous Peoples remain(ed) resilient as they have for centuries and engage(d) in acts of reclamation, revival, and resurgence to bring back Indigenous lifeways. Indigenous communities are, especially, reviving and maintaining their languages because they are important aspects of Indigenous identities.

Many Indigenous language reclamation initiatives use music as a pedagogical tool.⁵ KLCRP engages in language reclamation *with* and *through* Kiowa Christian hymns.⁶ Kiowa Christian hymns are are sung entirely in the Kiowa language. These songs are also composed and performed in the Kiowa musical style (defined in Chapter Two). Given that Kiowa Christian hymnody became part of the Kiowa Tribal musical repertoire, Kiowa Elders encouraged its use in KLCRP. This approach stands out from most Tribes because many Native communities do not use Christian hymnody as part of their language reclamation efforts.⁷

This dissertation examines the intersection of Kiowa language reclamation and music. I ask intersecting questions to analyze what I call *Kiowa sound resurgence*. As this dissertation will demonstrate, Kiowa resurgence—the bringing back of what Kiowas deem are important to being Kiowa—is not focused solely on the Kiowa language, but also other forms of cultural practice, such as music making, storytelling, and listening. I frame these interrelated sonic cultural practices as *sound*. By listening to Kiowa sound resurgence, this dissertation uncovers the dense (Andersen 2009) ways in which Kiowas (and other Native

⁵ I observed this in my work as a program specialist and program analyst at the Administration for Native Americans (ANA). I worked with and visited a plethora of Indigenous language reclamation projects in the lower-48, Alaska, and the Pacific islands. Most programs that I visited incorporated traditional songs as part of their language learning curricula.

⁶ I focus on Kiowa Christian hymnody in this dissertation because KLCRP predominately used them opposed to other Kiowa song genres in their curricula. Additionally, other songs genres are culturally sensitive. I do not talk about these songs in this dissertation out of respect for the Kiowa Tribe.

⁷ I only know two Tribes that use Christian hymns in their efforts of language reclamation. Spirit Lake Nation and Pawnee Nation both use their Christian hymns to teach their language (Moore 2016).

Peoples) reclaim, revive, and strengthen forms of audibility that are important to their identity and ways of life.

The first chapter examines the federal government and follows David Samuels' (2015) call for more research on how institutions construct narratives about language revitalization and music initiatives. Chapter One answers two questions: 1) how do U.S. policy makers tell stories about Indigenous languages and how might this affect language planning and policy (LPP)⁸ on Native language reclamation projects? 2) How do Indigenous performers and storytellers tell their own stories about their languages and initiatives *with* and *through* music in settler colonial spaces? The next three chapters examine how a Kiowa community-based institution, KLCRP, fostered the resurgence of Kiowa sound. Chapter Two inquires how Kiowas developed the practice of Kiowa Christian hymns. Chapter Three asks how does KLCRP approach its pedagogies of resurgence through sound? Lastly, Chapter Four examines how KLCRP engages with digital technology to adapt Kiowa resurgence sound pedagogies during the pandemic.

Language Reclamation and Music

Settler Colonialism and Language Decline

The drastic decline of Indigenous cultural practices, such as music and language, is a direct result of settler colonialism. As Patrick Wolfe articulates, “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event” (2006:387). The vast disruption that the U.S.

⁸ Language planning and policy (LPP) is a field of study in (socio)linguistics that “is concerned with the policies both explicit and implicit that influence what languages are spoken when, how, and by whom, as well as the values and rights associated with those languages. LPP scholars focus on understanding the development of both top-down and bottom-up language policies, but also their implementation and impact at local, regional, and national levels. While the focus of LPP is on how language policies are formed, implemented, and sometimes resisted, LPP scholars note that nonlinguistic issues often play a critical role. The ecology metaphor firmly locates LPP analysis within the broader social, political, and linguistic environment” (Stemper and King 2017:655).

federal government causes in Indigenous communities, by enacting various modes of violence to erase any form of Indigeneity, cannot be overemphasized. The U.S. government committed thousands of massacres during westward expansion as a way to mitigate the so-called “Indian problem,” have removed Indigenous communities from their homelands, and engaged in land theft. After the American Civil War, the U.S. began enacting the Indian boarding school movement when General Richard H. Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Boarding School in Pennsylvania on November 1, 1879. Boarding schools served as a catalyst to erase Indigenous cultural practices and identity, and forcefully assimilate Indigenous Peoples into American society (Adams 1995; Grande 2008; Pease Pretty-on Top 2003). Indian boarding schools also served as a vehicle for further land dispossession. As Native American and Indigenous studies (NAIS) scholar Sandy Grande (Quechua) describes:

Perhaps the most critical insight to siphon from this history is that the colonialist project was never simply about the desire to “civilize” or even deculturalize indigenous peoples. Rather, it was deliberately designed to colonize Indian minds as a means of gaining access to indigenous resources. Thus, despite the tired characterization of the relationship between the United States and Indian tribes as one of cultural domination, the predominant relationship has been one of material exploitation: the forced extraction of labor and natural resources in the interest of capital gains (2008:4).

In the Bureau of Indian Affairs 2022 report on Indian boarding schools, led by the first Native American secretary of the U.S. Department of Interior, Deb Haaland (Pueblo of Laguna) “found that between 1819 to 1969, the Federal Indian boarding school system consisted of 408 Federal schools across 37 states or then-territories, including 21 schools in

Alaska and 7 schools in Hawai'i. Some individual Federal Indian boarding schools accounted for multiple sites" (Newland 2022). Within the southwestern part of Oklahoma, for example, Riverside Indian School in Anadarko housed students from different Tribes, such as Caddo, Wichita, Delaware, Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche. In U.S. states and territories,⁹ Indigenous children¹⁰ were placed in Indian boarding schools, where they were forbidden to speak their Native languages. The boarding school movement overwhelmingly caused significant disruption in cultural transmission, generated forms of identity shaming, and created various modes of abuse against Native children. One boarding school survivor told me, "we were forbidden to speak our language, sing our songs. We were taught to be ashamed of who we are at a very young age." They elaborated that "anytime we spoke Kiowa, we would be beaten. The principal put us in a gauntlet and we'd get a whoopin' with the other kid's belts. If they didn't beat us hard enough, they too would go through the gauntlet."

The U.S. federal government has not enacted any means of redress for the physical, emotional, and even sexual abuse enacted against boarding school survivors.¹¹ These forms of violence caused cultural erasure, including the decline of Indigenous languages. Although some Indigenous survivors continued to speak their language once they left the boarding schools, many others did not. As a result, Native communities began to experience a drastic decline in language use and transmission.

⁹ The Indian boarding school movement also happened in other settler colonial nation states like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Jacobs 2006; Rogers 2017; Smith 1999).

¹⁰ I implement the word "Indigenous" because boarding schools housed not only American Indian/Alaska Native children, but also Native Hawaiians and Taino (from Puerto Rico) children.

¹¹ I intentionally do not say reconciled because the U.S. government has not conducted any form of redress for the Indian boarding school movement. The only form of meaningful action by the federal government was done by the direction of Secretary Deb Haaland in the Bureau of Indian Affairs report on Indian boarding schools.

Many communities began to reclaim their languages during the late 20th century. Native Hawaiians primarily pushed for the enactment of the Native American Languages Act of 1990, which reversed American language policy against Indigenous languages, which then further galvanized the Native language revitalization movement throughout Indian Country (Arnold 2001; Klug 2012). While this significant policy reversal brought about positive changes for Indigenous communities, such as federal funding for revitalization projects that supported the successful awakening of sleeping languages¹² like Myaamiaataweenki (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma), Wômpañâak (Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe), and Takelma (Cow Creek Band of Umpqua), the structures and forces of settler colonialism continue to have a negative impact on Native American communities. As historian Lorenzo Veracini (2010) describes, “settler colonialism makes sense especially if it is understood globally, and that we live in a settler colonial global present.” This dissertation critiques contemporary settler colonial structures and social practices that continue to disenfranchise Indigenous cultures and subvert Tribal sovereignty. In an explicit act of resistance against settler colonialism, Indigenous Peoples engage in the reclamation of their languages and focus on forms of building and maintaining community in ways that uphold their sovereignty.

Indigenous Language Reclamation

Acts of reclaiming Indigenous languages are inherently political. For this reason, I use the term *language reclamation* in favor of language revitalization.¹³ Linguist Wesley

¹² See Leonard 2017. He explains that languages do not go “extinct,” but can rather be awakened from their sleeping state.

¹³ I use the term to signal the body of academic literature on language revitalization (Berardo et al 2013; Car and Meek 2013; King 2001; Krauss 1992, 2007; Outakoski 2013; Pine and Turin 2017). I use the term “language reclamation” throughout this dissertation when talking about KLCRP.

Leonard (Miami) (2017), who coined the term “language reclamation,” explains that linguists (and like-minded scholars) who are interested in language revitalization often fall into the perpetual trap of imposing western epistemology over Indigenous ways of knowing within language work.¹⁴ As he explains:

Revitalisation tends to call for a focus on creating speakers, and locates this effort around mastery of linguistic units such as words and grammatical rules—things that Linguistics is good at analysing and describing in precise ways, but that in the context of some Native American language efforts may divert attention from desired community outcomes. I suggest thinking in terms of *reclamation* is more effective because it calls for participants in language work to not only ask about community needs, but to also query and respect the worldviews and histories that inform those needs (20).

Additionally, Leonard critiques non-Native linguists for perpetuating language work that divorces language from culture. He warns that non-Native language scholars can perpetuate harm against Indigenous Peoples through linguistic research that upholds western epistemologies over Indigenous ways of knowing, whether well-intentioned or not. Indigenous language reclamation initiatives attempt to revive and maintain Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. Leonard argues that some western linguists often objectify Indigenous languages, enumerate Indigenous languages through western logics, and refuse to acknowledge how Indigenous Peoples conceptualize their languages. To move away from

¹⁴ Leonard (2017) defines “language work” as “language documentation, description, teaching, advocacy, and resource development” that contribute towards community outcomes, such as increasing language use and fluency (20).

these epistemic impositions, the paradigm of language reclamation "incorporate(s) community epistemologies such as how 'language' is defined and given sociocultural meaning" by Indigenous Peoples themselves (2017:15).

Leonard (2017) and other scholars argue (Kimmerer 2013; L. B. Simpson 2017; McCarty 2013; McCarty et al 2018) argue that Indigenous language reclamation should be community-based. Oftentimes, Tribes employ linguists to revitalize their language by creating language-learning resources. As a cautionary note, Leonard highlights that Indigenous communities should be the ones to drive language reclamation. As he articulates:

Reclamation ... begins with community histories and contemporary needs, which are determined by community agents, and uses this background as a basis to design and develop language work...

Reclamation... calls for an ecological approach to language work, one that recognizes how language is never independent from the environment in which its speakers (and potential future speakers) live. Language work thus must be produced in a way that integrates 'non-linguistic' factors (2017: 19–20)

One such way that language reclamation integrates “non-linguistic factors” is by incorporating music making. This dissertation seeks to contribute towards language reclamation scholarship by showing the benefits of using music making as a pedagogical approach to teach language.

Music and Language

The study on the intersection between music and language has been primarily examined by linguistic anthropologists and ethnomusicologists.¹⁵ David Samuels' (2015) review article notes that earlier language and music scholarship, such as the studies of Roman Jakobson ([1932] 1987) and Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983), conceptualized music and language as analogous "systems of functional and meaningful units," (Samuels 2015:346) whereas later ethnographic works (Faudree 2013; Fox 2004; Grant 2014; Harkness 2014; Minks 2013; Samuels 2004; Vallejo 2019) treated musical and linguistic expressions as interconnected "through the lenses of post-Peircean, post-phenomenological, and various forms of entextuality" (Samuels 2015:346). Steven Feld and Aaron Fox argue that "music and language are fundamentally interrelated domains of expressive culture and human behavior and experience" (2000:161). They (1994; 2000) also categorize this body of literature into four main areas of study: 1) music as language, 2) language in music, 3) music in language, and 4) language about music. The essays in Feld et al. (2004) also includes vocal anthropology in the study of music and language, and provide a few ethnographic examples such as metalanguages of timbre in recording studios (Porcello), voicing Apache-ness in Country music on the San Carlos Reservation (Samuels), and expressing working-class identity in Country music in Texas (Fox). Scholarship on music and language primarily focuses on theorization of the "auditory spectrum, music and language, speech and song" (Samuels 2015:346). It thus paved the way for scholars to examine the intersection of language revitalization and music.

¹⁵ These scholars include Steven Feld, David Samuels, Aaron Fox, Thomas Porcello, Amanda Minks, Paja Faudree, Catherine Grant, Heather Sparling, and Jessie Vallejo

Language Revitalization and Music Scholarship

Scholarship that examines how language revitalization initiatives can incorporate local forms of music making mainly consists of ethnographic studies in ethnomusicology and linguistic anthropology. Examples include ethnomusicologist Heather Sparling's (2011) article on Gaelic song and language revitalization fairs in Cape Breton, ethnomusicologist Henry Johnson's publications on Jèrriais song and language revival on the Island of Jersey (2011, 2012, 2015), ethnomusicologist Amanda Minks' monograph on vocal play practices among Miskitu children in Nicaragua (2013), linguistic anthropologist Paja Faudree's book on Mazatec song and language revival in the Oaxaca Valley in Central Mexico (2013), and ethnomusicologist Catherine Grant's (2014) book that adapts J.A. Fishman's (1991; 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to create a measure for music culture vitality and endangerment.

Two academic works examine Native American music making practices in contexts of language revitalization. Ethnomusicologist Jessie Vallejo's (2019) article analyzes how Mohawk language nests' use Eskanye songs, a Haudenosaunee women's dance tradition, to teach STEM with Mohawk language and cultural values. Applied linguistic anthropologist Taylor Moore's (Pawnee) (2016) master's thesis examines the potential benefits of using Pawnee Christian hymns to teach Pawnee grammar and foster community language learning. A few language scholars outside of ethnomusicology also investigate how popular forms of music generate language learning interest among youth. These studies include promoting language learning through Inari Sami rap (Ridanpää and Pasanen 2009), reviving Mayan language and spiritual practices through hip hop (Barrett 2016), and translanguaging English, Shona, and Ndebele in Zimbabwe urban groove music (Tivenga and Manase 2009).

The ethnographic studies mentioned above challenge traditional notions of language revitalization. As ethnomusicologist Heather Sparling notes, “to treat language as a stand-alone cultural element is indicative of a particular ontology—a particular way of understanding the world—one that separates and hierarchizes disciplines such that ‘language’ is found at the top of a hierarchy of cultural expressions and music is somewhere below it” (Sparling 2020). This western epistemic and ontological separation of “music” and “language” as distinct cultural expressions further masks how language is intertwined, and at times inseparable, from other cultural practices and modalities such as song. As David Samuels puts it:

Music and language ... are each and together complexly and problematically embedded and implicated in the revitalization of cultural and expressive practices threatened by the enduring apparatus of colonialism. As languages are pushed to extinction by administrative, media, technological, and educational forces, so too musics suffer the onslaught of the global marketplace and the draconian sorting it imposes, the efficacy of a poetic or artistic expression being reframed to reflect its potential capitalization by international media corporations ... To the extent, for example, that language revitalization is seen as a necessary aspect of broader cultural revitalization, we gain clarity on the place of songs and song texts (Samuels 2015:348).

Sparling (2020) notes that “ethnomusicologists are in a unique position to theorize the relationship between endangered languages and music.” Even more so, this intersection has immense applicability and importance for NAIS and Indigenous communities, who are often at the forefront of resurgence efforts and live with the effects of settler colonialism. This dissertation argues that academic research should prioritize these communities first.

There are several key findings from language revitalization and music scholarship that show the benefits of incorporating music making in language reclamation initiatives. First, music can serve as a mnemonic device for learning language. David Samuels notes, "I have forgotten most of the Italian I learned in a brief immersion class the summer after I graduated from college. But I can still sing 'Santa Lucia'" (2015:348). Another prime example is how the American public school system teaches the English alphabet to the melody of "Ah! Vous dirai-je, Maman" most commonly known in the U.S. as "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star." In the case of Blackfoot language revitalization, Mizuki Miyashita and Shirlee Crow Shoe (2009) note that songs are used for word and phrase memorization. "A song is a great tool to learn a language because one can practice singing by him/herself, and it can be used repetitively, which contains an aspect of drilling" (185). The cyclical format of lullabies makes the singing of language repetitive, reinforcing linguistic memorization.

Cognitive neuroscience scholars show that music making can develop "auditory fitness" in learning language, improving the acquisition of prosodic elements like tone, stress, pitch, and rhythm (Kraus and Chandrasekaran 2010). Music making can also improve infants' language development and logical thinking skills (Carlton 2000; Ehri et al 2001; Flom 2008; Ilari and Polka 2006; Trainor 1996; Weikart et al 1987). Studies in auditory cognitive neuroscience also show "evidence that speech functions can benefit from music functions and vice versa" (Patel 2011).

Music and language are important to children's cultural development. Amanda Minks' ethnography (2013) reveals that in the context of Miskitu children's vocal play (this includes song), or the poetic manipulation of speech for entertainment, "the poetic function of vocal play facilitates memory, repetition, and the pleasure of performance even when the referential meaning is obscure. As Miskitu children explored the continuum of speech and

song in vocal play, they experimented with and expanded their repertoires of communication” (50-1). Minks focuses on how children acquire and implement trilingual competency on Corn Island off the coast of Nicaragua, and translanguaging between Spanish, Kriol English, and Miskitu (Indigenous language). Vocal play and song, as Minks observes, make certain languaging practices to be "safe," where Miskitu children can engage in vocal utterances (e.g. learning new words unfamiliar to children speakers) and gestures (e.g. a Miskitu girl kissing a boy during a song game) without any social reprimand. Minks calls this an intervention of “reality” by creating a safe space where children can explore and practice forms of vocal play. These sonic practices can also make language learning processes enjoyable and increase language learning interest among youth. Music making and vocal play are catalysts for children’s cultural development.

Following the Pathway of Indigenous Resurgence

Indigenous resurgence is a pathway created by NAIS scholars that leads toward decolonization and liberation from the dominating forces of settler colonialism. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) describe decolonization as repatriation of land and lifeways. Cherokee scholars Jeff Corntassel and Tiffanie Hardbarger (2019) state that resurgence, “as a reframing of decolonisation, Indigenous resurgence is about reclaiming relationships grounded in land, culture, and community that promote the health and well-being of Indigenous Nations” (97). Resurgence, in this sense, is a centripetal shift—a simultaneous refusal of settler colonial impositions and a reclamation of what has been taken away and attacked by the forces and structures of settler colonialism. "If colonization is a disconnecting force, then resurgence is about reconnecting with homelands, cultures, and communities" (Corntassel 2012:97). The forces of settler colonialism commit violence

against Indigenous Peoples through dispossession and erasure. Resurgence refuses these violent acts and allows Indigenous Peoples to reconnect, heal, and empower themselves and their communities.

The entire body of NAIS literature has shown how each Indigenous community has their own distinct ways of knowing, doing, and being. Resurgence is neither homogenous nor monolithic. Resurgence manifests differently among Indigenous communities as each community has different wants, needs, desires, and visions of the future. The ways of doing resurgence can even differ within a community, which we will see in this dissertation in the third chapter. Indigenous sound studies scholars also describe the density of audibility (J.B. Perea 2021; J.C. Perea 2014; Reed 2019; Robinson 2020; Senungetuk 2019). Recognizing how Indigelogics¹⁶ (Bissett Perea 2021) drive forms of listening and sounding illuminates a dense range of Indigenous intelligence and brilliance within resurgence movements.

One major feature of Indigelogics is Indigenous relationality with the land, thereby making Indigenous resurgence a land-based practice (Alfred 2015; Bang et al 2014; Corntassel and Hardbarger 2019; Coulthard 2014; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013; Simpson 2014, 2017; Tuck et al. 2014; Wildcat et al. 2014). Grounded normativity is essential to these relationships with the land. First articulated by Glen Coulthard (Yellow Knives Dene) (2014), "grounded normativity," or place-based ethics,

refers to the ethical frameworks provided by these Indigenous place-based practices and associated forms of knowledge. Grounded normativity houses and reproduces the practices and procedures based on deep reciprocity that is inherently informed by an intimate relationship to place. Grounded normativity teaches us how to live our lives

¹⁶ Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena'ina) (2021) defines Indigelogics as Indigenous forms of logic.

in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitative manner (Coulthard and Simpson 2016:254).

Land is an essential part of a community's identity and their ways of knowing, doing, and being. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson argues that Indigenous resurgence is "the intellectual and theoretical home for our nation-based resurgences must be within grounded normativity" (2017:26). This is because "grounded normativity is the base of our political systems, economy, and nationhood, and it creates process-centered modes of living that generate profoundly different conceptualizations of nationhood and governmentality—ones that aren't based on enclosure, authoritarian power, and hierarchy" (2017:22). Grounded normativity is the basis for how to enact respectful and reciprocal relationships with the land and its inhabitants (Corntassel 2012; Simpson 2017).

World making is essential to Indigenous communities and their practices (J.B. Perea 2021; L. Simpson 2017). Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel explains that "our ceremonies are cyclical, as our stories need to be retold and acted upon as part of our process of remembering and maintaining balance within our communities" (2012:89). It is not just stories that need to be retold and re-acted, it is also other forms of performance that are vital to maintaining the cycles of worlding. These cycles must be divorced from the confines of settler colonialism. As Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena'ina) articulates, "aesthetics and sonic vernaculars of resurgence advance an 'Indigenous way of worlding' without 'stateness'" (2020:262). Indigenous worlding—especially through sound—is an imperative part of resurgence. J.B. Perea contends that the most crucial aspect "is not what sovereignty or resurgence 'is' but rather what it 'does'" (2020:265). Resurgence enacts change in the world, especially for Indigenous communities who are liberating themselves from the constraints of settler colonialism towards (re)visioning and (re)sounding Indigenous futures.

Given the violence that settler colonial structures, institutions, and forces enact on Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous resurgence counters these barriers through acts of refusal. As Jeff Corntassel describes:

Being Indigenous today means struggling to reclaim and regenerate one's relational, place-based existence by challenging the ongoing, destructive forces of colonization. Whether through ceremony or other ways that Indigenous peoples (re)connect to the natural world, processes of resurgence are often contentious and reflect the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope of the struggle (2012:88).

Similar to Corntassel, political science scholar Glen Coulthard argues that "resurgence, in this view, draws critically on the past with an eye to radically transform the colonial power relations that have come to dominate our present" (2014:157). Resurgence does not mean pursuing a utopian past but rather integrating Indigenous knowledge, intelligence, and power to present realities and struggles within different Indigenous communities. As Hupa scholar Sarah Chase describes in her concept of "(re)envisioning," the objective is to set "forth a vision for a different world and way of life than the one we currently inhabit, using ancestral knowledge to tackle ongoing political, social and economic struggles" (2020:3). To accomplish this goal, Corntassel advocates for performing "everyday acts of resurgence" (2012:89). These everyday resurgent acts vary among individuals and their communities and are important to Indigenous education. Sarah Chase (2020) is the only NAIS scholar to frame her work and scholarship of Hupa language immersion under the praxis of Indigenous resurgence. She advocates for the study of Indigenous pedagogies of resurgence. This dissertation contributes to studies on Indigenous resurgence pedagogies by showing how Kiowas developed and implemented their own resurgence pedagogies, especially *with* and *through* sound.

Following the Pathway of Indigenous Sound Studies

This dissertation takes an interdisciplinary approach and primarily follows the field of Indigenous sound studies. Indigenous sound studies roots Indigenous epistemology at the forefront of research and broadens traditional ethnomusicological scholarship by accounting for Indigenous sound performance as well as Indigenous forms of audibility. Adopting such approaches that grounds Indigelogics at the forefront liberates Indigenous scholarship from dominating western epistemologies pervasive in (ethno)musicological and sound studies scholarship. Jessica Bissett Perea (2021), who grounds pathways for Indigenous sound studies, contends:

To advance a more Indigenized sound studies and a more sounded Indigenous studies asks researchers to prioritize analytics of density and audibility, and to hear performances of Indigeneity intimately intertwined articulations of Peoples (ways of being), places/spaces (ways of knowing), and projects (ways of doing). When Indigeneity is understood as more than simply the “condition of being Indigenous,” it becomes possible to emphasize structures of Indigeneity and to operationalize Indigenous logics, or what one might call Indigelogics. Indigelogical ways of doing music history are some of many ongoing projects seeking to unsettle and decolonize dominant narratives, and reframe larger debates of race, Indigeneity, power, and representation in twenty- first- century American music historiography” (28).

This dissertation follows the approaches of Indigenous scholars in NAIS, ethnomusicology, and Indigenous sound studies.¹⁷ By framing Kiowa language reclamation and music under the overarching conception of sound, I fuse interdisciplinary dialogues by

¹⁷ These scholars include Tara Browner (Choctaw), Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena'ina), John-Carlos Perea (Mescalero Apache, German, Irish, Chicano), Trevor Reed (Hopi), Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō), among others.

examining how *sounding resurgence* reclaims and strengthens Kiowa identity. It is my hope that a case study on Kiowa sound resurgence will provide helpful insights and inspiration for other Indigenous communities who are actively engaging in movements of reclamation and resurgence.

Contextualizing Kiowa Sound Resurgence

The Kiowa People

[Gáuígú is the current word in the Kiowa language for “Kiowa people.” Pulitzer prize winner N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) tells of the Kiowa creation story in this way:

You know, everything had to begin, and this is how it was: The Kiowas came one by one into the world through a hollow log. There were many more than now, but not all of them got out. There was a woman whose body was swollen up with child, and she got stuck in the log. After that, no one could get through, and that is why the Kiowas are a small tribe in number. They looked all around and saw the world. It made them glad to see so many things. They called themselves *Kwuda*, "coming out" (Momaday 1969:16).

Many current Kiowa Elders told me that the Kiowa People originally lived in the western part of Montana. There, they migrated towards the Northern Plains where they met [Gáuáu:k'yàgàu (Crow Tribe), acquired the Sun Dance,¹⁸ learned how to live on the Plains, and established an alliance with the Crow Tribe that is honored to the present day. They then migrated down to the Southern Plains around the states of Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Texas. Previous names for the Kiowa people reflect key moments during Kiowa migration

¹⁸ Kiowas call this ceremony the Medicine Lodge Ceremony.

since the Kiowa creation story of coming out of the log. Alecia Keahbone Gonzales, a Kiowa speech-language pathologist and language teacher, describes Kiowa names in relation to place and migration in this way: 1) Kooie-Daw¹⁹ (Pulled out or pulling out) or Tape Daw (coming out)– the creation story of how Kiowas came into this earth from a hollow cottonwood log; 2) Tho-kxai-yope (men from the cold country)– the time Kiowas were based in in Yellowstone-Missouri River area; 3) Koam-Paw-Behn (large tipi flaps)– the time when Kiowa learned to live in tipis and their tipi flaps were larger than other plains groups; 4) Awl-kohn-tсах-lah-gaw (men who have their black hair cut just below the ear)– the time Kiowa warriors cut their hair below the ear to prevent their hair from getting entangled by bow string and arrow. This is also the Plains Indian sign language gesture for Kiowa people; 5) Oiye-goo (many people)– the time when Kiowas moved to different places in the Southern Plains and grew in population (Gonzales 2001:19).²⁰

Warfare was a common practice amongst Plains groups before the arrival of Euro-American colonizers. The Kiowa People initially fought against [Gyâigú (Comanche) after migrating to the Southern Plains. They later established an alliance with them around 1790 (Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002). They often shared similar traditional enemies. Kiowas primarily fought against Sá:k'âut[dàu (Cheyenne Tribe), Áhyàt[dàu (Southern Araphao Tribe), Gùsâugàu (Osage Tribe), [Gûik'yâugàu (Pawnee Tribe), and Í:[dà:gàu (Ute Tribe). With the encroachment of white settlers in the 18th century, Kiowas often fought, raided, and took captives from K'ópt'áu:káui (Mexicans) and Gá:no/ t'áiñ:dàu:gàu/ t'áu káui (Americans/white people). Scholars attribute the acquisition of the horse after the Spanish

¹⁹ These Kiowa names are in the Gonzales orthography. For pronunciation, see Gonzales 2001.

²⁰ For more detailed information on the Kiowa origin story and migration, see Mommaday 1969; Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002:7-14; Meadows 2008.

colonization of the western hemisphere (Hämäläinen 2003; Her Many Horses 2006; Meadows 2010). Horses allowed for mounted warfare and quicker nomadic travel, and were symbols of wealth and power.

Kiowas, including many Plains Tribes, kept records of events and battles in a given year through winter calendars. Kiowas are unique compared to other Tribes in that they had a winter and summer calendar.²¹ These calendars were often painted on buffalo hides depicting specific battles, dances, disease epidemics, and other key events experienced among the tribe as a whole, such as the massacre by the Osages and capture of the Táiñmé (an important part of the Medicine Lodge Ceremony) in 1833, signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1867, imprisonment of the legendary Kiowa warriors Sét'áiñgyà, Sét'áiñdé, and others in 1871, and the introduction of the Ghost Dance by Sitting Bull (Arapaho) in 1890 (Mooney 1892; Kracht 2018).

The Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 established reservation land for Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches in the southwestern part of Oklahoma. The Bureau of Indian Affairs set aside nearly three million acres for the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) Reservation. During 1874-5, Kiowas, Comanches, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos who refused to settle on reservations in Oklahoma fought against the United States Army. After a few months of battles and skirmishes, these Tribes were forced to settle on reservation lands. Chief Quannah Parker and the Quadhadi band of Comanche were the last to surrender at Fort Sill in present-day Lawton, Oklahoma. After the war, the U.S. military imprisoned warriors and chiefs from these Tribes, including “thirty-six Kiowa and

²¹ I believe that this is the case because there are two seasons in Kiowa thought. The cold season (winter, spring) and the hot season (summer, fall). This duality is important to Kiowa cultural practice as the cold season is a quiet time where stories are told and the summertime is when dances and songs are performed.

Comanche headsmen,” in Ft. Marion in Florida (Lassiter, Ellis, and Kotay 2002:11; Tone-pah-hote 2019).

The late 19th century was a tumultuous time for the Kiowa People. As Delores Harragarra, a Kiowa Elder, put in an interview with me, “our ancestors went through a very stressful time of change.” During the reservation era, in 1890, the United States government forcefully suppressed the Medicine Lodge Ceremony,²² a dance integral to Kiowa religion (Mooney 1898:358-9; Meadows 2010:62, Queton 2014:4). Another religion commonly practiced by Kiowas, the Feather Dance,²³ fell out of favor in the early 20th century (Kracht 2018). Both religions were, as Kiowa Elders say, “put away” and never revived. By the late 19th century, Christian missionaries flooded the KCA Reservation. Baptist, Methodist, and Catholic missionaries were able to successfully establish churches (Lassiter et al 2002). In 1901, the Dawes Act (first passed in 1887) privatized reservation land (providing 160 acres of allotted land to families), which allowed white settlers to encroach over two-thirds of reservation land, marking the era of post-reservation life (Lassiter et al 2002:13). During the late 19th century, Kiowa children were sent to government-run boarding schools where they were forced to learn American customs in tandem with the “Kill the Indian, Save the Man” cultural genocidal agenda (Ellis 1996; Zitkala-Sa [1921]1979). While the U.S. systematically attacked Kiowa cultural practices, the Óhòmàù continued to dance underground. One Kiowa Óhòmàù song, known as the “Resistance song,” fortuitously tells dancers: “[Bòì bé áũngyákàũ[dàu/ Dá bá tónpáñbàñhò (Do not hesitate to dance/ Go ahead and be arrested” (Ellis 2003:18; Meadows 2010:274).

²² Kiowas call the Medicine Lodge Ceremony as k’áu[dó, which is most commonly known as the Sun Dance religion.

²³ Kiowas call the Feather Dance as á:má:gún, which is most commonly known as the Ghost Dance religion.

Today, there are three main Kiowa male societies that continue to hold their dances. All three have their roots in pre-reservation times. The first, [Dáíñ]bègàu (Gourd Dance), a dance society exclusive to men, stopped in 1927, but was fully revived in 1957 and is practiced to this day (Ellis 1990). Tòñkóñgàut (Black Legs Society), an all-male veteran's society, experienced a revival from 1912-27, and underwent another revival in 1958. This dance takes place on the weekend of Indigenous Peoples Day (former Columbus Day). The Óhòmàù is the Kiowa version of the War Dance tradition (Ponca and Omaha Hethushka, Osage In-lon-schka, Pawnee Iruska). It is the only Kiowa dance society that has never experienced dormancy (Meadows 2010).

Kiowa Language Ideologies

Throughout this dissertation, I describe a few Kiowa language²⁴ ideologies²⁵ that underpin Kiowa language reclamation. I foreground them in the introduction to provide context for subsequent chapters. Foremost, Kiowas believe that the Kiowa language is a gift given from Dàuk'í (God/Creator) to the Kiowa People (Palmer 2003). This sacred connection with the divine makes language especially important for what it means to be Kiowa. Many Kiowa Elders who are L1 speakers²⁶ often assert that the Kiowa language is essential to Kiowa identity and ways of life. As Delores Harragarra puts it, “our language is very beautiful and shapes the way that we view the world, without it, you aren't who you say you are.”

²⁴ The Kiowa language has been classified by linguists (Harrington 1928; Hill 2008; Watkins 1984) as part of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family. However, Kiowa Elders contend that the Tiwa language spoken at Toas Pueblo is unintelligible to them. I do not discuss the Kiowa-Tanoan language family in depth because it was not of much importance to KLCRP.

²⁵ Language ideologies refer to thoughts, beliefs, and conceptions about language.

²⁶ L1 refers to the first language that a person learns and experiences since birth.

Kiowas are reclaiming their language because it is an important part of being Kiowa. A few Elder speakers expressed to me that praying in Kiowa is not the same as praying in English. As one Elder put it, “you cannot accurately convey what is in your heart and mind.” This sort of communication is often described by Elder speakers as *felt*. Linguistic affect is an important part to Kiowa languaging practices. This also is true in Kiowa storytelling. Ralph Zotigh (Kiowa) told me that “I prefer to listen to stories in the Kiowa language. There’s so much more that is conveyed and felt. Stories told in English are black and white whereas stories told in Kiowa are full of color and life, you can *feel* the story.” Many Elder speakers expressed to me that the Kiowa language is very descriptive. In an interview with Aye-kee-mah (Julia Noel),²⁷ she described that her grandfather would prefer to pray in the Kiowa language because “Kiowa accurately conveys how he felt and wanted to express to God.”

Kiowa Elder speakers also talk about the incommensurability between English and Kiowa. Delores Harragarra told me on several occasions that when Kiowa is translated into English, “it loses its luster.” Every single Elder I spoke with said that it is near impossible to truly translate Kiowa into English. I experienced this firsthand, for example, by trying to grasp the meaning of the phrase “gyà sáu:mí.” It took me three years to fully understand the phrase. I first heard it when I listened to Kiowa War Mother songs. I asked several Kiowa Elder speakers how to translate the phrase into English and I received different answers: “it means something is strange,” “something awesome has happened,” “it’s inconceivable,” “it’s a way to describe how the Kiowa soldiers fearlessly ran into gunfire and were not afraid

²⁷ Aye-kee-mah is a tribally-certified Kiowa language teacher and is knowledgeable of Kiowa Christian hymns, especially songs composed at the Rainy Mountain Indian Baptist Church. She was one of the leaders in the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) and conducted outreach programs on Kiowa Christian hymns. As expressed to me by her, she prefers to be referred by her Kiowa name instead of her government name (Julia Noel).

to die” and “I can’t think of an English word that describes this.” I did not know how to interpret the multitude of interpretations of the phrase “gyà sáu:mí:” I associated the phrase with the lyrics in Kiowa War Mother songs when describing the valor and bravery of Kiowa soldiers. I later heard it in several Kiowa Christian hymns when describing miracles, gratitude, and praise for Dàuk’í. I even heard the phrase when I went on a road trip to New Mexico with Delores Harragarra and her son Kenny Harragarra.

In June of 2018, we visited the Rio Grande Gorge located near Taos, New Mexico. We drove on highway 64, a road that cuts across the desert of New Mexico. It reminded me of the desert landscape in Looney Tunes. We suddenly approached the Rio Grande Gorge Bridge. Below the road was a vast canyon. The Rio Grande River carved a 600 ft. valley right through the desert landscape. I turned the car around and parked on the right shoulder of the highway. Kenny took his mom’s arm and helped her walk along the pedestrian pathway towards the middle of the bridge. We were amazed and awe-inspired by the sheer vastness of the canyon. The sun set towards the West illuminating the entire New Mexico landscape, except for the canyon, creating a juxtaposition between the dark shadow of the gorge and the sun’s golden light. Delores looked at the river below and said, “can you believe that *water* did all of this?” She paused and slowly followed the flow of the river with her eyes. “Gyà sáu:mí,” she simply said. Kenny responded, “hàu: (I agree)” and kept looking at the canyon. It dawned on me right then and there. The phrase “gyà sáu:mí” is not a word that can be translated into English. It cannot. It is something that is *felt* and *experienced*. The vastness of the canyon—the awe-inspiring feeling from something so simple as water that could create something so grand as this canyon—overtook me with such wonder and amazement. That is gyà sáu:mí.

The ways in which a person speaks Kiowa are also of paramount importance. Kiowa Elder speakers always emphasize prosody. Kiowa is a tonal language and one inflection can drastically change a word's referential meaning. Everyone has a comical story of how they mispronounced a word in a different language; let me tell you mine.²⁸ In June of 2019, I was eating lunch with Delores Harragarra and Martha Koomsa Perez at the AOA building (Elder's building at the Kiowa Tribal Complex). A Kiowa Elder walked through the doors near our table and immediately greeted Martha. I had no idea who she was and so Delores swiftly said, "Sarah, do you know Max Yamane?" I stood up and enthusiastically extend my hand and said "háundé óñ:dé èm k'áuñ:[dé." Within a split second, Sarah looked at me and made a frown. Without hesitation, Martha spit out her food in a napkin and laughed. Delores responded, "he's speaking Japanese!" All the Kiowa Elders in the room heard her and then they all erupted in laughter together. I laughed too out of embarrassment. Once Martha calmed down and caught her breath, she told me, "I know what you were trying to say. You meant to say k'áu:[dé, it's nice to meet you, but you said *k'áuñ:[dé*, you just told her 'how wonderful it is that you're a bad person.'" I never made that same mistake again.

Learning how to speak Kiowa correctly is part of the overarching movement to reclaim and resurge the Kiowa language. KLCRP conducted a community-based survey in 2015 that showed that Kiowa language reclamation is of paramount importance for the Kiowa Tribe. As one Kiowa Elder put it, "our Elders said that if the Kiowa language ever goes away, then that's it, there's no more Kiowa. That would be a very sad day." The Kiowa Tribe is in a crucial moment to reclaim and strengthen the Kiowa language. As Lillie Pinnell (Kiowa), the acting director for KLCRP told me, "...we are in a crisis." Despite the

²⁸ I insert jokes throughout this dissertation because humor is an important part of Kiowa storytelling (Palmer 2003).

drastically low number of twenty Kiowa fluent who are fluent in the Kiowa language, at least the Tribe still has Elder speakers whereas some Tribes do not. Kiowas highly treasure their Elders. Many Kiowas value the embodied wisdom of their Elders because they carry not only the knowledge accumulated throughout their lifetime, but also the knowledge of *their* Elders. In my numerous conversations with Delores Harragarra, I eventually came to the realization that Kiowa Elders do not just embody valuable knowledge about the Kiowa language, but also Kiowa epistemology and ontology. As Delores Harragarra always says, “you have to *think* in Kiowa.” This dissertation shows how the resurgence of Kiowa sound is intimately interconnected with Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

[Gáuibègù èt màuhêmàù

The slogan of KLCRP is “[Gáuibègù èt màuhêmàù” and roughly translates to “we are learning Kiowa ways.” This broadly describes KLCRP’s Kiowa resurgence efforts of Kiowa culture and identity. A community-based institution, KLCRP, was founded in Fall of 2016 when the Kiowa Tribe received a Native Language Community Coordination (NLCC) grant from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) to fund a five-year language reclamation project. The program was operated in the Kiowa Tribal Complex in Carnegie, Oklahoma. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, KLCRP extended their program for an additional year. When KLCRP’s federal funding ended in May 2022, KLCRP project staff renamed their division, as the Kiowa Language and Culture Department, which is now located in Anadarko, Oklahoma.

The program had three main objectives: first, establish and operate a teacher credentialing program for Kiowa language education; second, develop language learning resources; and third, conduct language outreach events at five sites. KLCRP staff used the

Kiowa Tribal census to determine the location of the five sites, which were based on the largest populations of Kiowa tribal citizens: Anadarko, Carnegie, Cache, Norman, and Tulsa. Chapters Three and Four will describe KLCRP's objectives more in depth.

Methods

Following the methodological approach of my academic grandfather, Thomas Turino (1993),²⁹ I conducted multi-sited ethnography. I initially participated in KLCRP as an interested participant, and later as a teacher candidate. During the pandemic, I conducted ethnography at the Administration for Native Americans (ANA), a federal agency that gives grants for Tribes. As a program specialist and program analyst, I worked in data aggregation and analysis with Indigenous community-based projects.³⁰ This multi-sited approach also expands ethnomusicological ethnography by engaging in “ethnography of language planning and policy.” This dissertation examines the top-down approaches espoused by a settler colonial governmental institution in contrast to the inside-out approach of a Native community-based institution (McCarty 2013). Additionally, I conducted fieldwork virtually through social media and virtual platforms during the COVID-19 pandemic. This combination of in-person and virtual ethnography brought about new opportunities as well as challenges. The pros and cons of conducting ethnography through digital technology and in virtual space are outlined in the fourth chapter.

²⁹ Thomas Turino and I are not blood relatives, but he is the advisor of my advisor, Fernando Rios. In Indigenous spaces, it is a common practice to disclose who your relatives are. Following this practice, I disclose who my academic relations are so that Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars alike can map my academic relationality. This is also a little exercise in understanding the importance of Indigenologies. Relationality is important to Indigenous epistemologies.

³⁰ To avoid any conflicts of interest, I approached my supervisors at Tribal Tech and ANA, and told them that I participated with KLCRP. They determined that there would not be any conflicts of interest in participating with KLCRP. ANA did not assign me any job duties that concerned the Kiowa Tribe. Similarly, I disclosed to KLCRP that I worked for ANA and that my participation would not harm nor benefit the ir program. I told both parties that I would not disclose any information nor data to each other.

My dissertation work seeks to engage in collaborative ethnography (Lassiter 2005) by following the frameworks of Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR acknowledges community members as legitimate co-researchers (rather than as mere research subjects) and addresses the inherent political imbalances in conducting academic research. PAR scholar Hal Lawson argues that “participation in research is a political process, not just a technique” (2015:xviii). NAIS scholars (Deloria [1974]1994; J.B. Perea 2021; Robinson 2020; Smith 1999; Wilson 2008) critique settler colonial power imbalances in anthropological research on Indigenous Peoples. As a way to mitigate these issues, PAR offers researchers more responsible and ethical ways of doing research. PAR scholars argue that academic researchers should “enfranchise, prepare, and empower representative community members as co-researchers” to lessen the inherent power dynamic between ethnographer and interlocutors (Lawson 2015:xviii). For these reasons, I engaged in PAR primarily for the benefit of KLCRP, not for my own scholarship. When I became a teacher candidate in August 2021, I conducted PAR with the Norman and Anadarko cohorts of teacher candidates and our Elder mentors through Kiowa logics. For example, each cohort member recognized Elder mentors as knowledge keepers and authorities on topics of Kiowa cultural practices. After serving as a teacher candidate and talking with the KLCRP Acting Director, the Kiowa Higher Education Director, and the Elder mentors, I received permission to write about my experiences learning Kiowa language through music for the purpose of this dissertation.

Following the frameworks of PAR, I therefore acknowledge all the Kiowa Tribal citizens I worked with as co-researchers in their own right in this dissertation. In addition, I acknowledge Elders and knowledge keepers *as scholars* as they are recognized by their own communities. While one purpose of a dissertation is to demonstrate that a PhD candidate can effectively conduct ethnomusicological research, and while a dissertation does not allow for

true co-authorship among community participants, I designed my fieldwork methodologies to include a dialogic relationship with Kiowa tribal citizens. This means that I adjusted my voice and writing style in the dissertation to speaking *with* rather than *about* Kiowas both in fieldwork and in writing.

Additionally, I champion Indigenous research methodologies in this dissertation. As Shawn Wilson (Opaskwayak Cree) (2008) explains, Indigenous research methodologies are grounded in relationality and relational accountability with the community whom one is working with, both in fieldwork and writing. Kiowa knowledge keepers are the true epistemic authorities on Kiowa cultural practices.

When collecting the data for this dissertation, I used Kiowa methods when obtaining knowledge. Where appropriate, I gave tobacco, food baskets, and/or monetary compensation when interviewing Kiowas. Anthropologist Gus Palmer Jr. (Kiowa) (2003) notes that “it is not the payment [tobacco, food baskets, and money] that is so important here as it is the recognition of something significant happening: the exchange, the song going from one party to another. That is what is important and why it *is* ceremonial” (2003:xviii). Most data collection came from participant observation, but also from interviews or conversations, which therefore required the ceremonial act of giving. I relied on my previous experience of working with Kiowa Peoples in my master’s thesis as well as the guidance from the Zotigh and Harragarra families. In adherence to Indigenous Data Sovereignty (Walter and Carroll 2021), the right for Indigenous groups to have authoritative claim and access to data materials regarding their people and cultural practices, I will repatriate data (with individual permissions) to KLCRP and the Kiowa Tribe. It is my hope that my deposited interviews and notes will be of some use for the Kiowa Nation in ways that they deem is beneficial.

Terminology

Indigenous Terminology

This dissertation follows Gregory Younging's (Opaskwayak Cree) (2018) *Elements of Indigenous Style*. I intentionally capitalize "Indigenous," "Native," "Native Nation," "Elder," "Tribe" and distinct Tribal names because they are proper nouns. Additionally, they are terms that are used in specific contexts. Each Indigenous community has a name for themselves and for others. In this dissertation, I use the term Indigenous to refer to Native Americans, Alaska Natives, Pacific Islanders, First Nations, Aboriginals as well as groups who claim Indigeneity in Latin America and Scandinavia. I use the term "Native" to refer to Indigenous Peoples in the lower-48. Similarly, I use the term "Alaska Native" to refer to Indigenous Peoples in Alaska. These terms are commonly used when discussing groups of Indigenous Peoples from these respective areas. However, most Indigenous Peoples (in my experience) prefer to identify by their tribal affiliation and/or citizenship, such as "Kiowa," "Tlingit," "Native Hawaiian," "Chickahominy," "citizen of Cherokee Nation," or "Dena-ina." Where appropriate, I also privilege how Indigenous individuals themselves self-identify. For example, I would not call an Oglala Lakota as "Teton Sioux," even though they might joke that they are Sioux because they have a lot of lawyers, because as one Oglala told me, "we are *Oglala*, we are not Teton Sioux. Teton means 'nipples'³¹ in French and we got looped in with that name when they decided to name our mountains as such." Some Indigenous Peoples even prefer to call themselves by their Tribal name in their language. Most Diné folks that I met usually prefer the term "Diné" over "Navajo." As my Diné colleague at ANA, Pablo John, once told me, "The Spanish called us Navajos, which means

³¹ The French word "teton" actually means "breasts."

‘stealers.’ I guess we were stealers of their livestock, but how can we be called stealers on our own land?” Names matter and the ways that Indigenous nations want to be called should be respected and upheld.

My dissertation also recognizes that Indigeneity is not a unified term and concept. Chris Andersen (Métis) (2009) critiques homogenizing discourses and analytics on Indigeneity “which vastly oversimplifies the complex set of relations within and through which contemporary Indigenous collectives and their histories are represented” (88), by replacing Indigenous “difference” in favor of Indigenous “density,” that “account for the distinctive needs, aspirations and epistemologies of Indigenous communities” (95). Throughout this dissertation, I use the term “density” to describe the complexities of contemporary Indigeneity, specifically dynamic forms of Kiowa cultural practice, identity, and acts of resurgence. Even within the Kiowa Tribe, as Chapters Three and Four will show, there is a density of Kiowa ways of knowing and doing.

This dissertation also examines the discursive constructions and practices among Kiowas (and other Native Peoples) that differentiate between Indigenous and western ways of knowing, doing, and being. While I mention these comparisons through the dichotomy of Indigenous versus western, or Kiowa versus western, I seek to avoid essentializing Indigenous Peoples as well as western communities. As Chapters Three and Four will show, there are not clear separations between western and Kiowa pedagogies—especially concerning around the inclusion of orthography in teaching Kiowa sound. Although I do implement these dichotomies, I acknowledge that Kiowa discourses between Kiowa versus western practices are not entirely divorced.³²

³² See Lie 2021.

(Trans)Languaging

I use the term languaging to refer to “the process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language” (Swain 2006:89). Generally, it refers to the social processes of doing language where “language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal with the intention of achieving their communicative aims” (Jørgensen 2008: 169). Similar to music making (Small 1998), the concept of languaging highlights that language is inherently connected to cultural practice and is a “verb” not just a “noun” (Becker 1988:25).

Throughout this dissertation, I implement the term translanguaging to refer to Kiowa speakers’ heteroglossic language practice, one in which speakers communicate by using different linguistic features based on their unique range of their own linguistic repertoire. In Kiowa communities, most Kiowas translanguage between English, Kiowa, and Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL). For example, Corey Reeder (Kiowa/Wichita/Diné) translanguaged between all three languages when he said to his brother, “hey [bàbí (male’s brother) [signs ‘good’ in PISL], déóñ:dé (how wonderful), it’s good to see you.” In contrast to code switching, translanguaging focuses on the languager’s linguistic repertoire. As language scholars Guillem Belmar and Maggies Glass articulate, “the focus is on the speakers’ strategies to achieve effective communication, especially the meaningful ways in which they select features in their linguistic repertoire (Lewis, Jones & Baker 2012; Velasco & García, 2014:7). Most importantly, translanguaging is concerned with the erasure of language hierarchies and boundaries (García & Leiva 2014): language varieties are all conceived of as equal, and hybrid language use – as the norm” (2019:7). Translanguaging, however, can potentially threaten minoritized languages. Several scholars note that translanguaging must

allow “breathing space” for these languages to grow and thrive (Belmar and Glass 2019; Cenoz and Corter 2017; Seals and Olsen-Reeder 2020).

Who is the Author?

I use this section to state my positionality and share my story so that you, the reader, know who I am.³³ Introductory practices are common Indigenous societies. For Kiowa readers: Déóñ:dé èm tsán. Max Yamane à káuñ nàu [gáuikáuñ hên à dáu. [Gyâipáñ [dògú à dáu nàu [gáui[gôm à dáu. [Gúsé[dàn[gyà à [gíl nàu San Antonio[gyà à k'íá. University of Oklahoma gyà sáu:[dép'aidè[dàu:. [Dògú káuñ áuñ à dáu. Shyándé yáñ hái:gyà:dáu. À:hô dé èm tsán nàu dàu'í bà táí:[dò:dé gàu [dá:[dò:dé. For non-Kiowa readers, I am fourth generation Japanese American. While I have spent a considerable amount of time in Indian Country, there is still much I have to learn about Native culture. I am most humbled that I was given the opportunity to learn how to powwow sing by Ralph Zotigh (Kiowa) in 2013, when he moved from Albuquerque to live with his son Dennis Zotigh (Kiowa, Santee Dakota, Okay Owingeh) in Maryland. I became close with them and later they came to be like family. If it were not for their teachings and support, I would not have been able to learn Kiowa cultural practices and would not have been able to effectively do ethnomusicological research with the Kiowa Tribe.

I also want to be clear that while I have gained acceptance in Kiowa communities, where some Kiowas even say “he’s Kiowa,” I affirm my position as a Japanese American; and I am proud to be so. To deny my heritage would also be an insult to my own ancestors

³³ Talking about yourself and your accomplishments is seen as a form of bragging in Kiowa culture and is discouraged. For this reason, I provide an article that Dennis Zotigh wrote about my story for the Smithsonian Magazine: <<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/blogs/national-museum-american-indian/2022/05/27/celebrating-asian-pacific-american-heritage-month-max-hiroshi-yamane-initiating-relationships-with-native-people/>>.

who immigrated from Japan to Seattle and had to endure forced relocation at Minidoka internment camp during World War II. As a result of this experience, my family did not teach me anything about Japanese language or culture. While my family's experience of being Japanese American in the U.S. is not comparable with the experience of American dispossession, erasure, and genocide against Indigenous Peoples, I empathized with younger Kiowas who also did not learn their language and cultural practices as a result of settler colonialism and racial prejudice.

This lived experience fueled my passion to support KLCRP's Kiowa resurgence efforts as an ally. I am both humbled and honored that KLCRP invited me to serve as a teacher candidate and produce language learning resources with the Anadarko and Norman cohorts. This most gracious invitation is a gift that I can never fully repay. To maintain my reciprocity with the Kiowa People, I use this dissertation, field notes, and language resources that I developed while in KLCRP as my "give-away" to the Kiowa Tribe.

Chapters

The dissertation's chapters are laid out in a way that starts in Washington D.C. and migrates towards Oklahoma. Chapter One focuses on federal government spaces and practices at the heart of the settler colonial nation-state. This chapter begins by demonstrating that Kiowa storytelling is intimately connected with Kiowa music making. The chapter then pivots by problematizing congressional storytelling *about* Indigenous languages (and Peoples more broadly) as well as policies created around funding Indigenous languages. The chapter then ends by showing the different strategies that Indigenous performers take in reclaiming their own stories and narratives about their languages *with* and *through* music.

Chapter Two examines how Kiowa Christian hymns developed into distinct Kiowa expressions of Christianity. During the late 19th century, Christian missionaries flooded the KCA Reservation. Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics were able to successfully establish churches by approaching their missionization in ways that resonated with Kiowa cultural practices and encouraged Kiowas to develop their own Christian religious practices, especially through the creation of Kiowa Christian hymns. This chapter then examines how Christian church membership declined in the mid-20th century due to rural-to-urban migration and the development of inter-Tribal culture. In the 21st century, Kiowas became concerned about the decline of Kiowa Christian hymn singers. As a result, several Kiowas created their own recordings of Kiowa Christian hymns as a way to preserve this musical practice.

Chapter Three analyzes how KLCRP used Kiowa Christian hymns as part of their Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogies. This chapter compares two ethnographic in how a Kiowa Elder and two KLCRP teacher candidates approached Kiowa resurgence through traditional and non-traditional Kiowa pedagogies. This chapter will show that these different pedagogical approaches are rooted in Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

Chapter Four describes the creative ways that KLCRP adapted Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogies on virtual platforms during the COVID-19 pandemic. This chapter shows the ways in which digital technology created new possibilities for community outreach, engaged with recordings of past Kiowa Elders, as well as disseminate and share sound learning resources through social media. This chapter celebrates Kiowa creativity and brilliance during the tumultuous moment of the pandemic.

Àñ:kó (let us begin).

Chapter 1

“The Stories are told by Us”/U.S.:

Politics of Storytelling about Indigenous Languages with (and without) Music

On February 11, 2020, representatives from various Tribal Nations and Indigenous communities gathered at the Regency hotel in Crystal City, Virginia for the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) annual grantee conference. This meeting allowed Tribal representatives who received an ANA grant to convene and share stories about their projects with ANA staff and other grantees, including those who implement language reclamation projects. The large crowd of grantees in the main conference room were instructed to stand for the procession of a Grand Entry, a practice that is commonly done at inter-Tribal powwows. Ralph Zotigh, his son Dennis Zotigh, along with two other Kiowa singers walked to the stage with their hand drums as Terry Rose (Choctaw), a contractor with ANA, announced that the group of Kiowa singers are going to sing for the procession of dancers who are awaiting behind the doors of the conference room. With a single loud beat of the drum followed by a steady, moderate paced beat, Ralph began to sing one of the most well-known Kiowa Veteran songs, most commonly known to Kiowas as “Stars and Stripes.” After Ralph sang the lead verse, the singers joined in unison. The dense sound of bells and the singers’ voices started to fill the soundscape of the conference room as all the dancers made their way into the room, splitting into two single file lines down the two pathways through the crowd. Similar to a Grand Entry at a powwow, a veteran carried the eagle staff and

another veteran danced while holding the American flag. A trail of dancers in each category (Men's Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional, Grass, Fancy and Women's Cloth, Northern Traditional, Southern Traditional, Jingle, and Fancy Shawl) followed suit towards the front of the room at the foot of the stage. As each dancer made their way to the front of the stage, a thunderous applause from the grantees in attendance echoed off the walls of the room in celebration.

Performing a Grand Entry for a federal government conference is unique. The organizers at ANA, a federal agency that distributes federal grants for Tribal Nations in the U.S., were able to create an inter-Tribal space through song and dance by starting the conference with a Grand Entry. This practice resonates with many of the grantees in attendance as a grand entry is often the way Tribal communities in the U.S. and Canada officially start a powwow. While not all Tribal Nations host powwows, the majority of Indigenous representatives in attendance host their own powwows and are familiar with this practice. The song that Ralph Zotigh and the small group of Kiowa singers rendered was a Kiowa Veteran song in origin, but functioned as a Grand Entry song to officially mark the beginning of the gathering. The ANA conference is one of the few federal spaces that allow grantees to tell stories of their community-based projects through Indigenous methods, including language reclamation initiatives.

Stories are powerful. Stories and storytelling are interconnected with various Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being (Archibald 2008; Atalay 2020; Palmer 2003). Simultaneously, the stories that settler colonial institutions tell about Indigenous Peoples can perpetuate problematic paradigms, policies, and practices that continue to disenfranchise Native communities. Native American and Indigenous studies (NAIS) scholars and linguistic anthropologists both explain that the stories told about language reclamation are just as

important as the very act of bringing back the language (Kroskrity 2011, Leonard 2017, McCarty et al 2018, Minks 2013, Samuels 2015). However, little attention has been given to how music making intersects with Indigenous storytelling in the disciplines/fields of ethnomusicology, anthropology, and NAIS. More specifically, scholars have not examined how Indigenous stories and music are performed in settler colonial government spaces, especially in spaces among policymakers who create and influence federal language planning and policies. Scholars have not fully examined how damaging discursive practices by federal policymakers contributes to authoritative policies over Indigenous language reclamation efforts. This chapter addresses these gaps in NAIS by examining the intersection of Indigenous music making and storytelling practices, and by illuminating how Congress imposes settler colonial authority on Indigenous language reclamation initiatives.

In this chapter, I answer two intersecting questions: 1) How do U.S. policy makers tell stories about Indigenous languages and how might this affect language planning and policy (LPP) on Native language reclamation projects? 2) How do Indigenous performers tell their own stories of their languages and initiatives *with* and *through* music in settler colonial spaces? I argue that Indigenous performers do storywork (Archibald 2008) with and through music as a strategic response against damaging settler colonial narratives and ideologies about Indigenous Peoples and their languages. I highlight how these performers use storytelling, which often incorporates music making as a core component in their community's storytelling practices, as a way to disrupt and unsettle settler colonial ideologies and attitudes in federal government spaces. I focus on federal government spaces because U.S. policymakers meet in these areas to construct their policies. As noted in the introduction, I utilize the word "music" throughout this dissertation to encompass the "density" (Andersen 2009, Perea and Solis 2019) and wide variety of Indigenous sonic

cultural practices considered music, songs, chants, and/or sonic protocols by the communities themselves. I intentionally refuse to reinforce western epistemic notions of what music is that often mislabel Indigenous sonic practices as non-modern, static, irrelevant, and ahistorical. I privilege the specific emic terminologies and conceptions of Indigenous communities.

The politics of storytelling inform how policymakers create and perpetuate U.S. LPP on Indigenous languages. These policymakers' ideologies and attitudes ultimately influence how Indigenous communities more broadly are treated by the federal government as settler colonial subjects. While I do not ignore the role academia has played (both positively and negatively) in community-led language reclamation initiatives here,³⁴ my focus for this chapter is on the U.S. Congress, specifically how they create problematic discourse *on* and *about* Indigenous languages that can negatively affect Indigenous communities. As a federal employee of ANA, I provide a unique insider perspective from both the federal side as well as the community side of how federal LPP affects community-based language reclamation efforts. For purposes of this chapter, I focus on the “top-down” approach when discussing congressional storytelling because this is how policymakers and the federal government assert their governance. When discussing how Indigenous Peoples themselves talk about their languages (with music), I show Indigenous performers use the “inside-out” approach (McCarty 2013). This approach privileges the borders of tribal citizenry and their sovereignty, instead of implementing the “top-down” gaze which imposes settler colonial sovereignty over Tribal sovereignty, which is how the U.S. continues to mask its deceitful

³⁴ See Deloria [1972] 1994, Leonard 2017, Palmer 2002, J.B. Perea 2020 for Indigenous critiques on anthropological research on Indigenous Peoples.

“nation-to-nation” relationship. An “inside-out” approach focuses on the People and the activities that concern their language reclamation internally.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. First, I dissect how congressional storytelling about Indigenous communities and their languages is often framed through “damage-centered” (Tuck 2009) discursive practices. I provide words of caution regarding how Congress’ discursive practices perpetuate problematic discourses such as Indigenous languages *as* settler colonial intangible cultural heritage, language morbidity, and deficit-based statistics. Indigenous scholars, leaders, and activists alike are well aware of these issues (Moreton-Robinson 2004, 2015; Tuck 2009). Here I amplify their voices and critique. Second, I describe how the process of Indigenous storytelling between storyteller and storylistener, what education scholar Jo-Anne Archibald (Stó:lō) calls “storywork” (2008), is interconnected with Indigenous music-making. Archibald recognizes the density of storywork and that each Tribe has their own versions of storywork. Here, I provide an example of Kiowa storywork and describe the relationality between Kiowa storytelling and Kiowa song. The Kiowa storytelling/music making relationship is relevant to later chapters discussing Kiowa language reclamation. Lastly, drawing from a few accounts, I show how Native performers tell stories with and through music about their languages in response to these damage-centered stories in federal government spaces. I explain how their different approaches to storytelling with and through music uphold Indigenous sonic protocols, unsettle settler colonial misconceptions, and assert self-representation.

I purposefully start my dissertation story in the Washington D.C.-Maryland-Virginia (DMV) area for a few reasons. I want to first discuss how the federal government creates LPP on Indigenous languages, so that subsequent chapters can then show how KLCRP challenges federal government LPP impositions. A major part of Indigenous resurgence is in

reaction to settler colonial forces, systems, and institutions that attempt to erase and dispossess Indigenous lifeways. Additionally, in the earlier stages of this dissertation project, one of my committee members, John-Carlos Perea (Mescalero Apache, German, Irish, Chicano), questioned if I wanted the federal government to have the last say in my dissertation. After thoughtful consideration, I did not want the federal government to have the last word. The federal government continuously refuses to listen to Indigenous Peoples; this chapter seeks to amplify their voices. Second, the DMV is where I met the Zotigh family, and where I started learning Kiowa music and language. Since 2013, I participated as a singer with the Zotigh powwow drum group and have sung at numerous powwows. Third, I started working at ANA in April 2020 during the pandemic. The ANA office is located two blocks from the capital building and is in close proximity to other federal agencies. Little did I know that this job would open the door to a plethora of opportunities that would be valuable to this dissertation. I worked directly with leading Indigenous scholars, language warriors, and community leaders throughout Indian Country. Simultaneously, I worked with other federal agencies and the Hill³⁵ in implementing and analyzing Indigenous policy.³⁶ I saw my job as a liaison between ANA and Tribal Nations. I supported them in navigating through federal bureaucracy and remained an ally to their community. My position at ANA, on the one hand, gave me a unique perspective of working in the federal government and

³⁵ The Hill is colloquially known as Congress in the federal government. This is because the capital building sits on top of a hill in the middle of Washington D.C.

³⁶ My main job was to conduct impact evaluations on ANA-funded grants. I collected data using qualitative and quantitative methods *with* program staff to understand programmatic successes and challenges. I analyzed the effectiveness and impact of social-economic development, environmental regulatory enhancement, and language preservation and maintenance projects. I co-authored congressional reports with Tribal staff, which showed key findings of each project. Additionally, I contributed to the White House's initiative to create a 10-year Native American language revitalization plan and the Durbin Feeling survey. I mention my involvement with humbleness, so that you, the reader, know exactly which policies I contributed towards. I acknowledge that at the end of the day, my job upheld and perpetuated settler colonial governance. I did my absolute best to mitigate settler colonial hegemony and uphold Tribal sovereignty in a variety of ways. Please find me somewhere outside of this dissertation if you would like to know more.

access to spaces that normally are closed off to the public. On the other hand, my job at ANA allowed me to visit and work directly with numerous Indigenous language reclamation projects throughout the U.S.

Congressional Language Planning and Policy on Indigenous Languages

U.S. LPP on Indigenous languages is connected to the larger socio-political structures of the settler colonial nation-state that fuel the erasure of Indigenous Peoples and their ways of life. While congressional acts such as the Native Americans Languages Act of 1990 and the Esther Martinez Native American Preservation of Languages Act of 2006 reversed previous federal policies of forced assimilation and genocide, they only provided *some* financial support for Indigenous communities. The number of congressional appropriations, or federal funding, for Indigenous language reclamation projects is minimal and conducted through discretionary grant making.³⁷ Congress' discursive practices remain problematic and are incongruent with how federal agencies implement their policies.

Congressional policies attempt to *safeguard* Indigenous Peoples and their languages. Safeguarding approaches continue settler colonial control and nation-state patrimony, and they try to disenfranchise Indigenous communities as settler colonial subjects. Focusing on Congress and its LPP practices, as the heart of settler colonial authority, is important for two reasons. First, Congress is the sole legislative branch of the federal government that creates the nation-state's laws and policies. The "Supremacy Clause" of the Constitution of the U.S. (Article VI, Clause 2) mandates that federal laws (and treaties for that matter) are the "supreme Law of the Land." Federal legislation can overpower any state and county

³⁷ Discretionary grant making is process in which a grantor assesses and ranks applications for a limited amount of funding. This creates a competition among Indigenous communities for funding their project.

legislation. As it stands currently, settler colonial sovereignty imposes and attempts to restrict Indigenous sovereignty. Second, Congress has the authority to issue congressional appropriations.³⁸ Simply put, congressional appropriations are monies that are voted upon by members of Congress to fund specific initiatives of the federal government. For example, the amendment to NALA in 1992 authorized congressional appropriations to fund Indigenous language reclamation projects and outlined that appropriations would be given out through a competitive grant making process. Currently, several federal agencies (ANA, Department of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs) carryout congressional acts and are responsible for dispersing monies for Indigenous language projects. Congress uses money as a driving force to enact hegemonic control over Indigenous languages.

The Congress of the United States

Congress plays a major role in creating federal LPP on Indigenous languages. Since the creation of the U.S. as a settler colonial nation-state, Congress legislated (and continues to legislate) detrimental policies that violently disrupt, dispossess, eradicate, and erase Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous lands, and Indigenous ways of life.³⁹ Congress authorized numerous policies⁴⁰ of forced removal, forced incarceration (at forts and imposed reservations), and sanctioned the genocide of Indigenous Peoples (causing thousands of battles, atrocities, and massacres against Tribal Nations). Additionally, the U.S. has not honored the 370 treaties made between Tribal Nations and the federal government (Fixico 2008). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Congress enacted assimilationist policies

³⁸ See < <https://appropriations.house.gov/about/jurisdiction-and-rules>>.

³⁹ While this is already all to known and experienced by Indigenous communities and Indigenous scholars, I feel it is worth repeating the continued history of how Congress perpetuates settler colonial violence readers who are unfamiliar with the history between Indigenous Peoples and settler colonization.

⁴⁰ See Ellinghaus 2017.

in an attempt to further dispossess Indigenous cultural practices (including music and language) from their communities. Indian agents⁴¹ and the U.S. military sought to forcefully suppress many Native musics and dances, resulting either in complete cessation or forcing these practices to go underground (Ellis 1996, 2003, Tone-pah-hote 2019; Zotigh 1991).

In addition, the U.S. government infamously established boarding schools that institutionally kidnapped Indigenous children from their families to “kill the Indian, save the man.” The U.S. government attempted to eradicate any form of Indigenous cultural practices among Indigenous youth through various forms of violence (physical, mental, emotional, sexual, epistemic). Indian boarding schools operated until the 1970s when federal policies (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978) sought to reverse forced assimilation legislation and instead support Tribal self-determination.

Despite these immense obstacles, Indigenous communities remained resilient and survived through incredible feats. Some Indigenous communities “put away” dances, songs, languages, and other forms of cultural practice, while some continued to practice them and pass them down inter-generationally. In certain instances, Indigenous Elders awakened and revived sleeping cultural practices. Many Indigenous communities in the late 20th century created movements to reclaim cultural practices as a way to heal from the detrimental effects of settler colonialism.

After hundreds of years of attempting to erase Indigeneity, Congress passed policies to reverse federal attacks on Indigenous cultural practices. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 instituted federal protection of the rights of Native Peoples to practice

⁴¹ Government officials who over sought that federal policies were implemented within Indigenous communities.

their religions, including musics, dances, and ceremonies. Over a decade later, the U.S. government declared federal protection of Indigenous Peoples' right to speak their languages through the enactment of the NALA of 1990. Indigenous grass roots movements and Indigenous-led organizations who advocated for this law are the reason why Congress passed NALA. Policy scholar Larisa Warhol (2012) explains that the Native American Language Issues Institute/American Indian Language Development Institute conference in 1988 passed a resolution advocating for the federal government to support a national Native American Languages Act. Warhol (2012) also explains that the Native Hawaiian language revitalization movement at the same time placed political pressure on Japanese American Senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawai'i) to support the act. Professional staffer for the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs Robert D. Arnold (2001), who worked on the passing of NALA, recounts that Senator Inouye championed and pushed for the bill with the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Inouye's manager, Lurline McGregor (Native Hawaiian), greatly assisted him in navigating opposition from Republican members, who were proponents of the so-called "English-only" social movement. Inouye and McGregor decreased congressional appropriations and guised the bill under the title "Tribally Controlled and Navajo Community Colleges, Reauthorization," which masked any mention of "Indigenous languages" in the title. Native American, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander supporters of NALA conducted an intensive telephone campaign on the Republican senators to put more political pressure. Eventually, Republican members conceded and passed the bill.

While NALA was seen as a major victory for Indigenous communities (Arnold 2001, Warhol 2012), American legislation and governmental practices endlessly perpetuate structural inequalities and violence against Indigenous Peoples. Some of these issues, such as

blood quantum and “paper erasure” (Brayboy 2013), environmental racism such as fracking and oil pipelines near/on Indigenous lands (Coulthard 2014; Dhillon and Estes 2016), missing murdered Indigenous women, girls and two spirit (Joseph 2020; Presley 2020), consistent infringement on treaty rights (Deloria [1978]1994) continue to persist in the present day.

Congressional members who now formulate the majority of laws and policies concerning Indigenous Peoples in the U.S. and its territories sit on what is known as the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. This congressional committee is specifically designed to address, create, and implement policies on American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders. Currently, the committee has the following members:

Senator Brian Schatz, Chair (D-Hawaii)

Senator Lisa Murkowski, Vice Chair (R-Alaska)

Democratic members: Senator Maria Cantwell (D-Washington), Senator Jon Tester (D-Montana), Senator Catherine Cortez Masto (D-Nevada), Senator Tina Smith (D-Minnesota), Senator Ben Ray Luján (D- New Mexico)

Republican members: Senator John Hoeven (R-North Dakota), Senator James Lankford (R-Oklahoma), Senator Steve Daines (R-Montana), Senator Mike Rounds (R-South Dakota), and Senator Jerry Moran (R-Kansas).

Congress implements Indigenous policy by directing federal agencies to carry out their political agendas. For example, federal LPP on Indigenous languages often directs ANA, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Bureau of Indian Education to implement legislation. Policy makers on the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs appear to support the revitalization of Native languages, however, their policies are largely influenced by settler colonial ideologies.

Safeguarding Indigenous Languages

Congress implements LPP on Indigenous languages through safeguarding approaches. Safeguarding, as folklorist Valdimar Hafstein (2018) explains, not only promotes nation-state governmentality and patrimony, it dispossesses cultural practices from the communities in which they originated. In an analogy of labeling a cultural practice as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) as sickness and safeguarding as a cure, Hafstein critiques how ICH is analogized as a sickness, in that if “left untreated, the prognosis is usually estrangement, *endangerment*, and imminent loss” (154-5; my emphasis). In order to treat the threat of loss, institutional safeguarding calls upon outsider “intervention” and “expertise” (155). As a result, “safeguarding cultivates and changes the relationship of practitioners and local populations with their practices” (156). In other words, while ICH appears to be well-intentioned, when an outside institution intervenes in the name of “preservation,” “endangerment,” or “revitalization,” it will ultimately meddle in the affairs of the community and their traditions (Hafstein, 2018, Rios 2020). As Hafstein argues, ICH allows western institutions to create more forms of dispossession that serve the interests of the nation-state.

The U.S. government asserts safeguarding of Indigenous languages through its language policies. NALA begins with the statement that “it is the policy of the United States

to preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages.” While this policy may appear to promote Native American sovereignty and reverse detrimental Indigenous language status planning, it masks the continuous paternalistic relationship between the settler colonial nation-state and Indigenous nations. When settler colonial authority is imposed upon Native languages, this allows room for dispossession. The opening phrase “it is the policy of the United States to” functions as an imposed speech act of authority, to declare what that the nation-state will do, asserting federal political control. Policies set forth rules and regulations that are enforceable by settler colonial law. For instance, the Esther Martinez Act of 2006, which amended the Native American Programs Act of 1974, outlines the language requirements⁴² for Indigenous language immersion projects that each “language nest” or “survival school” must provide 500 hours of language immersion for at least 10 children under the age of 7. While several Indigenous communities have reported that there are positive benefits and impact from language immersion, what happens if the community decides to take a different pedagogical approach than language immersion? What if the program is unable to meet the hour and children count requirements? While most acts of Congress that concern Indigenous Peoples go through a series of Tribal Advisory Consultations, the requirements set forth in federal policy are not tailored specific to each individual community and their needs.

Several policy makers who are part of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs seek to promote the preservation of Indigenous languages as safeguarding *American* ICH. For

⁴² See Esther Martinez Act of 2006. <<https://www.congress.gov/bill/109th-congress/house-bill/4766>>.

example, in the Senate Committee of Indian Affairs hearing on Native Languages on August 22, 2018,⁴³ Senator Steve Daines (R-California) stated:

Native American culture and languages are cornerstones, truly, of our national heritage, and that is why, in the last Congress, Senator Schatz, Murkowski, Sullivan, and I authored an amendment, which was subsequently enacted into law, to study the benefits of Native language immersion education, a medium which today's witnesses highlight in their testimonies (my emphasis).

Later in the hearing, Senator Murkowski further commented on the importance of Native language revitalization policies:

So being able to work with you and the Vice Chairman and so many on this Committee to ensure that we look to *our Native cultural languages, our heritage languages* with an eye towards revitalization, what we can be doing is so very, very important. We say it all the time, but I think when a Native person knows their language, they know their culture, they know who they are; it is part of their identity. We see that in academic performance; we see it in social indicators. We just see the value (my emphasis).

In a congressional hearing on April 6, 2016⁴⁴ on four bills concerning Native youth and languages, Senator Daines commented on Native languages in relation to the poor maintenance of Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) facilities in Montana:

⁴³ Here is the video of congressional hearing: < <https://www.indian.senate.gov/hearing/oversight-hearing-examining-efforts-maintain-and-revitalize-native-languages-future>>.

⁴⁴ Here is the link for the hearing < <https://www.indian.senate.gov/hearing/legislative-hearing-receive-testimony-following-bills-s-2304-s-2468-s-2580-s-2711>>.

Countless studies have shown that academic achievement is linked to building conditions. It is crucial that we foster an environment best suited for learning for the sake of *our tribal children*, especially when we get into potentially life threatening situations. I am going to pivot over to a happier conversation, Dr. Boham (President of Salish and Kootenai College in Montana who was in attendance to give a testimony), and the work you are doing to preserve Native American languages. All Americans have a stake in the fight to preserve Native languages. *They are a shared part of our national heritage*. Last year, Senators Schatz, Murkowski, Sullivan and I introduced an amendment which was subsequently enacted into public law to study the benefits of Native American language immersion education (my emphasis).

Senator Daines' and Senator Murkowski's characterizations of Indigenous cultures and languages as "national heritage" and "our heritage languages" dispossesses Indigenous languages from the communities where they originated from and (re)conceptualizes them as living tokens belonging to the nation-state.⁴⁵ Additionally, word choices such as "our tribal children" reflect continued paternalistic attitudes towards Indigenous Peoples. The congressional initiative to study the effects of Indigenous immersion language education is evidence of Congress' safeguarding approach to Indigenous LPP. Congress employs outsiders as "research authorities" where they implement western ways of researching *on* and *about* Indigenous communities, rather than upholding the data collected and analyzed by Tribes themselves.⁴⁶ This approach further downplays Indigenous data sovereignty (Walter

⁴⁵ See also Johnson 2011.

⁴⁶ I am thankful that ANA allows us to privilege Indigenous data and Indigenous methodologies. While this may be the case, ANA still implements congressional initiatives, even if they contradict Indigenous wants and needs. For example, we were told from Senator Schatz's office that the \$20 million from President Biden's American Rescue Plan could only be used for "living languages." ANA could not use this money to fund

and Carroll 2021), the right for Indigenous communities to own and utilize data concerning their People through their own methodologies, and instead favors western data collection.

“Damage-Centered” Congressional Storytelling

Policy makers often tell “damage-centered” stories as a discursive device to justify and normalize settler colonial safeguarding of Indigenous languages. As NAIS scholar Eve Tuck (Unangax̂) explains, this style of storytelling specifically applies to Indigenous communities and is “a pathologizing approach in which the oppression singularly defines a community” (2009:413). Moreover, this approach focuses on deficit, lack, and loss that paints Indigenous Peoples in a negative light, can propagate damaging misconceptions, is disempowering, and continues to disenfranchise Indigenous communities (ibid, Hyett et al 2019). As Indigenous scholars and Public Health scholars note (Hyett et al 2019), deficit narratives of Indigenous Peoples contribute towards the degradation of Indigenous well-being. Policy makers perpetuate misconceptions of Indigenous Peoples *as* damaged peoples.

Congressional “damage-centered” storytelling often focuses on language morbidity. For example, Senator John Hoeven (R-ND), chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee of Indian Affairs in the August 22, 2018 hearing, commented that:

though these languages have been critical for Indian Country and our Nation, of the many distinct Native languages that have historically existed in this Country, *over 200 have become extinct* within the past 400 years. Without the initiatives created to preserve the remaining languages, more of them would become extinct over the next few decades” (my emphasis).

Indigenous sleeping languages, despite the numerous requests for financial aid from communities who want to awaken their language.

This narrative supposes a safeguarding position for senators and congressional representatives to save (and salvage) “remaining languages.” By framing sleeping Indigenous languages as “extinct,” this implies that languages cannot be re-awakened and are therefore discarded (Leonard 2008, 2017). By taking responsibility for congressional language initiatives, policy makers increase their own personal political clout and perpetuate paternalistic language salvaging.

Congress’ “damage-centered” storytelling focuses on deficit-based statistics of Indigenous Peoples. Further in the conversation, Senator Jon Tester (D-Montana) (though does admit that federal assimilationist policies caused language loss among Indigenous communities) highlights deficit-based data in relation to language loss:

We see the staggering statistics coming out of Indian Country, and they are staggering; from high dropout rates to low test scores to high suicide rates. Language is a key piece to strengthen a people, and *the Native American cultures around our Country need to be strengthened*. Investing in Native language invests in that culture and it will help boost their self-esteem; *it helps boost their ability to be successful in this world* (my emphasis).

While I do not seek to ignore these real and important issues experienced in Indigenous communities, Senator Tester’s focus on deficit-based statistics on Indigenous Peoples promotes the idea that these issues *are tied with* Indigenous identity rather than highlighting the structural inequalities that cause(d) these issues. Although he acknowledges that language is important to ground communities’ senses of identity and belonging, Tester assumes that Indigenous communities are not already strong in a variety of ways given the

current conditions of language loss. The assertion that the U.S. government needs to “strengthen” American Indian cultures and Peoples, rather than promoting a way in which an equitable and reciprocal relationship that benefits Indigenous communities can be established, is backed by the desire to be the governmental savior. The final comment that Indigenous peoples are not successful “in this world” reinforces western epistemic regimes that continuously exclude Indigenous Peoples from modernity and the nation-state.

These damage-centered narratives are nothing new to Indigenous Peoples. In fact, they are quite pervasive in other spaces, such as academia (Leonard 2017; Tuck 2009). However, I emphasize that Congress plays a crucial role in creating damaging stories into settler colonial reality through law and governance. These policymakers construct laws that have real effects on reclamation projects—mainly *sustainable* funding. As Rev. Dr. Richard Grounds (Yuchi) (2015), the executive director for the Yuchi Language Project, explains:

The prevalent colonial notion that our peoples are already extinct or becoming extinct—as publications about our Yuchi nation have claimed for two centuries—makes our work more difficult at every level. The greatest challenge at a community level is overcoming the internalized colonial mentality that says you are not supposed to be here, that you cannot have a voice, that you cannot speak your God-given language.

This self-serving colonial notion also makes it difficult at the critical level of attracting essential funding support. In today's funding-scape, deep-pocket funders only want to invest in what they consider to be successful projects. They are not willing to put money into a project simply because it is a worthy cause. They demand to know how their funds will bring measurable results that are recognizably

beneficial. The nature of language work using all soft measures makes it harder to sell funders on the benefits of revitalizing an Indigenous language community. Like all humanities funding, it becomes difficult to attract the dollars needed for sustainability. It is especially difficult to attract funding dollars if the noisy background of social injunctions keeps shouting that your culture is dying anyway and therefore, why throw money after a lost cause? Our response, of course, begins with the message from our Elder, Mose Cahwee, who often said, "yUdjEhanAnô, sôKAnAnô" (We Yuchi people, we are still here).

Financial support is not an end all be all, but as every Native language project staff person I have spoken with says, it helps tremendously. I want to acknowledge that Congress has provided *some* benefit for Native communities, but the way and amount of congressional appropriations dispersed for Tribes remains unsubstantial. For example, ANA is authorized by Congress to disperse \$14 million annually for new and existing Native language projects. However, communities must apply through discretionary funding, meaning that they have to compete with each other. This process imposes a type of Hunger Games for Tribes to reclaim their language. Additionally, Department of Health and Human Services only provides up to 3 years of funding with a maximum ceiling of \$300,000 per year.

While this may appear to be a large chunk of change, it is often times only barely enough to operate a language program. Once funding runs out, most language programs can no longer function. The congressional budget cycle only allows room for ANA to fund approximately 20 languages out of over 200 Indigenous languages. Congress does not even offer language funding as a form of redress. The stories that Congress tell *are* the justification for these language policies. Tribal leaders have demanded numerous times for

continuation of federal funding for all language initiatives.⁴⁷ The continued discretionary grant-making practice and the amount given, as outlined by Congress, is a blatant disrespect to Tribal sovereignty and their voices. Furthermore, congressional appropriations continue to be a force of what historian Emilie Connolly calls “fiduciary colonialism,” a “mode of territorial acquisition and population management carried out through the expansion of administrative control over Native peoples’ wealth. Put simply, if the land was the *why* of early nineteenth-century settler colonialism, money was the *how*” (2022:227). While Connolly focuses on land dispossession through settler colonial fiduciary means in the 19th century, Congress continues to assert hegemonic control over Indigenous Peoples and their languages through congressional appropriations. On one side of the coin, congressional “damage-centered” storytelling continues to be the *why* for federal appropriations, yet on the other side of the coin, the limited amount of funding and the way it is distributed remains the *how* of continued fiduciary settler colonialism.

Who gets to tell stories about Indigenous languages and Peoples is not the only issue at hand, it is also *who listens* and *how they listen*. Settler colonial listeners who privilege their expectations, misconceptions, and stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples ultimately perpetuate what Stó:lō musicologist, Dylan Robinson, calls “hungry listening.” Through Stó:lō epistemology, Robinson conceptualizes “hungry listening” as settler colonial listening regimes that perpetuate epistemic violence against Indigenous Peoples. He unmask the “range of appetites” of “hungry listening,” such as desires for sweetness (good feelings like reconciliation), bitterness (poverty porn of Indigenous trauma), cravings for Indigenous

⁴⁷ These demands are voiced in the tribal consultations (TAC) meetings between federal agencies and Tribal Nations. Congressional legislation often mandates TAC to occur. In my experience, federal employees who are Native often listen and perpetuate the desires and needs expressed in the TAC meetings. However, these needs and desires are often overlooked (and refused) by policymakers.

knowledge and space, among other pernicious indulgences. Policy makers who listen (or refuse to listen) to Indigenous voices through these damaging-listening practices continue to make harmful decisions that can adversely affect Indigenous Peoples. Additionally, during these hearings, there are hardly any Indigenous voices; and if there are, they are limited to 10 minutes of testimony. This is where settler colonial listening regimes feed into settler colonial *discursive* regimes. As a result, congressional damage-centered stories normalize and justify the continuous congressional disenfranchisement of Indigenous communities through settler colonial frameworks.

By examining congressional discursive and budgetary practices, I have shown that the U.S. government continues to devalue Indigenous languages and more broadly, Indigenous communities. Financial support is also not the complete solution in supporting Indigenous language initiatives, as communities often face other barriers⁴⁸ within and outside of their communities (i.e. state language certification requirements, communal need for technology infrastructure, reaching tribal citizens outside of the community, epistemic violence in state educational systems). Despite these barriers, Indigenous communities demonstrate longstanding resilience and conduct language initiatives even without the financial assistance of the federal government.

Indigenous Storywork and Music Making

I pause here to first describe the relationship between storytelling and Indigenous music making that is important context for the next section. Here, I describe how storytelling is an integral part to different modes of Indigenous music making and that Indigenous stories and music are intimately connected. NAIS scholars explain that stories can convey cultural

⁴⁸ See Klug 2012.

values, teach morals, instruct how to go about life, relive histories, remember old ones and their teachings, provide inspiration and uplift, as well as construct the Native world (Archibald 2008; J.B. Perea 2021; Palmer 2002). In particular, Stó:lō education scholar Jo-Ann Archibald's concept of "storywork" describes the meaning-making process of Stó:lō stories between storytellers and storylisteners. She describes that storytellers, who are often Elders, carry and embody knowledge which can be transferred through storytelling. Storylisteners must prepare themselves through the seven principles of respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy to engage with a story effectively and responsibly. They must *work* through the story's narrative to make meaning and participate with the storyteller in this process to receive knowledge. While Archibald recognizes that storywork is place-based and Tribe-specific, her concept has become a core methodological and theoretical contribution for NAIS. While Archibald discusses storywork in great depth with spoken stories, she does not discuss how storywork is part of Indigenous music making practices. Music scholarship also has not adequately looked at the intersection of Indigenous storytelling and music making.

Similar to stories, Indigenous musics are interconnected with Tribe-specific ways of knowing, doing, and being. While traditional Native musics are different, a commonality is that they are usually action-based and can enact things in the world. To some Native communities, music can connect people to each other, the ancestors, the land, the cosmos, and other-than-human beings (J.B. Perea 2021; Przyblski 2017). To others, music can create and sustain the world (Stobart 2008). It bears repeating that Indigenous storytelling and music-making are land-based and community-based. They are neither monolithic nor static processes, rather they are fluid and always in flux.

The relationship between storytelling and music making manifests in different Indigenous song genres. For example, anthropologist Eric Luke Lassiter's work on Kiowa Christian hymns (which I will discuss in subsequent chapters) explains that the "language of hymns" includes "both what the language *in* song explicitly relates and communicates as well as the language *surrounding* song—that is, the voiced stories and sentiments that hymns invoke" (2002:79). This resonates with most, if not all, genres of Native musics. A song can invoke a story and a story can invoke a song. Taking this one step further, Dena'ina sound studies scholar Jessica Bissett Perea (2021), argues that the stories should be considered *as* theory in Indigenous sound studies. She explains that storytelling and music making are both key aspects in Indigelogics that *sound* Indigenous knowledge systems and realities. Here I want to amplify Perea's argument by suggesting that storywork, and its relationship to music making, are sites of Indigenous sound theorization. To illustrate this point, I provide a story of how I began to learn Kiowa music and language.

I first started to learn how to sing Kiowa songs when I was invited by Dennis Zotigh to join the Zotigh singers in 2013. Through time, they not only became my teachers, they became like-family. Later when I started graduate school at the University of Maryland in 2016, they guided my research with Kiowa singers and Elders. The first song in the Kiowa language that I learned was the Kiowa Women's' Veteran song, composed by Dennis' father, Ralph Zotigh. During a drum practice at their house in Waldorf, Maryland in May 2017, Ralph relayed his story of how he composed this song. He explained that while performing Native cultural shows at US military bases in the Balkans, he encountered more Native women than Native men. Given that Kiowa practices only honor male warriors at tribal functions, Ralph was inspired by these Native women warriors to compose a song for them:

1) Ralph: I made this song and I had to go through my tribal council. I'm...

Dennis: He's changing tradition.

Ralph: Yeah, I'm very traditional. And so I don't think it would offend anyone but it's breaking our rules. So I go approval and so I made a song, but it's only used when we sing our patriotic songs otherwise they are inter-Tribal.⁴⁹ I was there, I've seen them, they get lonesome for their home and I spoke with them. And I was thinking, we honor our men for all of our life, we honor men only. In the dance arena when we were honoring veterans, it was men only. If there was a woman that her husband or her brother or cousin or dad was killed, she was allowed to get out in the periphery and stand in one stationary position and keep time. That's all they can do. They cannot step foot into the arena. *Why?*

Ralph's story describes how this song came to be, a storytelling practice that I've found to be important in Kiowa storywork. He asked for permission by the Kiowa tribal council to compose this song. As anthropologist Gus Palmer Jr. (Kiowa) describes, such actions need the approval of the community (2002:101). I found in my research and personal experience, that, for a song to become part of the Tribal repertoire, it must be accepted among the community. Ralph explains how this song was performed at a memorial for Army Spc. Lori

⁴⁹ Ralph differentiates "patriotic songs" as "veteran songs," which are rendered to honor and recognize veterans, compared to "inter-Tribal" songs, which are songs where everyone can dance and participate in a powwow. Ralph considers the Kiowa Womans' Veteran song as a veteran song.

Piestewa (Hopi), the first Native American killed in action in the Iraq War. Later, this song was performed at the Gathering of Nations, the world's largest powwow. Ralph elaborates how the song was accepted on the powwow trail, among Native communities outside of the Kiowa Tribe:

2) Ralph: Lori was from Tuba City and there was a female that was in her unit.

Dennis: Jessica Lynch.

Ralph: Yeah, Jessica Lynch. She was wounded. The family wanted a memorial for Lori and called Jessica Lynch at that memorial, half of the Navajo Tribe was there, and they had me and my drum there to inaugurate and let the world know that we have this song that honors women. Actually, we called it "Honoring Lori Piestewa."

3) And then, one week after that is [a powwow] called Gathering of the Nations, the largest powwow in the whole world. And the guy that puts that on says "we're going to give you time and we want you to set the drum up and sing the honoring women veterans song." So we did. You know what I was worried about, when it was time, we carried our drum and set it up and the guys sat around. I got to thinking, what if they don't know what to do? There's two thousand dancers in that arena and when we set up, they made everyone sit down, the arena director came over and said "Ralph, do four times through because we have a full schedule." I closed my eyes, I got a bad habit to close my eyes when I sing 'cause I don't want to be distracted by people.

- 4) Dennis: Did you open them and nobody was there? [Everyone laughs].

- 5) Ralph: Let me tell you what happened, we were supposed to sing it four times through and get out. And I was thinking, what if nobody knows that they are supposed to dance? What if they sit there and we are all along out there? Anyways I started it, all fourteen singers. About the third verse, I opened my eyes and the arena director was coming over and it was full. That arena can hold two thousand people and not too many war dancers, but many visiting audience. Then the arena director said “the guy wants you to sing it four more times.” I tell you what, the hair on the back of my neck stood up. Wow. It was over fifty thousand people and no more room (in the colosseum).

Ralph’s story provides context for why the song was composed: to honor Native women veterans. Many of their community members often times do not recognize them for their valor and heroic deeds. Recognition and honoring are important practices among Native communities that continue to the present day as more Native Peoples are serving in the U.S. armed forces. Kiowas, similar to other Tribes, honor their warriors through induction to specific warrior societies (such as Tòñkóñgàut), through stories, through dance, and through songs. Kiowa composers who composed songs to honor individuals or warriors in general often “think” about them when composing (first section) and will perform the song for special function(s) (second and fifth section). As Ralph explained to me, he was “thinking” of the women warriors when he composed this song. He described to me that the “tune” came first and then he was able to “put words into it”:

Máiyòp ál

Women too/also

È sòlé dàum tó:yà

They are going on a war journey

È [gyái [dó tò:yá

They are fighting/encountering the enemy for our freedom

Déóñ:dé: è âuitsán

We are happy that they returned

Kiowas believe that music and language are gifts from the Creator. Kiowa composers do not compose in the western sense. Rather, in Kiowa musical thought, they have the unique ability to “catch” a tune. Once they have a song, they can choose whether to put words into a song (Lassiter 1998). Once a composer is ready to present a song to the Kiowa People, they share a story of how they came to compose the song.

The process of Kiowa storytelling and storywork is important. Humor is an important component in Kiowa storytelling and often shows fondness of an individual (fourth section). As Gus Palmer describes, Kiowa storywork requires participation of the listener, either by saying “hàu: (yes)” to signal you are paying attention to keep the story going, or, as Kiowas (like most Natives) often like to joke and tease. A general rule in Indian Country is that if no one teases you, they don’t like you. While it was not marked in the transcript, all the singers

nodded along to signal that we were paying attention to Ralph's story, as is expected among listeners to keep a Kiowa story going (Palmer 2002). These storytelling elements, creation story of a song, how the song came to be accepted by the community, storylistener engagement, and humor, resonate with Kiowa storywork. Since its performance at the second memorial for Lori Piestewa, the Kiowa Women's Veteran song has been performed by the Zotigh singers at numerous powwows and other events, such as the unveiling of the National Native American Veterans Memorial on November 11, 2022.

What are the broader implications of the relationship between story and song in language reclamation? As outlined through this section stories and how listeners *relate* to the stories affects the meaning(s) a song has for an individual. To many Indigenous communities, like the Kiowa Tribe, stories and songs go hand-in-hand.⁵⁰ They share a symbiotic relationship where stories can be told in relation to music making and how music making can invoke specific stories. In this particular story about how Ralph Zotigh composed a women's veteran song, he implemented Kiowa ways of composing, teaching, and musicking. While he composed this song for purposes other than language reclamation, the process of learning the story, the song, and the words in the song guided me both as a singer and language learner in learning Kiowa language, song, and performance. Instead of focusing on language reclamation as something that is recovering from the past, the focus is on reclaiming something that is *living* and *breathing*, something that is an integral part of what it means to be Kiowa.

⁵⁰ For examples of these, see J.B. Perea 2021 and J.C. Perea 2014, 2017.

Storytelling with and through Music

In this section, I highlight how Indigenous performers storytell about their own languages and initiatives in settler colonial spaces, particularly U.S. federal events that concern language revitalization. These stories rely on strength-based storytelling, focus on assets, capabilities, and resiliency (Fogarty et al 2018, Kana'iaupuni 2005), through Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. McCarty et al (2018) argue that Indigenous perspectives in stories “possess explanatory power; when we ‘hear our languages, we hear our voices’ we gain insight into what language reclamation means in diverse Indigenous communities and for individual community members. Storywork provides both a theory and a guide for praxis” (168). Storywork (Archibald 2008, McCarty et al 2018, Xiem et al 2019) is an imperative methodology in language reclamation as it uses “accumulated wisdom to inform present action and future planning” (McCarty et al 2018:168). Here, I seek to add to this work by describing the ways music plays important roles in the storytelling of Indigenous language initiatives. In this section, I highlight how various Indigenous performers chose to tell their own stories about their languages and people. I show that musicking in relation to or *as* a form of storytelling can dispel outsider ideologies and misconceptions of Indigenous languages, (re)focus and (re)center community agency and self-representation, and uphold Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and sonic practices.

Mary Phillips’ Story: Speaking in Red

Each year many federal agencies in Washington, D.C., including the military, host activities during Native American Heritage month according to a theme decided months in advance. This theme is usually spirited and powerful, including words like “empowerment,” “sovereignty,” and “strength” to draw attention to Native American pride. Staff committees

plan an earnest attempt to present programs meant to educate or entertain their audiences. If not carefully planned, however, the resulting program can portray a stereotypical and imagined Native America. Mary Phillips (Laguna Pueblo/Umoⁿhoⁿ) has presented at such activities over the past twelve years. Mary guest speaks nationally on numerous topics and issues affecting Indian Country and Native Americans living in urban areas and is also a powwow dancer and powwow drum “lady back-up singer.”⁵¹ It has been her experience that presenting to audiences who are not familiar with Native America, may not understand the scope of what it means to be Native in today’s society. Mary shares her story with you, the reader:

It is always an honor to be asked to speak and I am mindful of the cultural representations I am presenting. Audiences may think they are going to see feathers, beads and whooping, but when I come in business attire or a handmade ribbon skirt or shirt, the tone is set. The preparation includes getting to know the mission of the agency, learning what their history to Indian Country is or what programs they have that support Native peoples. I also consider whether waxube medicine keepers, elders, and other members of tribes will be present. It is important to be aware of the protocols that an inter-Tribal environment may present as well as to give the proper acknowledgements to both Natives and non-Natives. I try to adhere to the Umoⁿhoⁿ ways, to give respect to our warriors and our veterans: I start with one of our Umoⁿhoⁿ flag songs sung in our Tribe’s language or I make time and mindful space to acknowledge our past, present and future veterans. At other times I will begin with

⁵¹ “Lady back-up singer” is the colloquial term used by Native drum groups for the women who sing behind the men around the center drum.

an honor song that is known to the Umoⁿhoⁿ Tribe. The audience is always asked to stand to give honor during these songs, flag songs and for other humble occasions.

Proceeding with the speech, for some it is cultural etiquette to introduce yourself and your direct lineage in your Tribe's language. This may include identifying your clanship and naming your parents, grandparents and other relatives. Such information is critical for better understanding Native Americans. Audiences must be aware of the challenges and pursuits of Tribal Nations, not simply the socio-economic inequalities they face. The presentation may end in a victory song or traveling song led by a drummer that I have asked to join me for the presentation. During the Q & A session it has been my experience that there are many audience members informed on the issues facing Native Americans and they ask more questions in person after the session hoping to get a Native perspective or worldview. "Speaking in red," as I like to call it -- a Native person's talk or speech for people unaccustomed to seeing or hearing Native voices -- can help to mitigate misrepresentations of our cultures. It's a switch in the balance that puts the Native perspective at the forefront for many of the listeners experiencing the music and culture for the first time.

Rather than reinforce a deficit understanding of Native peoples in America by speaking about the very real inequities and racism Indigenous Peoples continue to face, Mary's presentations foreground the vibrancy of her Tribe's language and the centrality of music while embodying key values, such as the importance of protocols and honoring veterans and Elders. She does not simply talk about tribal knowledge; she enacts it through language and song.

Lawrence Baker's Story: Sharing Culture and Dispelling Outsider Misconceptions

Indigenous storytelling with and through music can also unsettle stereotypes, disrupt damage-centered narratives, and reclaim representation. I draw from the stories of Lawrence Baker (Manda/Hidatsa/San Luiseño Mission Band of Indians), a storyteller and singer who performed numerous educational shows in Washington D.C. He performed for agencies who fund Indigenous language reclamation projects, such as the Department of Education, the Department of Interior, and the Department of Health and Human Services, in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Lawrence told me a story where he produced a guest talk and singing demonstration for the Department of Interior, where most audience members were predominantly older white men, a few younger people of color, and only two Indigenous audience members. He recounted how he constantly dispelled gross stereotypes about American Indians.

Lawrence: I always got in most of these (events) one gentleman or one lady that would always talk about Siouxan culture. The sun dance. The sun dance. The sun dance. It usually happened all the time. I usually say, "I apologize, I'm from my people. I'm not Sioux. I'm not Lakota, Dakota, Nakota. Whatever book you read, I'm not that Indian. I'm a Mandan, I'm a Hidatsa, I'm a San Luiseño Mission Band of Indians California."

"Well can you talk about the sun dance? Can you talk about these ceremonies?" (they asked).

I said, "yes, I *could*, but I feel it would be inappropriate because I'm not Sioux. I'm not Lakota, Dakota, Nakota. And so, if you were to take what I said and told some

Sioux, they would be greatly offended. Whether it is true or not, they would be greatly offended because I'm not that Tribe. So instead of letting that happen, I'm not gonna talk about it."

Of course, they got mad cause they think every Indian is the same. Same looks, every Indian, whatever they see. Little Big Man. Winter Hawk. And we're *not*. I tell them there is a *difference* (his emphasis).

In addition to refusing to address questions about Lakota, Dakota, and Nakoda peoples, Lawrence expressed to me that he always sought to disrupt homogenization of Indigenous Peoples. To illustrate the diversity of American Indians, he highlighted his People's use of songs to tell stories as a means to counter audience members' essentialist expectations. His drum group, White Oak singers, consisted of tribal citizens of the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara). They shared their Tribe's stories, language, and songs with federal employees. Lawrence explained that his drum group used songs to capture their attention, as Plains-style singing is often given a kind of alterity and exoticization by non-Native audiences. Once they had audience buy-in, Lawrence was able to dispel non-Native misconceptions. Lawrence recounts one performance at the Department of Education, where they specifically requested him and his group to talk about Native music and language, specifically Native language in veteran songs. His group performed Mandan and Hidatsa veteran songs as a way to unsettle expectations, namely puzzlement that Natives serve in the U.S. military and that his community's songs and languages were alive:

Lawrence: One of the offices downtown (Washington D.C.), they were very specific on what they wanted. Theirs was what do these songs mean? We sang songs about

World War I, World War II, Desert Storm, Vietnam, Korea. And so, in those 8 songs, we told stories of what they are trying to say and how they came to be and why these words were used. When we were done with that, *they had a lot of questions*. We filled the hour and then we spent another hour talking to all of the crowd wanting to visit on their relatives serving in Vietnam, Korea, World War I, World War II that they had in their family. They never knew that Native Americans were expressing themselves. They never knew that the expressions for all these songs were geared towards Native American veterans. It blew their mind a little bit about what we were talking about. That one was very interesting cause they had a *focus*. They had a *question*. They wanted an *answer*. Someone was paying attention to Native American music and wanted to know the difference between the songs, or what they call them, “a chant.” To them it all sounded the same, but we explained the *words* and *meanings* in the songs, and they were all *fascinated* (his emphasis).

Lawrence later on described that the majority of audience members expressed genuine interest in Mandan and Hidatsa songs, and that they were surprised that they were composed in the 20th century specifically for veterans. Some were even surprised that Mandan and Hidatsa languages were still sung and spoken. Outsider categorization of Plains styles of songs (and other Indigenous musics for that matter) as “chants” is not uncommon and reflects western epistemic regimes of what is considered music and what is not. Outsiders often exoticize Indigenous musics and label them as “traditional,” implying that they are non-modern, backwards, and static. Similarly, outsider language ideologies often conceptualize Indigenous languages as “dying” and “lacking.” Lawrence was able to disrupt these same audience misconceptions through his storytelling of Mandan and Hidatsa language in veteran songs. Most non-Natives ignore the various modalities (speech, songs,

ceremonies, recordings, etc.) in which languages continue to *live* and *thrive*. Lawrence and his drum group utilized this time and space to educate non-Native federal employees about Mandan and Hidatsa veteran song composition, language use in music, and stories about music through their own Peoples' epistemologies. He highlighted that these practices are living musical practices to honor the heroic deeds of veterans.

How does this relate to status planning of Indigenous languages? It is important to dispel outsider misconceptions about Indigenous Peoples and cultural practices to this specific audience because they are policy makers, federal staffers, and contractors who work at federal agencies that directly impact Indigenous communities. Disrupting outsider misconceptions and stereotypes about Indigenous musics and languages can help further unsettle harmful status planning and policies on Indigenous languages.

Administration for Native Americans Conference: Indigenous Sonic Protocols, Sharing Culture, and Storytelling

Music and sound performance enact different Indigenous protocols. Each year, ANA hosts a public annual grantee meeting that allows for ANA-funded grantees to share their stories with other grantees. The 2021 Annual ANA Grantee Meeting⁵² was held virtually due to the COVID-19 pandemic but still featured several cultural presentations to highlight the variety of Indigenous communities and their projects. Participants in the Zoom meeting included non-language and language grantees, all who come from Indigenous communities, or nonprofits that serve Indigenous populations throughout the lower-48, Alaska, and the

⁵² Here is the recording of the 2021 Annual ANA Grantee Meeting Opening Ceremony: <<https://youtu.be/c5qcNKhJ76A>>.

Pacific Islands. A few Indigenous performers enacted a density of Indigenous sonic protocols, such as introductory, honoring and recognition, and celebratory sonic protocols.

The Master of Ceremonies, Makani Tabura (Native Hawaiian), started the opening ceremony with the blowing of a conch shell and reciting of an Oli.⁵³ He explained that he rendered this as a way to formally open the ANA grantee meeting based on Native Hawaiian protocols. Afterwards, he said a prayer in the Hawaiian language and welcomed all participants to the meeting. The welcoming was then followed by a presentational⁵⁴ video from the Trickster Cultural Center, a nonprofit Native organization in Illinois that promotes the visibility of Indigenous artists, showing a grand entry of veterans in a variety of regalia representing their Tribes dancing to the Comanche Iraq Veteran song, followed by a short clip of the powwow singers performing the Ponca Flag song.⁵⁵ ANA Acting Commissioner Michelle Suave (St. Regis Mohawk) then provided opening remarks to highlight statistics on ANA funded grantees as well as current agency initiatives to serve Indigenous communities.

Following these opening remarks, technical assistance providers played three additional audio-visual presentations for the virtual audience. The first featured a Northern Cheyenne honor song rendered by Northern Plains singers Shane (Crow) and Mike (Dakota):

Mike: Hau Mitakuyapi. Anpetu waste' yuha. Hello my relatives. I wish that you have a good day today. We want to wish you a Happy American Indian Heritage Day. My colleague here, Shane Doyle and myself will offer up an honor song on your behalf

⁵³ Kawakami and Dudoit (2000) explain that an “Oli (chant) is a significant part of the Hawaiian oral tradition and is used to convey information from person to person, generation to generation, and to uphold structures of protocol” (384). See Kana'iaupuni 2005, Stillman 2005, Trask 1999.

⁵⁴ See Turino 2008. Presentational style of music making is defined by a clear audience and performer distinction, whereas participatory style of music making does not have a “artist-audience distinction” and “the primary goal is to involve the maximum number of people in some performance role” (26).

⁵⁵ The grand entry is a common practice in inter-Tribal powwows that marks the official start of the event. See Ellis 2003, Ellis et al 2005, and Zotigh 1991.

to all the teachers, for all the hard work that you do in the classrooms everyday, and for all of you students. We just want to thank you for teaching and learning and doing your best. So waste', pidamayaye. [Whispers to Shane: do you want to explain the song?].

Shane: Yes, this is an ancient song here. It comes from the Northern Cheyenne people and it was passed down to me by my uncle to use to honor individuals like yourselves. And so, it's a great privilege for Mike and I to share this song and to honor all the hard work that you do on this special day, American Indian Heritage Day. This song has no words in it, it's just what we call a straight honor song.

Mike: And interesting thing about this song is that it is a Northern Cheyenne song sung by a Sioux and a Crow. So there you go.

Shane: Multi-lingual [Mike laughs]. Multicultural.

Mike: Intertribal [Shane: yeah]. [Sings Northern Cheyenne Honor Song].

The act of singing this honor song publicly honored and recognized all students and teachers at the conference. The story that Mike and Shane presented before the act of singing provided the context of the song: why it was performed and who the performers were. This is a practice that is commonly shared throughout Indian Country at public gatherings when an honoring occurs. It is also important to note how humor was incorporated in explaining

the story⁵⁶ of this song, a discursive practice that is also often shared among Native communities, but almost nonexistent in congressional storytelling.

The second presentation was a recording of Piko and two chants⁵⁷ performed by a teacher and youth participants of the Ka'ehu Youth Enhancement program, a Native Hawaiian nonprofit organization that promotes restoration of natural resources and promotes Native Hawaiian cultural activities among youth. The participants recorded themselves utilizing Zoom to render the Piko and two chants. Each participant then introduced themselves in the Hawaiian language, an introductory protocol they call "ho'holauna." The teacher of the program explained the importance of these protocols:

Aloha and greetings, we are Ka'ehu youth enhancement and mentorship program.

We greet you today with a Hawaiian protocol called Piko. Piko is taught to all participants of Ka'ehu youth enhancement and mentorship program. This protocol is done every time we get together to center ourselves before we get started. The first chant that we presented (for) you folks is called "Aloha E." This chant greets first the gods, the ancestors, the chiefs of our islands, the elders or grandparents, the parents' generation, and finally the multi-tunes where all living beings can hear our voices.

The second chant we shared was a "Hō Mae'." This chant asks to grant us knowledge and wisdom from above to accomplish the task at hand. We also introduced ourselves through a traditional Hawaiian Aloha Aina. In our culture, it is important to introduce ourselves by stating where we come from and stating the places that shaped us into who we are today. This introduction includes our name, our island, our district, our

⁵⁶ See Palmer 2003 on importance of humor in storytelling. While humor is a part of Kiowa storytelling, humor is commonly shared throughout Indian Country.

⁵⁷ We use the term chant here as this is the term utilized by the Native Hawaiian teachers in this program.

mountain, our waterfall, our river, our ocean, and other important features that impact us on a daily basis. On behalf of our program, we thank you for allowing us to share our daily protocol with you that connect us with our deities, our ancestors, and our environment from the mountains to the sea. Take care and malama pono. Aloha.

As the Ka'ehu Youth program explains, the rendering of Piko and chants *are* cultural protocols of introduction, asking for knowledge, and connecting with ancestors, place, and other-than-human beings. Rather than focusing on the Hawaiian language itself, the emphasis was on the sonic protocols, showing that language and chanting are intimately connected. Ka'ehu's presentation did not highlight language loss but rather how language and chanting fostered Hawaiian youth empowerment through Native Hawaiian ways of knowing, doing, and being.

The third audio-visual presentation was performed by members of the Office of Samoan Affairs in California whose project promotes health and well-being through culturally-grounded practices (i.e. language, music, and dance) among Samoan communities in Los Angeles. Luisa Young, the director of the program, introduced their program along a non-diegetic recording of Toe Afua Mai Matua (Samoan folksong) "Le Vaveao E/ When Day Breaks" with video clips of community members in Samoa:

Good morning. My name is Luisa Young and behind me are our cultural dancers who are also ANA grantee: Faatasi E Mafai Ona Suia Tatou, or Together We can Change. Health and wellness program and we represent the Office of Samoan Affairs in Carson, California. We volunteered to host this ANA cultural center presentation because we wanted to give you a glimpse of who we are as a Samoan people. We are Samoa. People of the sun. Small group of islands in the South Pacific. Small islands. Small population. But we are big hearted people. Our Island's moto is: Motu o

Fiafiaga, Islands of Happiness. Before we present some of our cultural dances as is customary, we begin every event with a prayer. I will pray in our Native Samoan language. Let us Pray.

Luisa rendered a prayer in the Samoan language accompanied with visual English sub-title translations. Following the prayer, a team of dancers rendered Siva Samoa⁵⁸ to a soundtrack, first featuring a sāsā and then a maululu. The visuals halfway through the maululu showed project participants practicing dancing during COVID-19. The final segment of the presentation was non-diegetic, in which the video sounded “Lota Nuu: Samoa,” the Christian anthem of Samoa, to visual clips of program participants engaging in Faatasi E Mafai (health activities), including group exercise and health check-ups.

This performance highlighted cultural sharing through song, dance, and language. This presentation highlighted community members and place. Although this program does not focus specifically on language reclamation, this performance showcased language and music as part of everyday life among the Samoan community in Carson, California with the focus being how Samoan cultural expressions are used to promote health and well-being among program participants. Similar to the previous presentation, the focus was not on deficit-based health disparities nor language loss, but rather on culture sharing and (re)presentations of who they are as a People.

The performance of these dense Indigenous sonic protocols created an inter-Indigenous space for the presenters to story tell about themselves, in their own ways of knowing, doing, and being, *with* and *through* music. The presentations showcased the “density” of Indigenous communities and their protocols (sonically marking the beginning of

⁵⁸ Siva Samoa (lit. Samoan Dance) are dance performances usually conducted to welcome and/or entertain guests. See Hughes 2018, Radakovich 2004, Sagapolutele 2018.

an event, honoring and recognizing key individuals, sounding positionality, prayer, and celebrations and invitations to their community) *among* and *for* an Indigenous audience. Although ANA is a federal agency and operates under western frameworks and logics, these performances Indigenize space and time by upholding the variety of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. The density of sonic practices (Comanche Veteran song, Ponca flag song, Northern Cheyenne Honor song, Native Hawaiian Ho'holauna, Piko, and Oli, as well as Samoan folk songs and Siva Samoa) at the ANA opening ceremony created an inter-Indigenous space through the dense array of Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being. These sonic practices showcase Indigenous languages and musics as *living* and *thriving* practices. Compared to congressional deficit-based narratives about Indigenous languages, Indigenous strength-based stories presented in this section highlight that both music and language are intimately interconnected to various forms of Indigelogics. The focus of these performances was not on language itself, but rather celebratory expressions of identity and brief invitations to who they are as a people.

Conclusion

For many Indigenous communities, storytelling and music making often go hand in hand. While this is a shared practice, each community has their own distinct ways of telling stories and singing their songs. Compared to western ways of storytelling, congressional narratives about Indigenous languages are unsurprisingly not accompanied by music because western institutional storytelling methodologies do not favor music as an integral storytelling component. While the presence of Indigenous storytellers and performers speaking on their own behalf in federal spaces is important, the mere inclusion of Indigenous performers in federal spaces is not enough. Many federal events continue to operate through settler

colonial logics, structures, and epistemologies. Music scholar Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō) (2020) explains how “inclusionary performances,” the inclusion of Indigenous performers in western spaces but through only western ways of doing and knowing, perpetuates epistemic violence against Indigenous Peoples. Robinson describes how these performances that utilize Indigenous performers under the mask of “displays of equality” enact the opposite, such as elisions of reciprocal nation-to-nation relationships between Indigenous Nations and the settler colonial nation-state, producing problematic affective responses like reconciliation among settler audiences while settler colonialism persists, as well as apathy and denial towards Indigenous logics, structures, epistemologies, and ontologies (2020:6). While the performances showcased at the ANA grantee meeting was a rare occurrence that upheld diverse Indigenous ways of doing and being in a U.S. federal space, many federal events concerning Indigenous languages and Indigenous communities frequently continue to guise settler colonial structures and practices through such “inclusionary performances.” As many Indigenous performers and storytellers describe, federal agencies only want to put a checkmark on their diversity checklist.

Despite these barriers, Indigenous storytellers and performers creatively (re)claim their own stories through their ways of knowing and ways of doing, especially with and through music. Some performers utilize songs to capture the attention of non-Native audiences and then cleverly challenge and alter outsider misconceptions. Some performers enact songs, dances, and sonic practices as forms of cultural protocol that both privilege and uphold Indigenous ways of being and knowing, rejecting western epistemic and ontological regimes at the heart of the settler colonial nation-state. Some performers draw on their cultural practices to generously share a glimpse of who they are as people to outsiders, dispelling misnomers and taking control of representation. I do not attempt to measure the

success of these performances, but rather suggest that these strategies can serve other Indigenous storytellers in disrupting damaging congressional discursive practices that enable problematic LPP of Indigenous languages initiatives.

I conclude by explaining the implications of storytelling *with* and *through* music on Indigenous sonic sovereignty. The performances described in this chapter for federal workers were both for them and also not for them. While I did not measure the impact of Indigenous storytelling and music making on federal employees' listening habits, I rather refocus what this might mean for Indigenous self-determination. Following Hopi sound and law scholar Trevor Reed's (2020) definition of "sonic sovereignty," which he explains that Hopi governance and song are intertwined, here, I broaden the definition to a Tribal Nation's right to govern their sonic practices. While policymakers continue to create laws *on* and *about* Indigenous languages, Indigenous storytellers and performers themselves work to drown out settler colonial soundscapes, voices, and stories. I hear this as a type of decolonization where Native Peoples *sound* their sovereignty through sound performance. Sounding sovereignty is not just fighting against the forces of settler colonialism, it is also force of resurgence; a reclamation and healing movement for the People, ancestors, land, and other-than-human beings. The storytelling of Indigenous languages by Indigenous Peoples through their own ways of knowing and doing (re)centers, (re)claims, and (re)positions storytelling sovereignty so that, as Ralph Zotigh simply put, "the stories are told by *us*."

Chapter 2

[Gáuidáuk'yàdáugyà: Introduction to Kiowa Christian Hymns

“[Gáuidáuk'yàdáugyà” in the Kiowa language translates to Kiowa Church songs, but is most commonly known in English as Kiowa Christian hymns. Many Kiowas today are Christian and practice Kiowa Christian hymns as a unique Kiowa expression of Christianity.⁵⁹ The history between Kiowas and Christianity is complex and started when Kiowas began to experience drastic changes from the forces of settler colonialism. In the mid-19th century, Kiowas were relocated by the U.S. federal government to the 3-million-acre Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) Reservation in the southwestern part of Indian territory (modern-day state of Oklahoma), which was outlined in the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. This allowed for further settler colonial westward expansion by securing safe passage for settlers to migrate through the Southern Plains to California and Oregon. Shortly after, Quaker missionaries entered Kiowa communities during President Ulysses S. Grant’s “Peace Policy” that sought to end wars between the U.S. and Tribal Nations. Kiowas at first rejected Christianity and the Quakers soon after left. After consistent treaty breaking by the U.S. federal government, Kiowas and other Southern Plains Tribes began to attack encroaching white settlements, sparking the Red River War of 1874-5. The U.S. military initiated a military campaign against Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes, who shortly after a few months were forced back to their reservations. As U.S. Indian agents and the military continued to forcefully dispossess Kiowas of their land and cultural practices,

⁵⁹ There are currently two main religions practiced among Kiowas today: Christianity and the Native American Church or Peyote. Many Kiowas expressed to me that half the Tribe is Christian and the other half belong to the Native American Church.

Christian missionaries of numerous denominations flooded the KCA Reservation (Lassiter et al 2002; Kracht 2018:273). In 1893, the U.S. government forcefully suppressed the Medicine Lodge Ceremony (also known as the Sun Dance), the Kiowa People's most prominent religious ceremony at the time, by threat of military force (Kracht 2018:249). Over two decades later, another prominent religion that spread throughout the Great Plains, the Feather Dance (most commonly known as the Ghost Dance), lost popularity in 1916 (Kracht 2018:273). Christianity's agenda to convert Native Peoples in Indian Territory coincided with the U.S. government's efforts for cultural erasure, yet Christianity eventually became popular and accepted among Kiowas that led to the development of a new tribal musical genre.

How did Kiowas create their own Christian hymns that eventually became part of the tribal repertoire and unique expression of Christianity? In this chapter, I describe how Kiowa Christian hymns were created, how the practice of Kiowa Christian hymns developed over time, and how its performance practice declined. I provide context to understanding how Kiowa Christian hymns became accepted among Kiowas as a distinct tribal genre, first as a tool for missionization and worship that over a century later became a pedagogical tool to reclaim the Kiowa language. Kiowas exercised their own agency in adopting Christianity and expressing it in their own ways. While the adoption of Christianity and development of Kiowa Christian hymns upheld Christian hegemony, Kiowas continued to express their Christianity in their own ways and continue their musicality through Kiowa Christian hymnody.

This chapter contributes to scholarship on Christianity and music (Barz 2005; Reily and Dueck 2016; Kaplan 1995; Scruggs 2005; Sherinian 2014). As Suzel Reily and Jonathan Dueck (2016) explain, in the *The Oxford Handbook of Music and World Christianities*

“music has frequently served as a central pillar in the work of religious conversion, but has been crucial in sustaining Christian communities and to marketing and making relations among Christians” (1). As this body of literature have shown, communities adopted and expressed Christianity through a variety of local musical practices. A case study on Kiowa Christian hymnody contributes to the study of the Indigenization of Christianity⁶⁰ among Southern Plains Tribes. This dissertation summarizes previous scholarship on Kiowa Christian hymns (Kracht 2018; Lassiter et al. 2002; Tone-pah-hote 2019), while also filling in gaps in the literature, such as how the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) played a role in developing a Kiowa hymnbook, and the different recordings Kiowas made to preserve Kiowa Christian hymns. This chapter provides context for the subsequent chapters of how KLCRP used hymns as a pedagogical approach to reclaiming Kiowa sound.

Kiowa Musical Style

The Kiowa musical style falls within the broader Southern Plains musical style. Southern Plains Tribes, such as Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Ponca, and Osage who predominately now reside in Oklahoma, share this style, which is marked by lower pitch (compared to Northern Plains singing which is higher pitch or falsetto), monophonic singing (where women sing an octave above men), descending melodic contour, and ABB verse cycles.⁶¹ The concept of musical scale does not resonate with Southern Plains musical

⁶⁰ Zoe Sherinian explains that “Christian indigenization occurs when individuals and communities interact under specific conditions of power to consciously choose and combine cultural characteristics that reflect, embody, and transmit the meaning of a Christian theological message through the cultural identity of the people who use it... when the tools of communication are in an accessible local medium the music is infused with indigenous meaning and power” (2014:35)

⁶¹ Southern Plains verse cycles are in ABB format, where A is known as the “lead” sung by one singer, which is then repeated by all the singers. B is the rest of the verse that often descends in melodic contour. Men usually sing the “lead” and a little section of B, which There is a slight pause, which in Southern Plains powwow singing is filled by three drum beats and in Kiowa Christian hymns is a pause. The B section is then repeated.

ideologies. There are many different genres, or as Southern Plains singer call “songs,” within Southern Plains style singing that have unique functions within different contexts, such as powwows, societal dances, or ceremonies. For example, in Southern Plains powwow singing, there are round dance songs, war dance songs, trot or horse stealing songs, memorial songs, veteran songs, etc., where each of these songs usually contain their own distinct drum beat and usually have their own unique dance styles or dance steps.

While there are commonalities among Southern Plains performance practices, each Tribe has their own repertoire of songs and dances. For example, songs and the way they are sung are different for the Ponca Hethushka (War Dance) society and Kiowa Óhòràù (War Dance) society, even though they are part of the same War Dance complex that was gifted and spread amongst Southern Plains and Northern Plains Tribes. Gifting songs was/is a common practice amongst Plains Tribes, in which an individual, family, or society will give the rights for a song to be sung to another Tribe. It is not uncommon to hear another tribal song at another Tribe’s gathering or function.

There are also different styles of Southern Plains singing. Kiowa Elders expressed to me that before powwows became popular after World War II, each group of singers could be identified by their Tribal affiliation by the quality or timbre⁶² of a singer’s voice and their style of singing. For example, one Kiowa Elder told me that Ponca singers sounded “Ponca” by the quality of their voice, sounding “brighter” than other Tribes. Many other Elders from various Tribes described similar differentiations based on idiosyncratic voices. As Chris Scales (2012) explains, Natives throughout the Plains often describe music based on stylistic similarity. For example, a Pawnee singer at Red Earth powwow expressed to me that he

⁶² See Harkness 2014 and Turino 2008.

could tell an individual learned powwow singing from a Kiowa because he “sounded like Jack Anquoe (Kiowa).” Jack Anquoe and his family had a distinct style of singing, such as singing unconventional vocables and more nasalized voice. That individual was marked by the qualia of their voice that indexed the Anquoe singing style. In another instance at Osage In-lon-schka, I listened to a recording of Ponca War Dance songs with an Osage man who was able to distinguish each individual voice: “Even though the voices blend together, I can hear them. Sylvester Warrior, Harry Buffalohead, Lucy Cries for Ribs. I can hear each of them old Poncas.” The “grain of the voice” (Barthes 1977) of individual singers is kept within Southern Plains Tribes cultural memory and musical knowledge were (and remain) musical markers that not only sound their individual identity, but also their Tribal identity.

Native Christian Hymnody in Oklahoma

Southern Plains singers incorporated their musical style into distinct musical expressions of Christianity. There is a rich history and density of performance practice of Native Christian hymnody in Oklahoma that has been overlooked by ethnomusicologists. There are two main styles of Native Christian hymns practiced among several Native communities. The first style can be categorized as hymns composed by Tribes who were relocated from the eastern portion of the U.S. These Eastern Tribal Nations, such as Choctaw⁶³ and Cherokee,⁶⁴ sing their own hymns monophonically in their distinct styles of singing that resembles Stomp Dance singing (Draper 1982:50). As Smithsonian Folkways explains, Eastern Tribal hymn singing style “has been influenced by the vocal traditions of their non-Native neighbors, and the use of guitars, banjos, pianos, and vocal harmony is

⁶³ For an example of a Choctaw Christian hymn, see: <<https://youtu.be/q7ZnxMPDGnU>>.

⁶⁴ For an example of a Cherokee Christian hymn, see: <<https://youtu.be/mZNp84CEEHg>>.

common” (Smithsonian Folkways 2004:16). Some elements of Eastern hymn singing can also include western musical elements such as call and response, singing in the western diatonic scale, and singing western Christian hymns in their language, or more traditional elements such as monophonic singing.

The second style of Native Christian hymnody in Oklahoma are hymns composed by Southern Plains Tribes in the Southern Plains musical style. Kiowa Christian hymns sound similar to other Southern Plains Christian hymns, such as Comanche⁶⁵ and Pawnee.⁶⁶ Each Tribe has their own repertoire of hymns and sometimes will sometimes sing in the melody of another Tribe’s hymn. Most hymns are distinguishable by Tribe as marked by the melody of the hymn as well as the language it is sung in.

Kiowa Christian Hymns

Within the Kiowa tribal repertoire, Kiowa Christian hymns differ from other Kiowa genres in that they do not contain any vocables. Kiowa Christian hymn cycles are usually sung four times and occasionally three times to represent the Holy Trinity. Men usually sing the “lead” for hymns, however, sometimes women start hymns (Lassiter et al 2002). Kiowa Christian hymn singing can be best described as participatory music-making (Turino 2008). Kiowas sing sitting down⁶⁷ in pews at church services where everyone, of every age and gender, is encouraged to participate in music-making. Compared to other Kiowa genres of

⁶⁵ For an example of a Comanche Christian hymn, see: <https://youtu.be/-l_j4OL8wcA>.

⁶⁶ For an example of a Pawnee Christian hymn, see: <<https://youtu.be/cbKdbgud2l8>>.

⁶⁷ Kiowa sing western Christian hymns standing up. Kenny Harragarra (Kiowa/Otoe) told me once that an anthropologist asked why Kiowas stand up to sing western Christian hymns. He said that he did not know why that was the case and used this story as an example of how anthropologists perpetuate the “white way”— meaning white scholars ask too many questions. For this reason, I did not ask any Kiowa why they sit singing Kiowa Christian hymns and why they stand up singing western Christian hymns.

music, Kiowa Christian hymn singing can be sung by anyone,⁶⁸ regardless of membership or status in the Kiowa Tribe.

Kiowa Christian hymns *are* prayers and unique Kiowa expressions of Christianity. Unlike western ways of worship where music accompanies spoken prayer, Kiowa ways of praying can be both *spoken* and *sung*. Ralph Zotigh explained to me that Kiowa Christian hymns are like “little sermonettes.” They are interpretations of the Bible and serve to connect with Dáuk’í (God/Creator). While there are a few western hymns that were translated into the Kiowa language, such as “Joy to the World,” “He Died on the Cross,” and “Amazing Grace,” the majority of Kiowa Christian hymns are composed by Kiowas themselves.

Kiowa Christian hymns are not composed in the western sense, which recognizes individual creativity and ownership of musical ideas, rather they are created by Dáuk’í. A Kiowa “composer” is an individual who has the unique ability to “hear” or “catch” a song from the supernatural. As the late Ralph Kotay (Kiowa), a prominent Kiowa Christian hymn singer, explains:

Many times we say that a song was “made” or “composed” by a particular person.

But these songs are not composed, actually. They come through the Spirit and the minds of the people who really believe. While many of our hymns are so old that we don’t know who made them anymore, every single song goes back to how a

⁶⁸ Other Kiowa genres are now commonly sung predominately by a group of 7-15 men with 3-9 lady singers. Traditionally, there would only be 10 Kiowa men, often Elders, who would be permitted to sing. Those who sing are usually well-known, well-respected singers within the Tribe and are expected to know most, if not every, song in a given genre. Each genre is separated by the dance society in which the songs belong to and in which they function in the dance. For example, Gourd songs belong to [Dáíñ][bègàu (Kiowa Gourd Clan and Kiowa Tiah-piah) and Black Legs songs belong to Tònkóñgàut (Black Legs Veteran Society). Each genre has its own musical characteristics—namely the style of drum beat and the body of songs. Within each genre, each song has its own function within the dance, whether it is to memorialize individuals, is a family’s song, instructs dancers how to progress the dance, etc.

particular individual felt when the song came to them: they had a feeling that they wanted to express” (2002:88).

The “Spirit” that Ralph Kotay describes is the “feeling” and “connection” with the divine (Lassiter et al 2002). Most Kiowas see Kiowa songs and their language as intimately connected to the supernatural because they are gifts to the Kiowa People from Dáuk’í. While Kiowa Christian hymns are mostly performed in church services, they can also be sung in other contexts such as funerals and celebrations. Most Kiowa gatherings begin and end with spoken prayer, however, if an occasion calls for a sung prayer, a Kiowa Christian hymn may be rendered, such as a birthday celebration. Kiowa Elders affirm that the connection with the divine and the supernatural is an important part of what it means to be Kiowa, therefore making Kiowa Christian hymn singing an important Kiowa sonic practice and expression of identity.

Pathway to the Jesus Road

The word for Christianity in Kiowa is “Jesus hó:áñ,” or the Jesus Road. The pathway towards the Jesus Road started in the late 19th century when Kiowas faced outside settler colonial forces of land dispossession, cultural erasure, and genocide. Shortly after the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867, which downsized the KCA Reservation to the southwestern part of Indian Territory, Quakers first entered the KCA reservation in 1869. Lawrie Tatum, a Quaker from Iowa, was even appointed as an Indian agent on July 1, 1869 to oversee Kiowas and Comanches. Quakers imposed western farming practices and Christian theological education on Natives in the area at Fort Sill, which most of them refused. Quakers failed to missionize Kiowas and Comanches, and grew to be fearful of them. Most quickly left after becoming scared of Kiowas who started to raid again throughout the Southern Plains (Cutler

1971). Tatum himself resigned three years later after his appointment as Indian agent when White Horse, a Kiowa leader at the time, threatened to kill him for imprisoning Big Tree and White Bear (also commonly known as Santanta by white settlers) for raiding. In the following years, Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes began striking white settlements in response to westward expansion and violation of treaty rights, sparking the Red River War of 1874-5 (Kracht 2018:8). The U.S. military initiated several skirmishes and battles, in which Kiowas along with other Tribal Nations eventually migrated back onto reservations. After the war, the U.S. federal government instituted Indian agents to forcefully suppress any Native cultural expression—especially dances and ceremonies—and incarcerated Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe leaders at Ft. Marion as punishment for the Red River War.

While settler colonialism imposed change onto Kiowas, there was also a great deal of change occurring within Kiowa society. As historian Jenny Tonepahhote (Kiowa) explains, during this era “Kiowa people did not simply maintain their traditions; they embraced new media, cultural arenas, and artistic practices in service of what was fundamentally significant to them” (2019:xiii). This also included new religions. Three major religious movements occurred among Kiowa communities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Kiowas continued to practice traditional religion, such as the Medicine Lodge Ceremony (also called the Sun Dance).⁶⁹ The Medicine Lodge religion was gifted to Kiowas by the Crow Tribe near the Black Hills in South Dakota⁷⁰ sometime around 1765 (Mooney [1898]1979:155) and became the main religion for Kiowas.⁷¹ The four-day ceremony took

⁶⁹ The Kiowa word for the Medicine Lodge Ceremony is K’áú:[dó.

⁷⁰ Kiowas refer to their migration pattern from southwestern Canada all the way to the Black Hills in South Dakota as “the North.”

⁷¹ James Mooney worked with Kiowa calendarkeepers where he compiled data from several Kiowas calendars into his book.

place during the hottest time of the year where different Kiowa bands would reconvene together. Although this allowed for the entire Tribe to be together, not everyone was allowed to participate in the Sun Dance. As white hunters depleted buffalo herds throughout the Plains, Kiowas found it increasingly more difficult to practice the Medicine Lodge Ceremony given the importance bison had to the ceremony. The last complete Sun Dance took place in 1887 (Kracht 2018:18, Mooney [1898] 1979:355) and the “last major attempt at the Medicine Lodge occurred in 1890, when Kiowas scattered after finding out that soldiers had left Fort Sill to stop the Kiowas’ preparations” (Tone-pah-hote 2019:38). Since then, there was a small attempt by a few Kiowas to revive the Medicine Lodge Ceremony in 1997, but was barred by the Kiowa Tribe for superstition something would go wrong if it was brought back. The Medicine Lodge Ceremony has not been practiced since the late 19th century (Kracht 2018:247-9).

The Native American Church (also known as Peyote)⁷² grew in popularity among Kiowas and has since become a prominent religion. There are two stories of how the Native American Church⁷³ was brought into Kiowa communities. Jenny⁷⁴ describes that “Chebatha and Pinero, Lipan Apaches married to Comanche women, brought Peyotism with them to the KCA reservation in the 1870s, and they taught the ceremony to Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache people” (2019:38-9). Kracht mentions that Kiowa warriors participated among Tribes in Mexico who practiced Peyote in the 1870s and brought it back to the Kiowas (2018:21). I heard from some Kiowas whose ancestors were early members of the

⁷² The Kiowa word for Peyote or the Native American Church is Séñ:[b]ñ (eating cactus) to refer to the Peyote cactus that is indgested as a sacrament. Compared to English, Kiowa words are usually action-based.

⁷³ Jenny Tone-pah-hote (2019) provides an overview of how Kiowas adopted Native American Church or Peyote in her second chapter.

⁷⁴ I met Jenny Tone-pah-hote at Chapel Hill Powwow in Spring 2018. Kiowas refer to each other either by their kinship or by first name, never by their last name. For this reason, I refer to her by her first name.

Native American Church that Peyotism was brought by the Comanches and was made more popular among Kiowas by Chief Quanah Parker (Comanche) in the late 19th century. Similar to Christianity, Peyote was “taken in” and Kiowas began to create their own expressions of Peyote, such as develop their own German silversmithing of Peyote jewelry and composing their own Peyote songs (Kracht 2018, Tonepahhote 2019). As Christianity became more prevalent among Kiowas, Christian missionaries outwardly spoke against Peyotism and caused political factions within the Kiowa Tribe (Kracht 2018:223). These divisions continued well into the 20th century and are evident today. I’ve been told by many Kiowas that currently, approximately half of the Kiowa Tribe are followers of the Native American Church and half are followers of Christianity.

The Feather Dance⁷⁵ (most commonly known as the Ghost Dance) was adopted by Kiowas in the 1880s. Wovoka (Paiute) spread the Ghost Dance when he had a vision that if Native Peoples practiced it, the buffalo, ancestors, and traditional ways of life would return. Sitting Bull (Arapaho) (not the Lakota leader), a devout follower of Wovoka, brought the Ghost Dance to the Kiowas. Kiowas called this the “Feather Dance” because some dancers wore an erect golden eagle feather or crow feathers on the back of their heads. The U.S. government saw the overall spread of the Ghost Dance as an uprising, which led towards the Massacre of Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890 where over 300 Lakota men, women, and children were brutally murdered for their participation of the Ghost Dance (Mooney 1965[1896]). Á:[bì:tàũ⁷⁶ (Wooden Lance) (Kiowa), a dedicated Feather Dance follower, shortly met with Wovoka in January 1891 where he told Á:[bì:tàũ to tell Kiowas to cease

⁷⁵ The Kiowa name for the Ghost Dance is À:má[gũngyà (Feather Dance). I was told numerous times from Elders that the Kiowa language is very descriptive, hence why the Ghost Dance was called the Feather Dance because of the dancers who wore golden eagle or crow feathers in their hair.

⁷⁶ Á:[bì:tàũ was written by U.S. government officials as Ahpeatone. His name is also written as Ä’piatañ.

the dance. Á:[bì:tàũñ a month later denounced the Ghost Dance itself and Sitting Bull (Arapaho) as a fraud (Kracht 2018:272) causing some Kiowas to reject the religion. Other Kiowas, led by Afraid-of-Bears (Kiowa), continued practicing the Feather Dance until 1916 when they also questioned the spiritual validity and power of the religion (Kracht 2018:221). Kracht describes that “Kiowas interviewed in 1935—Peyotists, Christians, and bundle keepers—described the Ghost Dance as a religion that was abandoned in favor of more powerful religions,” leading towards the prominence of the Native American Church and Christianity (2018:222). While few number of other Tribes still practice the Ghost Dance, Kiowas have not performed the Feather Dance since the early 20th century.

After the Quakers’ first failed attempt, Christianity did not come back until 1887, when Congress passed the General Severalty Act or Dawes Act to disrupt Indigenous ways of life and forcefully assimilate Tribal Nations to American culture and society. This policy attempted to erase any practice or expression that resembles Indianness with whiteness. The Dawes Act broke up reservation land to disrupt Tribal Nation governance and their ways of living in favor of privatized land and western governance. The U.S. continued to enact violence against Native Peoples to erase any expression of Indigeneity. The U.S. government also brought Native children into government-run boarding schools. The U.S. government’s agenda of erasure and dispossession caused an outpouring of members of various Christian denominations, who were hungry to convert Indigenous Peoples. Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals, and Mennonites flocked towards the KCA Reservation (Lassiter et al 2002:28-9). Out of these denominations, only three denominations (Methodists, Baptists, and Catholics) were able to successfully establish churches. Most of these churches continue to operate today.

Missionaries in these three denominations were effective in converting Kiowas for a few reasons. Historian Clyde Ellis describes that many Kiowas accepted Christianity because of “the influence of leading Kiowa figures (especially Native ministers and interpreters), the effectiveness of missionaries (especially women), the role of the church in establishing and maintaining community identity, and by the mid-twentieth century a more tolerant attitude that made plural expressions of faith and belief more common” (Lassiter et al 2003:53). Prominent Baptist and Methodist missionaries who are still remembered by Kiowas today, such as George W. Hicks (Eastern Band of Cherokee/Baptist), J.J. Methvin (Methodist), Isabel Crawford (Baptist), and Marriette⁷⁷ Reeside (Baptist), approached their missionization in ways that resonated with Kiowa cultural practices. These missionaries, especially women, were more successful at establishing relationships with Kiowas. Both Baptist and Methodist missionaries went to Kiowa camps to talk about the Bible, provided communal meals, learned the Kiowa language and Plains Indian Sign Language (as well as hiring Kiowa translators), and befriended community leaders. Catholics, led by Father Isidore Ricklin, successfully established a missionary and school, called St. Patrick’s in Anadarko that harbored numerous Kiowa students, and provided vocational training (Ellis 2002). The combination of these missionization approaches helped Christianity gain popularity among Kiowas. It is worth mentioning that Pentecostals later were able to get their foot in the Kiowa community by praying for a sick Kiowa woman in 1924 near Mount Scott and helping with her recovery; they later started a small congregation in the area (Isaacs 1972).

One missionary in particular, Isabel Crawford (Baptist), is most notable for converging Christian theology with Kiowa practices. Crawford came to KCA Reservation in

⁷⁷ Kracht spells her name as “Maryetta” (2018:55-7).

1893 to the Saddle Mountain Indian Baptist Church until she was removed by her own mission board in 1906 for allowing her close friend and interpreter, Lucius Aitson (Kiowa), to serve communion (Crawford [1915]1998, Ellis 2003). Crawford describes in her early accounts that at first, she despised going to Indian Territory. As she settled in Elk Creek and, later on, to Saddle Mountain, she developed close friendships with Kiowas. Through these relationships, she learned more about Kiowa cultural practices and was invited to stay with Kiowa families. In her own account, Crawford was invited to participate in ceremonies and even asked to participate by praying in a Feather Dance ceremony:

There was no camp-fire, but in the exact centre of the tepee under the opening at the top of a small piece of charcoal lay smouldering. A sprig of cedar was thrown upon it and when the place was filled with the aroma, tom-toms and gourds were brought into action, weird singing was engaged in and the pipe of peace passed. With the sign addressed to me: "You pray," all heads were bowed. "Our Father in heaven, I don't know what it all means but I do know that I am not 'all alone and no scared' for Thou art with me. Teach me how to tell these poor people about Jesus and as they have walked in white with me to-day, so may they walk with Thee some day in the streets of the Beautiful City." Four Indian prayers followed mingled with excessive weeping, and then I was led forth into the clear sunshine (Crawford [1915]1998:27)

We can deduce that Crawford's listening of "weird" Kiowa singing and misnomer of hand drums as "tom-tom" is indicative of her settler colonial "tin-ear" (Robinson 2020),⁷⁸ however, as she spent more time with Kiowas, her mention description of Kiowa singing in her diary gradually did not contain any negative qualifiers, suggesting her attitudes towards

⁷⁸ Robinson defines the settler colonial "tin-ear" as apathy and refusal towards Indigenous sound and sonic practices.

Kiowa cultural practices began to change. It is very uncommon for a missionary to be so willing to participate in Kiowa functions, gatherings, and ceremonies. On the flip side, it is rare for Kiowas to accept a missionary so closely. Ellis describes that “Crawford was especially successful at using Baptist rituals of baptism to introduce and encourage new practices. One Kiowa recalled that Crawford bridged the distance between the Kiowa sweat lodge and Christian baptism by heating rocks that were then dumped into the baptismal pool in a stream above the church” (Lassiter et al 2003:47). Crawford was hard of hearing and was fluent in American Sign Language before coming to Oklahoma, which helped her quickly acquire Plains Indian Sign language and communicate effectively with Kiowas (Kracht 2018:59). Her unique approach to missionization, participation in the community, and wide acceptance among Kiowas set her apart from other missionaries. So much so, that when she passed away in 1961, Kiowas at Saddle Mountain Indian Baptist Church brought her back and buried her with tribal members in the church cemetery (Crawford [1915]1998:xix).

Baptist, Methodist, and Catholic missionaries were more successful than other denominations because they were more flexible in allowing Kiowas to create their own expressions of Christianity (Kracht 2018; Lassiter et al 2002). But why did Kiowas themselves gradually adopt a foreign religion such as Christianity? The answer is multifaceted. Jenny Tonepahhote and Benjamin Kracht both explain that Kiowas were looking to fill a spiritual void after the Medicine Lodge Ceremony was “put away” by Kiowa leaders. They also explain that not everyone could participate in the ceremony based on rank and class, whereas Christianity encouraged participation of anyone regardless of identity (Kracht 2018:224; Tone-pah-hote 2019:38). Jenny further explains that “some Kiowas felt that they needed a new spiritual road because the older one had failed them, and they

worried that their old ways would not aid them in this new life on the reservation” (2019:38). Christianity was seen by some Kiowas as a more powerful religion that could spiritually support them in the reservation era. Kracht describes that “Jesus was also portrayed as a human who endured suffering too, like the Kiowas...” and was seen as a guardian spirit by Kiowa Christians (Kracht 2018:226). Adaptation to reservation brought a great deal of stress to Kiowas as almost every facet of traditional life was forcefully altered. Yet, Kiowas remained resilient and continued to exercise agency despite settler colonial forces.

Kiowas themselves made the choice in adopting, practicing, and expressing Christianity in *their own way* that resonated with religious and cultural practices of the time. As one Kiowa woman expressed on a Facebook post:

I am grateful and thankful for my heavenly father and his son Jesus. I’ve seen many on my friends list bash Christianity and Christians as a whole under the guise that it was used to brainwash indigenous people. I have also seen so called Christians use heavenly fathers words as a cudgel to make others feel less than. For me, I find both parties ignorant in their views. I grew up with stories of conversion of my Toyebo and Paddlety side. One of the stories I cherish the most is the story of the Kiowa Warrior and my great grandmother’s uncle, Gotebo.⁷⁹ There is a picture of him in his Kiowa clothes and his shirt is lined with scalps, he was known to have the most arrow wounds.⁸⁰ He was brave and yet he chose the Jesus Road. To me, he was not someone who could be easily brainwashed or forced into submission to believe. He

⁷⁹ Gotebo is an anglophonic name of his Kiowa name K’ó:dé:bòóñ (swift fox). According to KLCRP, he was a “Kiowa sub-chief. Born about 1847 in what is today Kansas... He was one of the first Kiowas to accept conversion and be baptized in the Washita River near Anadarko on the Kiowa reservation in the 1880s.”

⁸⁰ See Figure 1.

listened when the missionaries taught and he knew in his heart what they taught was true.

Gotebo even expressed in his personal drawings that Christianity offered a new way of life worth embracing (Meadows and Harragarra 2007). While Kiowas did gradually accept Christianity, they did not immediately adopt it. As Crawford describes in her journal in the first month of her stay in Elk Creek in 1886, Kiowas were reticent:

[Crawford asked a group of Kiowas:] “Are there any Christians present? Are there any who would like to be?” Indian politeness made an answer necessary and a dignified, thoughtful reply was given.

[A Kiowa responded:] “There are no Christians here. We worship a different way. The news you have brought is very wonderful, but Indians do not hurry to pick up new roads. We must take time to think it over carefully and then we will give you our answer” (Crawford 1915]1998:40-1).

Gotebo himself was among the first Kiowas who refused to listen to Christianity. These accounts resonate with stories that I heard from younger and older Kiowas who reflected on their ancestors’ decision to adopt Christianity. Many expressed that their ancestors took the time to *think* and *reflect* on the decision to choose a new religious road, especially considering the other religions in Kiowa communities occurring at the time.

Religious adoption is nothing new to Kiowas. I suggest that religious adoption allowed for Kiowas to continue to creatively practice and express their musicality in ways that suited them best. Jenny describes that Kiowas had an “additive belief system”

(2019:38),⁸¹ and that religious adoption was familiar to Kiowas. All the religions practiced in the late 19th century were, as Kiowa Elders often say, “taken in” by Kiowas. Even the Medicine Lodge Ceremony was gifted to Kiowas up in “the North” by the Crow People in the mid-18th century (Mooney [1898]1979). Religious adoption does not mean accepting a religion in its entirety, but rather maintaining and negotiating aspects of that religion in ways that resonate of what is Kiowa. For example, compared to other Tribes, I was told by Kiowa Elders that Kiowas did not pierce or offer flesh during the Medicine Lodge Ceremony because the sight of blood was a bad omen. Additionally, Kiowas composed their own Medicine Lodge songs. Kiowa religious adoption allows for acceptance, refusal, and negotiation of religious elements. When Kiowas adopted Peyote, for example, Kiowa silversmiths designed and made their own jewelry sets, such as for earrings and tie slides, with symbols that resonated with Peyote ideologies (Tone-pah-hote 2019:33-57). However, Kiowas did not adapt Peyote music to the Kiowa musical style, rather, they composed their own songs in the Peyote musical style.⁸² This was not the case every time when Kiowas adopted new religions. Kiowas maintained certain Kiowa musical elements, such as form, timbre, and contour for some religious musical genres like Feather Dance songs.⁸³ While Ghost Dance and Kiowa Peyote music-making practices were more participatory and encouraged group participation, the Medicine Lodge Ceremony was more presentational and did not include all members of the Kiowa Tribe. The negotiation of musical elements and

⁸¹ Jenny does not define nor discuss much about the concept of “additive belief system.” Here, I interpret her concept as a religious practice that allows for the integration and contestation of other religious ideas, beliefs, rituals, and practices. This religious approach does not strictly adhere to the practice of one religion, but is more fluid in accepting, negotiating, and/or denying certain elements of a particular religious practice.

⁸² Recordings of Kiowa Peyote songs by Cheevers Toppah (Kiowa/Diné) and Kevin Yazzie (Diné): <<https://youtu.be/ex24xuyk1Ng>>. It is unclear which Tribes in Mexico practiced Peyotism, but most Southern Plains Tribes credit Tribes in northern Mexico as originators of Peyotism.

⁸³ Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune (Kiowa), an Elder mentor of KLCRP sings some Ghost Dance songs: <<https://kiowatalk.org/songs/ghost-dance-songs/>>.

styles of music making were influenced by previous religious music making practices that were internalized by Kiowas, who then, as Kiowa Elders say, “ran off with it.” The internalization of religion and its musical practices is a key component of Kiowa religious adoption. Music was an important part of each of these religions. When the second wave of Christian missionaries spent more time with Kiowas, I suspect that they discovered the importance of Kiowa musicality and performance in religious practices, and must have saw this as an opportunity to use as a tool for missionization.

The Birth of Kiowa Christian Hymns

Kiowa Christian hymns, as a new musical genre and religious expression, was first created by Gotebo. As described in the previously mentioned Facebook post, Gotebo⁸⁴ was a prominent Kiowa war chief and a well-respected community leader. Anthropologist William C. Meadows and Kenny Harragarra (Kiowa/Otoe), a descendant of Gotebo, explain that Gotebo would have witnessed and/or participated in each religious or societal practices at the time, such as Peyote, Feather Dance, the Medicine Lodge Ceremony, and the Óhòmàù⁸⁵ warrior society. When missionaries first came to the KCA Reservation, he refused to listen to them. As Reverend Howard H. Clouse recounts, “when the missionaries first came to his people it made him mad, and he would put his fingers in his ears to keep from hearing the story of Jesus” (2007:231). It was not until Baptist missionaries G.W. Hicks (Eastern Band of Cherokee), Mariette Reeside, and Laretta E. Ballew visited a Kiowa camp to missionize

⁸⁴ For more information on Gotebo, see Meadows and Harragarra 2007. They reflect on Gotebo’s personal drawings that show his transition from a war leader to his adoption of Christianity and eventually becoming a deacon for Rainy Mountain Baptist Church.

⁸⁵ I was told by James “Ducky” Anquoe (Kiowa) that this warrior society was given by the Cheyennes to the Kiowas after Kiowa and Cheyenne war leaders who were imprisoned at Ft. Marion in Florida were released back home to their communities. The word Óhòmàù is a Kiowa pronunciation of the Omaha Tribe who is credited by many Tribes for originating the War Dance tradition.

Kiowas along the Washita River near present-day Anadarko, Oklahoma in 1892 and first converted Gotebo's sister, Omebo. Gotebo himself, along with five other Kiowas, soon after was baptized in the Washita River (Kracht 2018:57). Gotebo invited Hicks and Reeside to live in his house while he lived in a tipi to establish a new church. A year later, Reeside, Hicks, and other Kiowa converts prepared to hold the first Baptist Christmas at Big Tree's⁸⁶ home near Rainy Mountain Creek (Meadows and Harragarra 2007:232). Reeside and Ballew both asked Gotebo to compose a Kiowa Christian hymn for the Christmas service. Milton Noel (Gotebo's great-great grandson) recounts Gotebo's initial reluctance but eventual acceptance to compose the first Kiowa Christian hymn:

The missionaries Lauretta E. Ballew and Henrietta Reeside encouraged Gotebo to “make” a song, to put Kiowa words into a hymn...But Gotebo 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 kept on him though, and he finally came out with a song; after that, these hymns just took off. That “first hymn,” as we call it at Rainy Mountain—it's selection 20 in your book (Lassiter et al 2003:114).

Gotebo created a new genre of Kiowa music with his Christmas song, most commonly known as the “First Kiowa Christian Hymn.” Milton reflects on Gotebo's listening and what his listening practices might have been like. He mentions that Gotebo initially refused to compose a Kiowa Christian hymn because “it would sound too much like the old songs.” Here, I question which songs Gotebo was trying to avoid. Kracht describes that Ghost Dance “songs—reworked Sun Dance songs⁸⁷—were transformed into Christian hymns”

⁸⁶ Big Tree was another prominent Kiowa leader at the time. Big Tree and White Bear were among the first Kiowa leaders to instigate attacks on white settlements that eventually sparked the Red River War of 1874-5.

⁸⁷ Kracht does not describe in depth how Medicine Lodge songs were reworked into Feather Dance songs. While it is completely plausible, more research is needed to support this claim.

(2018:222). Interestingly, Dorothy Whitehorse DeLaune (Kiowa), an Elder mentor in the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) also said in an outreach program in June 2017 that “Kiowa Christian hymns are just like Ghost Dance songs,” in that they both are forms of prayer and “reach towards” a connection with Dáuk’í. Gotebo quite possibly was influenced by Feather Dance songs. While dancing did not become an important part of Kiowa practice of Christian worship, like it was for other Kiowa religions, the development of Kiowa Christian hymns became an important part of Kiowa Christian religiosity and practice.

The Jesus Road in the 20th Century

Christianity became more widely accepted and popular among Kiowas in the early- to mid-20th century.⁸⁸ Kracht reports that “at least one-third of the Kiowa population had converted the Christianity” with others converting into Native American Church by the early 1920s (2018:273). Approximately 16 churches expanded throughout Kiowa communities (Kracht 1997:27). Kiowas at different churches began to compose their own Kiowa Christian hymns and circulated them throughout Kiowa communities. While various Kiowa churches sang their own and each other’s hymns, each denomination performed them differently— primarily in tempo. Baptists are known for singing the slowest out of the denominations. Methodists sing slightly faster, and Catholics even faster. Pentecostals, also sing fast but usually sing with the big drum, whereas other denominations sing without any instrumental accompaniment (except singing western Christian hymns with a piano). Delores Harragarra

⁸⁸ The Feather Dance was no longer performed during this time. Peyote also was growing in popularity and became a prominent religion among Kiowa communities. Elders expressed that there was some animosity between “Church” and “Peyote” people. I suspect that Christian discouragement and negative views about Peyote became embodied by Kiowas. While there still might be some animosity today, I did not experience or observe any in Kiowa Country.

expressed to me that she was confident in saying that, in total, there are more than 200 Kiowa Christian hymns.

Kiowa Christian hymns have various functions, such as teaching the values of the Bible, praise God or Jesus, heal in times of turmoil or grief, baptize individuals, express joy, and celebrate occasions (Christmas, Easter, birthday of individual). Ralph Zotigh described to me that hymns are like “little sermonettes.” They can be either interpretations of the Bible, self-expressions of an individual’s experience with the Jesus Road (most often were positive and life-changing experiences),⁸⁹ and/or specific prayers. Many Kiowa Christian hymns focus on affect, expressing how an individual feels from their connection with the Spirit. Most Kiowa Christian hymns often convey joy, happiness, or fulfillment that God and Jesus brought to them. For example, several hymns contain the lyrics “[bé:gyá[dóñ:gyà à òñ:táñ:dáu” (my spirit is happy). Ralph Zotigh explained to me that Kiowa listening is very empathetic, in the sense that listening in this way seeks to *feel* and *think* what is being expressed in a song, especially with the connection to the supernatural.

Some Kiowa Christian hymns were even specifically composed for wartime. When Kiowas began to enlist in the U.S. military starting in World War I, Kiowas held prayer meetings for both the departing soldiers as well as for their relatives who stayed home. These prayer meetings consisted of singing Kiowa Christian hymns for the safe return of Kiowa soldiers. This especially was a common practice during World War II when several hundred Kiowas enlisted and were deployed overseas in the Atlantic and Pacific theaters. Kiowa Christian hymns played an important role in community spiritual practices that resonated

⁸⁹ I do not discuss testimonies here in this chapter, however, I want to emphasize that individual stories about their experiences with Christianity are important. This is a practice that is still continued on today. For example, at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church, individuals will say testimonies during Christmas Day service and will pledge a monetary donation or gift to the Church. The act of “giving away” is one of many Kiowa cultural practices that continue through Christianity.

with pre-reservation sonic practices around warfare (Delores Harragarra, Interview, July 27, 2018).

Another wave of Christian missionization swept through Oklahoma during the mid-20th century. The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) traversed throughout Oklahoma during World War II to expand and strengthen Christianity among the 39 Tribal Nations. SIL was first founded in the U.S. in 1934 by William Cameron Townsend (1896-1982) with the goal to translate the Bible into various Indigenous languages as a way to expand Protestant missionary evangelism. SIL claimed to have methodological affiliations with the academic disciplines of anthropology and linguistics to fund their work and gain access to Indigenous communities. SIL became an official partner with the University of Oklahoma in 1945 until 1988.⁹⁰ In Oklahoma, SIL sent students to various Native communities every summer to learn their language and translate the Bible in their language. SIL students also learned Christian hymns in numerous Native languages that they studied (Stoll 1982). At the end of each summer in Norman, Oklahoma, SIL held a program on the Indians for Indians Hour, a Native-operated radio program. The first program was held in 1943 and continued until the end of Indians for Indians Hour Radio program in the mid-1970s (Ortega 2019:3). In the 1962 SIL program⁹¹ on Indians for Indians Hour, SIL students and their teachers from various Tribes (Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho) presented Christian hymns (western hymns translated in Native languages as well as hymns composed in Native musical styles), translations of Bible verses, and conversations to show what they learned that summer:

⁹⁰ See the news article: < <https://www.oklahoman.com/story/news/1988/01/20/ou-summer-institute-agree-to-halt-linguistics-program/62664530007/>>.

⁹¹ Here is the recording of the program: <<https://repository.ou.edu/uuid/79ee7522-8b38-5f86-8da4-4a1061be328f>>.

Representative from SIL: The students of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and their Indian language teachers are glad to present this program for you. Each year, after finishing classes at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the students have an opportunity to practice what they have learned. For two weeks, the students analyze the sounds and grammar of an Indian language. They also make progress in learning to speak the language. Of course, this would not be possible without the wonderful support and cooperation we receive from our Indian friends and teachers who come each summer to help. Now may I present, Mr. Mose Poolaw, a Kiowa Indian.

Mose Poolaw: Greetings from the Summer Institute of Linguistics at University of Oklahoma. This is the 19th annual broadcast for the Indians for Indians hour. There are about 40 Indians from various Tribes in Oklahoma serving the institute this year. Some of these informants have been active for the past 11 weeks at the school. Others, came after the last 10 days to help the young missionaries for the field. This program will consist of some religious music, as well as demonstration from some of the informants and their students in their own Indian tongue.

Representative from SIL: And now Mr. Lewis Toyebo will give the invocation.

Lewis Toyebo: [Prays in Kiowa]

Representative from SIL: The students of Mary Redbird will begin the program this afternoon by singing a Comanche prayer song.

[SIL students and Mary Redbird sing Comanche hymn in the melody of Gotebo's
"First Kiowa Christian hymn"]

Representative from SIL: Verses of scripture will now be presented of students by
Annie Chevato and Felix Kowena. This will be in Comanche language.

SIL student 1: This verse and scripture is relevant to all students studying at SIL. "Go
therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them of the father, of the son,
and the holy spirit. Teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you, and lo I
am with you always, to the close of the age."

SIL student 2: [Speaking Bible verse in Comanche]

SIL student 3: [Speaking same Bible verse in Japanese]

SIL student 4: [Speaking same Bible verse in Yoruba]

SIL student 5: [Speaking Bible verse Mark 1:17 in Cheyenne]

SIL representative: Mrs. Horse will now sing a Cheyenne song.

[Mrs. Horse sings Cheyenne song]

SIL representative: Each year, the students have a good time learning how to converse in the language. And now the students of Jenny Flyingout, Anna Hawk, and Ed Riggs will now converse in Cheyenne.

[Students speaking in Cheyenne]

SIL representative: And now a Kiowa hymn will be sung by the intermediate students.

[Students sing Kiowa Christian hymn, “This is God’s Book”]

SIL representative: And now to continue conversing the students of Mary Todone and William Wolfe.

Person 1: Déóñ:dé bà bóñ (it is wonderful to see you all) [another person: hàu: (yes)]

Person 2: Náúàl à ôñ:táñ: (me too, I am happy)

Person 1: Háúñdé bàt áu:màu? (what are you all doing?)

Person 2: [Gáui[dóñgyà èt màuhêñmàu (we are learning the Kiowa language)

Person 1: Hàu: gyà t’á:gyà (yes, that’s good).

Person 2: Háuñdé gyà sál (it is very hot).

Person 3: Hàu:nè gyà t'ópót (no, it's cool)

Person 2: Hà:yá bà bánmá? (where are you all going?)

Person 1: [Bĩñ[dòì: è bánmá (we are going to a food place/cafeteria/restaurant)

Person 2: Háu: bà táu:[bá:lé? (are you all hungry?)

Person 1: Hàu: è táu:[bá:lé (yes we are hungry)

Person 2: Háu [gául tón òl? (do you want some water too?)

Person 3: Hàu: è tónbá:lé (yes we are thirsty)

Person 2: Háu [gául:àl háuñdé? (do you want anything else?)

Person 1: Hàu: [gí gàu àìp'í:é: gyát báu (yes, bring us meat and potatoes)

Person 2: Mà bàt háu (here, take them)

Person 1: À:hô è kó:bà:t'áu (thank you, we will go now)

Person 2: Hàu: bà kó:bà (yes, let's go)

The SIL presentation promotes an imagined cosmopolitan⁹² future of Christianity through Indigenous music and language. As non-Native language learners, SIL students demonstrate their linguistic prowess by speaking and singing in these various Native languages. By incorporating Indigenous languages, spoken and sung, in tandem with other “world”⁹³ languages (Japanese, Yoruba, Spanish), SIL demonstrates that their work is “modernizing”—“civilizing”— Indigenous Peoples into Christian modernity. This evangelical ideology is also presented in music making from SIL students.

In another SIL program on Indians for Indians Hour in 1959, SIL students and their Kiowa teachers sung the First Kiowa Christian hymn with piano accompaniment.⁹⁴ The monophonic singing did not match pitch with the piano and the pianist quickly stopped playing. Kiowas do not commonly sing Kiowa Christian hymns with piano accompaniment, yet alone they are incommensurable with the western diatonic scale. By playing the piano to Kiowa Christian hymn singing, SIL students imposed western music making over Kiowa musical practices. This resonates with what early ethnologists and comparative musicologists did in early music scholarship to understand how Native musics, so-called “primitive” or “savage” music, would evolve towards western, so-called “civilized,” music. Ethnologists and early musicologists transcribed Native musics into western notation and even sometimes added western harmony. Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō) (2020) explains that this “containment” of Native music is another settler colonial practice to place boundaries,

⁹² See Turino 2003. Turino cautions scholars in re-producing public discourses and concepts, such as globalization. He suggests that we should develop a new word, “cosmopolitanism,” to critically describe the phenomena of globalization.

⁹³ See Ammon 2010.

⁹⁴ Here is the recording: <<https://repository.ou.edu/uuid/dc84963d-1b67-514a-97e6-c0de4c672fbc>>.

imprison, and attempt to control Native sound.⁹⁵ While SIL did not transcribe Kiowa music into western notation, they transcribed the Kiowa language and Kiowa Christian hymn lyrics. This was not for the benefit of the Kiowa People, but rather for Christian missionization.

SIL could not have conducted their missionization work without Native “informants.” The Native Peoples who assisted SIL students were most likely Christians who supported SIL’s mission of spreading Christianity. They gave one of the greatest gifts that they could give; an invitation to who they are as a People through their music and language. Yet, SIL perpetuated settler colonial attitudes towards Native Peoples. For example, a few years prior to the described SIL program above, Mose Poolaw (Kiowa) spoke from a pre-written script, stating: “the Summer Institute of Linguistics sponsored by the Wycliffe Bible Translators Incorporated, a non-denominational group, which translated unwritten language to *primitive people* all over the world, into alphabet” (my emphasis) (Indians for Indians Hour, undated, University of Oklahoma Libraries). Orthography was a settler colonial tool to capture the sounds of language for missionization (Faudree 2017). The combination of “capturing” Native sounds—music and language—through orthography for the purposes of missionization expand Christian conversion and expansion.

SIL captured the sounds of Kiowa music and language through writing for the purpose of missionization. In 1962, SIL published a Kiowa Christian hymnbook titled *Kawy-daykhyah Dawgyah: Kiowa Christian Songs*, also commonly known in Kiowa Country as the “Red Book.”⁹⁶ A statement in the book notes that it was published “under the auspices of: The Summer Institute of Linguistics Norman, Oklahoma” with affiliation of the Wycliffe

⁹⁵ See also Levine 2002.

⁹⁶ Kiowas call this hymnbook the “Red Book” because of the red cover.

Bible Translators, Inc. SIL students worked with a Kiowa committee to collect Kiowa Christian hymns and publish them. The Kiowa committee consisted of Lewis Toyebo⁹⁷ (chief translator/Kiowa), William Wolfe (chief singer/Kiowa), Charles Redbird (song compiler/Kiowa), and Carrie Redbird (song compiler/Kiowa). It is unclear whether Lewis Toyebo or SIL linguists/students transcribed the hymns, however, it is most likely that SIL students who studied linguistics created the orthography. The hymnal lyrics are phonetically transcribed in the Roman alphabet. The Red Book's third page provides a key to reading the hymnbook's orthography and Kiowa phonology. The rest of the hymnbook contains 70 Kiowa Christian hymns that contain Kiowa and English lyrics. Delores Harragarra, daughter of Lewis Toyebo, expressed to me that SIL did not make the Red Book for the benefit of the Kiowa People, but rather for the missionaries to learn Kiowa music and language. As described in the hymnbook introduction: "this collection of Kiowa Christian Songs is being published because it is our desire to preserve for the Kiowa people the songs in which they have expressed their own spiritual experience of faith in God and His Son Jesus Christ." Missionization is thus disguised as "preservation." Further investigation is needed to understand how SIL used the hymnbook and what collaborations occurred after publication of the Red Book. Since its publication, the Red Book was distributed amongst Kiowas themselves for their own use of singing and learning Kiowa Christian hymns (as we will later see in subsequent chapters). While the Red Book later became an important tool for preserving the tradition of Kiowa Christian hymns, it simultaneously excluded over 130 Kiowa Christian hymns. Given the current decline of knowledge and practice of Kiowa

⁹⁷ Lewis Toyebo's name was commonly pronounced as "Louis Toyebo" among the Kiowa Tribe. Most historic transcriptions list his name as such. Delores Harragarra, daughter of Lewis Toyebo, informed me that the correct spelling of his name is "Lewis."

Christian hymns today, Kiowa Elders are concerned about losing additional Kiowa Christian hymns that were not documented in the Red Book.

Kiowa churches began to experience a drastic decline in church membership after World War II. The U.S. government passed the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, which drew Natives from their reservations and communities into urban areas. This act enticed Native rural-to-urban migration under the guise of vocational opportunities, but was another way for the U.S. federal government to dissolve tribal ties and identity to take Native lands and discontinue federal treaty obligations (which still have yet to be honored). Most Kiowas moved from the southwestern part of Oklahoma to major metropolitan areas such as Oklahoma City, Dallas, Tulsa, and Wichita. The rural-to-urban migration marked the beginning of the waning of Kiowa Christian hymn practice. Ellis (2002) describes that during this time, “membership in the Oklahoma Indian Baptist Association, for example, fell from 1,019 to 821 between 1942 and 1953, a 20 percent drop” (65). Migration was not the only contribution towards the decline of Kiowa Christian hymn practice.

Inter-Tribal powwows began growing in popularity after World War II as a result of rural-to-urban migration, attracting Kiowa youth to powwows instead of church. Urban Natives from Southern Plains Tribes brought their own song and dance practices, in which non-Southern Plains urban Natives adopted, that later became to be known as “powwow.” As a result, powwows became an inter-Tribal expression and practice of collective Indigeneity (Ellis 2003; Ellis et al 2005). Powwows were historically more participatory and gradually grew to become more presentational as competitions became more popular through the decades. Powwows also allowed for younger Natives to travel and visit other communities. Ralph Zotigh expressed to me that during this time he, as well as other powwow singers, experienced hostility from his Baptist church near Elk Creek for

participating in powwows, so much so, that the pastor considered powwow to be a sin. As time went on, Kiowa churches began to accept powwow culture and participation from church members. But as younger Kiowas began to travel more for powwows, church membership deteriorated, and numbers remained low (Lassiter et al 2002:64-8). This led to the closure of several churches within Kiowa communities in the former KCA reservation and contributed towards the gradual decline of the practice of Kiowa Christian hymns.

The Jesus Road in the 21st Century

While Kiowa Christian hymns are still performed today at Kiowa churches and Christianity still has a strong hold within Kiowa communities, Kiowa church membership and knowledge of Kiowa Christian hymns continues to wane. Inter-Tribal powwow culture especially remains popular among younger Kiowas. Most Kiowa singers usually know and perform powwow songs, not Kiowa Christian hymns, even though they are in the same musical style. Kiowa Elders have criticized younger Kiowas for their active involvement in powwows instead of in their own Kiowa community. One Elder in July 2018 expressed distaste to me that her grandson would rather sing at a competition powwow outside of Oklahoma than for local Kiowa functions, such as church services: “my grandson has all these ‘powwow relatives,’ Sioux brothers, Apache grandmas, whatever. I tell him that *I’m* his grandma. *I’m* his grandma the Kiowa way and don’t you forget it. Why doesn’t he come back and sing for his Kiowa people?” Singers and dancers who are involved in powwow culture often travel outside of their communities onto regional circuits (Scales 2012). I observe that competition creates more appeal to travel for Native singers and dancers where they can win prize money and travel outside of their community. Most competitive singers and dancers who I spoke with express desire to leave poverty and low-class areas. The

majority of older Kiowas do not participate in powwow. Those who stay within the former KCA Reservation practice Peyote, attend Christian church, both, or neither.

The decreasing practice of Kiowa Christian hymns was evident after the pandemic. On Christmas Day of 2021, I was invited by the Harragarra family to attend the Christmas service at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. When we arrived, we sat towards the middle on the right row of pews. Each family has their “spot” in the sanctuary. Since the first Kiowa Christmas in 1892, each Christmas service had a decorated cedar tree. Right near the front on the right side stood a freshly-cut wide cedar tree decorated with red and white ornaments. The sweet aroma of cedar filled the sanctuary. As the service began, we were welcomed by the pastor and reminded of the rich Kiowa history of the church. It was made clear that Rainy Mountain is important to Kiowa heritage in the Mountain View area. The first song that we sang was the first Kiowa Christian hymn composed by Gotebo. As the lead singer started the song, church members’ voices followed and filled the room. We sang the hymn four times through. After a slight pause, Aye-kee-mah (Julia Noel) (Kiowa) handed out sheets of paper that contained the lyrics to the “Kiowa Christmas Song” composed by Lewis Toyebo. The lyrics were phonetically spelled in Kiowa accompanied with English translations. Aye-kee-mah explained that the song was difficult to sing and so the Kiowa lyrics would help those to sing along and later to learn it on their own. The same lead singer sang the “Kiowa Christmas Song” and was the only one in church who could sing it. He sung it four times through without anyone singing it. After he sung, Aye-kee-mah said in a teasing way, “okay, now y’all learn it!” Most church members laughed, however, I could sense a hint of sadness in the room that only one church member could sing the hymn.

Although there has been a steady decline of membership at Kiowa churches as well as the cessation of composing new hymns, a few Kiowas continue to creatively engage with

Kiowa Christian hymnody. Cheevers Toppah (Kiowa/Diné), a prominent powwow singer, produced a CD in 2010 of harmonized Kiowa Christian hymns. As previously mentioned, Kiowa Christian hymns are sung monophonically. Cheevers harmonized his recordings of Kiowa Christian hymns in the contemporary style of harmonized Native American Church songs, which are also traditionally sung monophonically. Native American Church song harmony does not follow conventional western diatonic harmonies by resolving to tonic. Additionally, Cheevers added a “pick up” to the third and fourth verses, a practice commonly done in powwow singing. A “pick up” is where the drum beat rhythmically modulates into a faster beat, is louder in amplitude, and the singing style is modulated up in pitch around a half-step. Kiowa Christian hymn singing traditionally does not have a “pick up.” Cheevers dubbed himself singing and combined his tracks together. Cheevers recorded the “liveness”⁹⁸ of Kiowa Christian hymns by layering his voice to sound as a congregation singing in a sanctuary. The soundscapes of Kiowa Christian services are usually quiet inside church sanctuaries with slight echo when singing occurs, compared to powwow soundscapes where the sounds of dancers’ bells, audience chatter, microphoned voices of the master of ceremony are commonly heard. Cheevers is unique in harmonizing Kiowa Christian hymns, but he is not the only one to reproduce the sounds of Kiowa Christian hymn singing.

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings produced the CD “Beautiful Beyond: Christian Songs in Native Languages” in 2004, containing various Indigenous Christian hymns. The CD contains a presentational style recording of a Kiowa Christian funeral hymn, sung by Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune, and two participatory style recordings of two Kiowa Christian hymns. One hymn is sung by singers from Rainy Mountain, a Baptist church in Mountain

⁹⁸ See Scales 2017 on recording the “liveness” of powwow music.

View, Oklahoma, and the other from Cedar Creek, a United Methodist Church in Carnegie, Oklahoma. Dorothy grew up Catholic in Anadarko, Oklahoma, thus these three recordings demonstrate three main styles of Kiowa Christian hymn singing (Catholic, Baptist, and Methodist).

Audio technology also aided in community-based efforts for previous language and music reclamation. Kiowa Elders have expressed their concern for the decline of Kiowa Christian hymns for the past three decades. Ralph Kotay, a prominent Kiowa song leader, held Kiowa Christian hymn classes since the early 1990s as a way to strengthen the practice of hymns and as a way to teach the Kiowa language. In 2002, Ralph Kotay collaborated with anthropologist Eric Luke Lassiter and historian Clyde Ellis in *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns* (2002) in recording and analyzing 26 Kiowa Christian hymns. Later that year, he self-produced another CD of the hymns in the Red Book. As the liner notes of the CD explain:

Ralph Kotay, Kiowa elder and singer, who, beginning in the early 1990s began using the [Red] book to teach his weekly Kiowa hymn class—part of this larger effort to maintain both Kiowa language and song. This hymn class eventually inspired the writing of *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns*, which Kotay co-authored with Luke Eric Lassiter and Clyde Ellis (University of Nebraska Press, 2002). *The Jesus Road* included a CD of 26 hymns, some of which were also featured in *Kawy-dawkhyah Dawgyah*. But soon after the publication of *The Jesus Road*, Kotay began thinking about embarking on another CD project that would include the larger hymn collection from the 1962 publication. As the original pamphlet includes no accompanying sound recordings, and only knowledgeable signers like Kotay can pass on the sound and style of each hymn, Kotay felt obliged

to leave future singers with this knowledge. Thus on a sultry July afternoon in 2002, Kotay sat down at his home in Apache, Oklahoma, to record 66 hymns from the original *Kawy-dawkhyah Dawgyah* pamphlet. The following transcriptions and English translations follow the original 1962 publication, but with some minor changes.

Lassiter et al's book epitomizes how academic scholarship and interlocutor collaboration can positively influence the community. Ralph used recording technology as a way to document Kiowa Christian hymns for the purpose of preserving them and passing them on to younger Kiowas. Some of the songs' lyrics were changed, which is not uncommon with Kiowa songs. For example, the Kiowa Christian hymn "This is God's Book" originally had the last line as "éñ:dè dáuk'yà gyà [gút dáu (this is the book of God)" whereas Ralph Kotay sung this last line as "[bé:gyà[dóñ:gyà à kí:[bóñ:[dáu (we should put it in our hearts)." Music and language changes, and Ralph wanted to document those transformations and for the tradition of Kiowa Christian hymn singing to go on.

Resurgence of Kiowa Music and Language

Currently, Kiowa Christian hymns are still performed at church services as well as at wakes and funerals, with the exception of the "Kiowa Birthday Song" which is commonly performed at birthday parties and encampments. There is concern among Kiowa Elders that younger Kiowas are not learning knowledge and practices of Kiowa Christian hymns, and when they do, they are performing certain hymns in the wrong contexts. Most of this critique centers around younger Kiowas singing hymns of joy at funerals, where there are specific hymns used for bereavement. Part of KLCRP's rationale for teaching Kiowa Christian hymns in their curriculum was to correct this practice. Kiowa Christian hymns, as I will

discuss in subsequent chapters, were seen by many Elders as an effective pedagogical tool for teaching the Kiowa language. Outside of KLCRP, other community-based efforts continue to use Kiowa Christian hymns as way to reclaim Kiowa music and language. Ware's Chapel (Methodist) in Anadarko began posting Kiowa and Comanche Christian hymns on Facebook as way to digitally include members within and outside the community to continue worshipping through Kiowa (and Comanche) Christian hymns. Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune also uses Kiowa Christian hymns in her Kiowa Clemente language classes. Dorothy, along with Native American literary scholar Rachel C. Jackson (Cherokee Nation), Sonny Klinekole (Kiowa), Paulette Henderson, Phil Bratta recorded several Kiowa Christian hymns for their web-based project "Khoiye Tdoen Gyah (Kiowa Talk)" as a way to transmit knowledge for younger Kiowas.

As I will cover in the subsequent chapters, Kiowas continue to creatively use technology to reclaim music and language in ways that resonate with Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

Chapter 3

Kiowa Sound Resurgence Pedagogy

On a cool summer morning in June of 2017, a crowd of Kiowa youth, adults, and Elders gather at the Red Buffalo Hall, located within the Kiowa Tribal Complex in Carnegie, Oklahoma. The Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (KLCRP) sponsored their first annual Kiowa Language Fair. While KLCRP primarily targeted this fair toward Kiowa youth, parents and grandparents were allowed to join each session. On the main stage in the hall, Donnie Tofpi (Kiowa), the past Kiowa Tribal chairman, walked up to the microphone to greet everyone in attendance. He began to speak on the importance of this day: “What you learn today, is something you will never forget. And I hope that what you learn today is that you will practice it [the Kiowa language]. You young people, what you learn today, you will have to carry on.” He paused for a slight moment, looking down and then looking again at the crowd of Kiowa youth:

The number one thing we said today is that this is ours. This is *ours* today. And that’s very important, whether we are adults, children, young people, this is *ours*. This is what we’re gonna do today. Regardless of what area that you’re in, take notes, ask questions. That’s how you learn. Even if you make a mistake, that’s alright, we make mistakes too. We’ve said the words wrong. We couldn’t say it right. That’s okay. Learn it. So, I just want to conclude by saying that this day here, like I said at the start, it’s historical. It’s a remembrance time for everyone. It’s a day we’re gonna talk about from here on. Take pictures. And always remember that this is *our way*. That’s what we are doing. À:hô (thank you).⁹⁹

⁹⁹ This means “thank you” and can also signify the end of a speech.

Donnie's speech calls attention to the importance of reclaiming the Kiowa language through Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being. While KLCRP's initial goal was to strengthen Kiowa language use and increase the number of Kiowa speakers, their reclamation approaches broadened to include other aspects of cultural practice that Kiowas themselves determined are important components of what it means to be Kiowa. Given the importance that sonic practices have to Kiowa identity, such as singing and languaging (forms like speech and storytelling), KLCRP implemented various traditional and non-traditional pedagogies to resurge Kiowa *sound*.

Language reclamation is somewhat of a misnomer (Sparling 2021). Indigenous language reclamation efforts, such as the initiatives of KLCRP, often expand beyond language to other aspects in cultural practice, such as songs, ceremonies, seasons and calendars, meteorology, foodways, etc.¹⁰⁰ The reclamation of all cultural components contributes towards the resurgence of Indigenous lifeways. NAIS scholars (Alfred 2015; Bang et al 2014; Chase 2020; Corntassel 2012; Corntassel and Hardbarger 2019; Coulthard 2014; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2013; L. Simpson 2009, 2017; Tuck et al 2014) have described Indigenous resurgence in various contexts, such as defending sacred lands from settler colonial fracking (Corntassel 2012; Coulthard 2014) as well as reclaiming Indigenous feminisms and queer Indigeneity (L.B. Simpson 2017). Additionally, J.B. Perea (2021) and Dylan Robinson (2020) call for scholars to listen to performances of Indigenous resurgence. In this chapter, I ask what does Kiowa resurgence *sound* like? Specifically, how might a pedagogy of Kiowa resurgence reclaim and (re)envision Kiowa sound? I describe how KLCRP approached their reclamation and (re)envisioning of sound through Kiowa resurgent

¹⁰⁰ This is based on my observation and experience of working with a plethora of Indigenous language programs at ANA.

pedagogies. This approach is rooted in Kiowa logics, knowledge systems, and ways of knowing, doing, and being. KLCRP also coupled Kiowa traditional pedagogical forms with outsider pedagogies that were adapted and molded to serve the needs of the program.

To answer the question of what Kiowa resurgence sounds like, I demonstrate how the sonic modalities of storytelling, singing, and languaging are interconnected, interwoven, and fluid processes, and that acts of reclaiming and (re)envisioning Kiowa sound enacts the resurgence of dynamic forms of Kiowa identity. This chapter centers on the creative pedagogical approaches which KLCRP and Kiowa Elders took towards the resurgence of Kiowa sound. This chapter engages in a close reading of two ethnographic stories that show how KLCRP primarily used Kiowa Christian hymns as a pedagogical approach for Kiowa sound resurgence. I describe KLCRP's resurgent pedagogical approaches before the COVID-19 pandemic, which contextualizes the next chapter that examines how KLCRP altered its approaches and adapted to a virtual environment during the COVID-19 pandemic. A case study of a Kiowa pedagogy of resurgence through sound illuminates and reverberates the ways in which Kiowas (re)envision and (re)new the Kiowa world¹⁰¹ in the current moment and towards the future.

Indigenous Resurgence Pedagogy

Indigenous resurgence in its simplest definition, as described in the introduction, is a pathway towards liberation from the forces of settler colonialism as well as a reclamation, regeneration, and (re)envisioning of current and future Indigenous lifeways. I follow Jessica

¹⁰¹ Jessica Bissett Perea calls for ethnomusicology and sound studies “to reframe colonial questions of containment and measurement” and to “center structures of Indigeneity as dense and intertwined articulations of one’s ways of being, knowing, and doing, and asks us to consider more *relational* and *radical* understandings of why resurgent world-making matters for all entities” (2021:7). See her book for further discussion on the importance of Indigenous world-making.

Bissett Perea's (Dena'ina) (2021) calls to "advance a more Indigenized sound studies and a more sounded Indigenous studies" through "density and audibility" (28), I seek to amplify her work in this dissertation by showing that a key part of Indigenous resurgence is through a *density* (Andersen 2009) of Indigenous pedagogies based in Indigenous knowledge systems. While there are ample Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars that have described and theorized language revitalization, only one scholar has framed their language reclamation work under the theory and praxis of Indigenous resurgence. Hupa scholar Sarah Chase (2020), whose personal and scholarly work is on Hupa language resurgence pedagogy, describes that "there is little academic work that brings together Critical Indigenous Studies, Decolonizing approaches to education, and Indigenous education and language resurgence, most especially in practice-based ways" (37). Many Indigenous scholars and community leaders are doing pedagogical work in resurgence work; they are just not framing their work as resurgence. Chase calls for more scholarly attention on community-based Indigenous language work *as* a form of Indigenous resurgence praxis. Her work¹⁰² shows what an Indigenous language resurgence pedagogy looks like through her autoethnographic dissertation as a Hupa language teacher. Here, I seek to contribute towards this gap in NAIS literature by not only describing how another Tribal community engaged in language resurgence praxis, but also to describe what an Indigenous resurgence pedagogy might *sound* like.

Theorizing the phenomenon of Indigenous cultural reclamation *as* resurgence resonates best with its theory and praxis. Indigenous resurgence is rooted in the dense array of Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being. Sarah Chase describes her resurgent

¹⁰² Check out her story on starting the Hupa language immersion camp: <<https://indianyouth.org/sara-chase-merrick-dreamstarter-gold-profile/>>.

pedagogy, or as she calls “(re)newed pedagogical approaches,” as a pedagogy of “redoing something by reclaiming and asserting the knowledge of their ancestors while acknowledging such knowledge will become different in the process of bringing it back into our current world” (2020:3). Chase’s pedagogical methods are intimately based in Hupa epistemology and ontology, including traditional components such as Hupa singing, storytelling, and languaging, in tandem with western language pedagogies, such as Total Physical Response (TPR) and Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA). Here I want to highlight that the incorporation of non-Hupa pedagogies does not make it any less Hupa. Chase and her colleagues approached TPR and ASLA through Hupa logics and ways of learning and teaching. Sarah and her colleagues determined, as Hupa scholars and teachers, that these approaches were most useful in teaching Hupa language and other forms of cultural practice.

I encourage non-Native scholars to think about how the incorporation of non-traditional and traditional elements reflects Indigenous creativity and brilliance rather than a hinderance or contamination of Indigenous pedagogy. Within this chapter, I also encourage readers to take this same approach in the case study of KLCRP using Kiowa Christian hymns as part of their language resurgence pedagogy. As described in the previous chapter, Kiowa Christian hymns were developed by Kiowas through Kiowa logics and Kiowa musicality. These practices were seen by Kiowas of past and today to be distinctly *Kiowa*. Elders and KLCRP participants found Kiowa Christian hymns to be an additive pedagogical approach for cultural resurgence.

Similar to Chase’s language work, KLCRP adopted several traditional and non-traditional approaches into their language resurgent pedagogy. There are also traditional pedagogical approaches include Kiowa ways of storytelling, music making, languaging, as

well as practices based in Kiowa logics such as the important roles of Elders and community learning, which will be expanded upon throughout this chapter. Kiowa approaches towards sound resurgence were coupled with outside pedagogical approaches that KLCRP determined were beneficial and supportive. For example, KLCRP explicitly stated that their language pedagogy was based on the “How do I say?” approach developed by the Indigenous Language Institute (2013) in Santa Fe, New Mexico. While this was developed by Indigenous scholars, this method is not a traditional form of Kiowa pedagogy. This approach does, however, resonate with Kiowa logics by encouraging individual language learners to exercise their own agency in developing words/phrases to learn with a mentor language speaker. KLCRP wanted to foster language learner agency as well as generate and build communal knowledge, thereby incorporating it in a way that can accomplish both.

Why does the topic of pedagogy in Indigenous sound resurgence matter? Pedagogies of Indigenous sound resurgence serve Indigenous communities in ways that best support and affirm their efforts to reclaim cultural practices. A case study of what an Indigenous resurgence pedagogy sounds like contributes towards interdisciplinary scholarship on Indigenous resurgence more generally, but also within interdisciplinary discourses on the intersection of Indigenous language reclamation and music. Within ethnomusicology, Jessie Vallejo (2019), has examined the symbiotic relationship between music and language revitalization in an Indigenous educational context. Vallejo examines how three community-based Mohawk schools used their musical tradition, *Eskanye*, to teach STEM in tandem with Mohawk cultural practices and values. Mohawk teachers’ pedagogical approaches to *Eskanye* music making synthesized these educational elements in a culturally relevant way for young Mohawk students. Vallejo calls for more ethnomusicological research and

theorization on the intersection of language revitalization and music as well as the role(s) of community-based music in Culturally Based Education.

This dissertation chapter contributes towards emerging scholarship on language reclamation and music by providing a case study of how KLCRP used Kiowa Christian hymns, one of their Tribally based genres, to support language reclamation. Interdisciplinary scholarship has also not examined Indigenous language reclamation (and music reclamation) through the lens of Indigenous resurgence. NAIS scholars describe language reclamation as a key part of Indigenous resurgence (Corntassel and Hardbarger 2019; L.B. Simpson 2017). However, Sarah Chase's (2020) work with Hupa language reclamation is the only example currently of pedagogy of resurgence.

I find the frameworks of Indigenous resurgence to be an effective means for theorizing and describing the praxes of language reclamation and music because they highlight both a pathway for decolonization and a pathway for (re)generation, (re)envision, (re)surgence, and (re)clamation. Indigenous resurgence highlights that community-based efforts to reclaim what has been taken away by settler colonialism is a political action that is based in and guided by Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being. Indigenous resurgence also inherently recognizes the density of resurgence *among* different Indigenous communities as well as density *within* Indigenous communities. A case study of Kiowa resurgent sound pedagogy reveals the intricacies, complexities, benefits, and growing pains of *how to do* Indigenous resurgence through sound.¹⁰³ It is my hope that the implications

¹⁰³ While I focus on how KLCRP took a resurgent pedagogical approach with and through sound, I do not want to erase the other forms of pedagogy that exist in Kiowa resurgence. Some Kiowas reclaimed their foodways by teaching how to butcher a cow and harvest inner organs that were key components to Kiowa diet in the 19th and 20th centuries, some Kiowas discussed Kiowa meteorology and cultural practices to engage with thunderstorms and tornadoes, some Kiowas taught horse culture and how Kiowas maintained relationships with horses throughout the Southern Plains, just to name a few. In this chapter, I focus on sound—primarily reclamation of Kiowa Christian hymns—but with the understanding that Kiowa sound *is* Kiowa culture. For

from this dissertation can benefit other community-based resurgence efforts by providing examples of lessons learned, effective approaches, and inspiration.

Kiowa Christian Hymns at KLCRP Language Fairs

*Following the same ethnographic vignette in the introduction in June 2017.*¹⁰⁴

I walked up the street to the AOA building (Elder's center at the Kiowa Tribal Complex) to prepare for a class on Kiowa Christian hymns. As I entered the AOA building, I looked around the giant room and saw two main aisles of chairs facing the front of the room. A screen and projector stood in the middle aisle with two sound speakers on the left and right sides. I approached the front and to set up a small grey table along with two chairs, and plugged the microphone into the sound system. Cricket Connywerdy (Kiowa/Caddo), a KLCRP teacher candidate and community-based researcher, walked in to meet with me before the class started. She instructed me to record Joe Fish's presentation and assist with his slide show. Soon after, Joe Fish slowly came into the building and walked up to the front to sit next to me. He shook my hand and sat down to review his PowerPoint slides for his presentation. As he kept reviewing, the first group of participants made their way into the

example, Kiowa language teachers taught names of organs in the Kiowa language in tandem of how to butcher and process a cow, Kiowa Elders taught younger Kiowas Storm Chasing songs and phrases to use when confronted by a tornado as well as Kiowa relationality with weather, and Kiowa Elders taught horse names and shared a Riding song to younger Kiowas while recounting stories of how their Elders loved and cherished their horses. Sound is an integral to other forms of cultural practice, and they are mutually interconnected.

¹⁰⁴ The following ethnographic story shows the various ways in which Joe Fish, a well-known respected singer, Elder, and knowledge keeper in the Kiowa Tribe, engaged in Kiowa sound resurgence through Kiowa Christian hymns. As part of the community outreach objective of the project, KLCRP held annual language fairs for tribal citizens. These events targeted Kiowa youth and adults to learn Kiowa language and culture from Kiowa Elders. The fairs covered a variety of topics, such as Kiowa migration history, Kiowa dance societies, Kiowa foodways, Kiowa games, and Kiowa songs. The fairs were held at the Kiowa Tribal Complex in Carnegie, Oklahoma. Before the first language fair occurred, I was invited by Deron Two Hatchet (Kiowa) to two planning meetings where I offered to volunteer for the fair. I was assigned by KLCRP staff to assist Joe Fish with his presentation on Kiowa Christian hymns. My instructions from event organizers were to help with his PowerPoint presentation and to record his public presentation. I later received permission from Joe Fish to use this recording for the dissertation.

aisles of chairs. After everyone took their seat, I pushed start on the audio recorder and Joe Fish grabbed the microphone.

- 1) Joe Fish: Well good morning everybody [Joe Fish notices microphone not working]
Hé:[dáu (wait).

Youth audience member 1: Hé:[dáu (wait).

Joe Fish: Hàu: (yes, that's right) [presses the start buttons on microphone], check check. [microphone works and Joe Fish's voice sounds through the microphone].
Well good morning! (Audience responds: good morning). Welcome to the Kiowa Tribal Language Revitalization Fair. Now what we are going to talk about today is the Christian hymns. How they came to be, and this is what I put together [points to the slideshow].

Joe Fish first accounted the migration story of Kiowas traveling from around the Pacific Northwest area and western Canada into the Plains, where Kiowas formed a longstanding relationship with the Crow Tribe.¹⁰⁵ Through this relationship, Kiowas learned how to live on the Plains and acquired the Sun Dance. Joe Fish briefly discussed the religions among Kiowas in the past:

- 2) Joe Fish: We were Sun Dance people first, then the Native American Church, and then the white man, they taught this (Christianity) to us. They wanted to convert us to

¹⁰⁵ I do not provide the transcription here because it contains sensitive information about the Sun Dance.

their religion. Some of us did. Some of us didn't. Us Kiowas, we knew there was a Creator, Dàumâuihyàumdáuk'í (Creator of all things). We knew this because we went to the Sun Dance Lodge that we got through the Crows.

Joe Fish: Christianity came and they told us about their God. And so what they told was, "well okay, you Kiowas, we need to convert you. Your way, what you're doing is no good." Because back in that time according to the bible and the ten commandments, there were men that had a lot of wives. They told them that "you'll have to take one and let the others go." And so, the men, they felt bad about it, but they wanted to get to God's kingdom, they were told they would have to do those kinds of things. So, they set up churches, at Saddle Mountain, and Rainy Mountain in Elk Creek.

- 3) They had missionaries there. At Rainy Mountain, they had one, her name was Isabel Crawford,¹⁰⁶ and she asked one of our leaders at the time (to convert to Christianity). She baptized him and he accepted. His name was Gotebo. Gotebo. She asked him to make a hymn. He thought about it, but then again, through our Sun Dance religion at that time, and our Native American Church religion, through those, he patterned his hymn (to be like traditional Kiowa songs). That first hymn, it should be common to us. Like now, a lot of our hymn leaders are not with us no more. There are very few of us, just a handful. Some can't quite get around. Some of you know it (the First Kiowa Christian hymn), some of you don't. I'm going to sing it. This is the first

¹⁰⁶ Most Kiowas credit Mariette Reeside for asking Gotebo to compose a Kiowa Christian hymn (Lassiter et al 2002).

Kiowa hymn. [Sings First Kiowa Christian hymn, some youth and Elder audience members sing along].

Hàundé dáu gàu kì[bóñ:sèp (Who/what is that coming to save us?)

Hàundé dáu gàu kì[bóñ:sèp (Who/what is that coming to save us?)

Jesussàu de dáu kì[bóñ:sèp (Jesus came down to save us)

Jesussàu de háundò sèp (Why did Jesus come down to save us?)

[Dé k'yà[gômbàu kì[bóñ:sèp (He came to save us all)

Jesussàu de háundò sèp (Why did Jesus come down to save us?)

[Bègyà:[dóñ:gyà kì[bóñ:sèp (He came to save our mind and soul)

Joe Fish: Those kinds of songs we have with us here today. I know we have a little pamphlet here. The first song is in the little pamphlet here with words. On the second page, they have inspirations. Whatever the case it may be, lifeways, these things, these hymns, maybe they were inspired by the word of God or the Bible, but then again, the hymns, themselves, they had their own interpretations of how they wanted to do things. I know this next song, it's right along next to the translation. Y'all sing it with me, okay?

4) [Sings Kiowa Hymn, some youth and Elder members sing].

Dáuk'í ám èm dáu gáu ám yáñ táñ:àu:mè: dò (God it is you and for that you helped me)

Nàu à óñ:táñ:dáu dò (And for that I am joyful)

Dáuk'í ám èm dáu gáu ám yáñ táñ:àu:mè: dò (God it is you and for that you helped me)

Nàu à óñ:táñ:dáu dò (And for that I am joyful)

Nàu à óñ:táñ:dáu dò (And for that I am joyful)

Nàu à óñ:táñ:dáu dò (And for that I am joyful)

Dáuk'í ám èm dáu gáu ám yáñ táñ:àu:mè: dò (God it is you and for that you helped me)

Nàu à óñ:táñ:dáu dò (And for that I am joyful)

That second song that we have. It says “God is with you.” If you look at the translations at the right side, try to read right along with that. And through these

hymns, your Kiowa language, from what I was told, and I believe, through that, you pick up your Kiowa. So, I just wanna say, pay attention to your Elders, they set a good example for you in whatever they do. They do things for a purpose.

Let's go to the third song. "I am Grateful for What God has Done for Me." This song here, I believe, was composed by my dad, Percy Anquoe. Of course, the translations are on the right side. So here we go. [Sings song, a few more youth and Elder sing].

Dáuk'í óñ:dé é áu:mé gàu yáñ [bé:gyàkàu:mè dò (Because to me he showed his spirit)

Án à óñ:táñ:mà (I am joyful)

Bé:tàu háun yáñ hái:gâuhèl dò (unknowingly, I did not know [recounting story])¹⁰⁷

Nàu dè áu:gyàkàunmàu nàu (and that is why I linger, and)

Má:óñ:dé dáuk'í é áu:mé gàu (I am grateful for what God did for me, and)

Yáñ [bé:gyàkàu:mè nàu (to me he showed his spirit, and)

Yáñ [bé:gyàsàuigyà dò (for that his spirit was received by me)

¹⁰⁷ The Kiowa language has a verb conjugation for when an individual is telling a story or recounting what they heard from someone else.

Án à óñ:táñ:mà (I am joyful)

Bé:tàu háun yáñ hái:gâuhèl dò (unknowingly, I did not know [recounting story])

Nàu dè áu:gyàkàunmàu nàu (and that is why I linger, and)

Má:óñ:dé dáuk'í é áu:mé gàu (I am grateful for what God did for me, and)

Yáñ [bé:gyàkàu:mè nàu (to me he showed his spirit, and)

Yáñ [bé:gyàsàuigyà dò (for that his spirit was received by me)

Án à óñ:táñ:mà (I am joyful)

- 5) Now these songs, they are written out here. This is what we call the Modified Parker McKenzie (orthography). This man right here, Parker McKenzie, he ended up to (be) 107 years old. He spent a lifetime on the Kiowa language so that you and myself could be able to pronounce everything the way it is supposed to be pronounced. So, with that, I gave him that respect. At first, I didn't know anything, it's hard for me. I'm not young enough, but this elderly person was talking to us and she was expressing herself in this way. And wait a minute, she's right, this man and the Kiowa language, like Mexican Spanish, like German class, but our own language, but anyway, just something to think about. This is one of my favorite songs: "In the

Future, the Son of God Rules his Judgement.” [Sings hymn, youth and Elder audience members sing]

It’s a beautiful song. Like the song I just sung here, you listen, then again, that’s how I learned. All of you who are here with us today, we share with you about our program. The main thing that we are going to do is use this Modified Parker McKenzie. My mother always said, write it the way it sounds to you. And I did.

6) Joe Fish: But any of you got any questions? Háundé (what)?

Youth audience member 2: Those three songs you sang, in Anadarko, I hear those songs at Church.

Joe Fish: You do? Do you sing along?

Youth audience member 2: I just know the sound of them.

Joe Fish: Oh okay. You know the sound of the tune. That’s good, you’re paying attention.

Aye-kee-mah: Can you explain to them about the different type songs that are sung at different events?

Joe Fish: What was told to me, was, we're the ones that... we all sing them in harmony, we were making different ones for different things. For instance, that birthday song, how many of you heard that birthday song? Well, what I was told, he was my big brother, Cornelius Spotted Horse, he said, "[bábí (male's brother), this song we just used to sing it. We then sang it in birthdays. And it picked up meanings, and then we as a Kiowas just tagged it. No one else sings it for anything but birthdays." And then we started singing hymns in Christmas time, Easter time, different seasons for the year, they would make different songs and compose for those events. Well, kinda like different denominations have different ways of singing these hymns. Some sing at a slower pace, some sing at a medium pace. Me, myself, I like to sing them up-beat. So, whenever I go to different churches, I have to remember to slow it down, but for me, I like that spiritual singing. For me, those experiences, like okay, you go to funerals, they had back in the day, the Kiowa Cedar Program. They got all these older hymn leaders and went to Rainy Mountain and had hymn singing out there. They videotaped it and my sègí (male's uncle), John Challacy, he said, the older ones were the way that they were. We got a lot of funeral songs. He said that is good too, but you want to uplift these people, uplift them. It's based on that, but everyone has interpretations. What I'm saying is how I learned this and if you're around Kiowas, Kiowas got music for everything. I wanna say they got music for everything. For whatever occasion, they got something for that.

- 7) And right now, as far as composers in our Tribe, I'm gonna say there's two in Native American Church, (Kiowa Christian) hymn singing, Tònkóñgàut (Black Legs Society), [Dáíñ]bègáu (Kiowa Gourd Clan). Well, I got one brother, he carries on to

the best of his ability. This music and talking Kiowa, it means that it's going to go on. You guys, you're carrying our language on. Back then, the t'áu káui (white people), they took it away from us. Told us not to speak it, and my grandpa and grandma raised me. Poor things, they had a hard time. They would talk Kiowa, but in school they would stop. When I had to learn, they didn't want me to understand it. They tried their best to talk English to me. It wasn't until now (that) I know what they were doing. But I missed out. The reason why I don't speak is because I don't want to mess up.

Not only in our hymn singing, but our Native American Church. We talk about different things even in that church. I'm fortunate enough, to see, witness, and practice that. I see those old men in there. They would be singing different times throughout the service, and that's how I learned. Plus, I prayed about it. God, give me the knowledge to learn these songs, this music. This is a gift that I've always had, singing, for our people. The joy for me is when people are enjoying themselves. I'm singing and looking around. When I see you enjoying yourself, that gives me happiness. That's what I like to see.

- 8) Aye-kee-mah: I try to talk to our kids at Rainy Mountain. Kiowa hymns, the men folk carry it on, but the women also sing. Maybe could you explain how other Tribes might not be like that?

Joe Fish: So she's asking the female role of carrying our traditions. Back in the day, the men composed everything, but there were a few women who had that gift. Back

in the day, the little encampment. The old men did that, but not only that, they made clothes, more or less sit there in the tipi, smoke, tell stories, then we went on a war path. So, with that, as far as hymn leaders among the Kiowas, there very, very few. But then again, there's women folk who are stepping up. I want to say that they know their place. But again, in our traditions, the things we do as Kiowas. I wanna say I got questions, and I look around, I can't find anybody that would know. There are plenty of women. It's kinda more or less, I'm old school. It takes something for me to go to a woman and ask her opinion, but I also respect her opinion. Whatever in the Kiowa Tribe, girls, the traditions and all that we do. There's going to be a time, God, gave you the gift of bearing children. You're gonna be mommas, grandmas, big sisters (great grandmothers).¹⁰⁸ And the boys, respect them the utmost. They're going to take care of you. Some men, he was the only son, he had sisters and they took care of him. My grandson, he's the only son, I tell my granddaughters to take care of him. Don't wear dirty clothes, you take care of him. I tell him don't take advantage of that.

It's hard for me to accept the... I have to realize my grandkids, little sisters, I myself, go along with them and more or less be with them. So, I seen it at other Tribes. I don't want to name Tribes. They more or less take care of house. They take care of everything. Based on that, I guess if you ask the men anything, they say you need to talk to my wife. I go over there, uneasy, but that's how these different Tribes do it. I'm Kiowa, that's how it is, that's how it was, I know it's going to change, it's not

¹⁰⁸ In the Kiowa language, the word for great grandmother translates to "big sister." Most Kiowas say "big sister" instead of "great grandmother."

going to be that way. That's the role I see with women, our traditions, our hymn singing.

Kiowa Storytelling as Pedagogy

I intentionally do not interject commentary into Joe Fish's story and presentation out of respect, for I would feel like I would be interrupting him even though this is a transcript. For this reason, I divide his story, and subsequent stories, into numerical sections to provide post-commentary analyses. Here I highlight Joe Fish's pedagogical approaches in his presentation.

Kiowa storytelling, like many other Indigenous practices, *is* a pedagogical modality, theory, and praxis (Archibald 2008; Simpson 2017). Gus Palmer (Kiowa) explains that Kiowa stories both embody and teach tribal history (2003:107). Joe Fish's story briefly provides a historical account of Kiowa migration in relation to Kiowa religious history. He first starts his story by recounting Kiowa adoption of the Medicine Lodge Ceremony in the Black Hills in present-day South Dakota from the Crow People, then mentions the adoption of Peyotism in the Southern Plains, and lastly explains how Christianity came to the Kiowas during the reservation era (second section). Joe Fish then recounts the development of Kiowa Christian hymns through Baptist missionization (third section). He mentions that Gotebo patterned his hymns to be like other Kiowa religious songs at the time. After telling the story of Gotebo, Joe Fish renders the "First Kiowa hymn," which audience members participate in. A story can invoke a song (Lassiter et al 2002). In my experience of learning Kiowa songs, the person who is relaying knowledge will begin with a story explaining who, what, when, and how a song came to be (recall Ralph Zotigh's story in Chapter One). In this case, Joe Fish explains the events (and places) that led to Kiowa adoption of Christianity, which

ultimately led to the development of Kiowa Christian hymns. The invoking of a song and its story, as well as invoking a story and its song, keeps history alive in cultural memory. It is not only history that is kept alive, but also connection with people.

Kiowa storytelling helps Kiowas relive and maintain connection with ancestors (Palmer 2003:57). Joe Fish's story retells of Kiowas long ago who traversed in "the North"¹⁰⁹ and migrated throughout the Great Plains. Not only does Joe Fish elicit the memory of ancestors in the distant past, but he also connects with relatives and friends whom he spent time with and learned from in the recent past. Joe Fish mentions Parker McKenzie and the writing system he developed (section five), as well as composers of Kiowa Christian hymns such as his uncle John Challacy (section six) and his dad Percy Anquoe (section four) within his presentation to relay knowledge about Kiowa language and Kiowa Christian hymn practices. When I learned Kiowa songs, Kiowas always acknowledged who they received knowledge from, including who composed a song as well as how and why they composed it. I interpret this practice not only as a form of citation, but also as an extension—a connection of sorts—to an individual who one is invoking through story. Stories help (re)connect with and/or invoke the memory of individuals, including those who have passed and those who are still here. Kiowa stories are not only about other individuals, they are also about the storyteller themselves.

Auto-storytelling is an important pedagogical aspect in Kiowa storytelling. Kiowas will often tell stories about themselves as a suggestive way to guide the listener on what is the best way to do something, to teach a moral, or to make meaning of the point or purpose of the story. In this context, Joe Fish's personal story describing how he was immersed in the

¹⁰⁹ Kiowas refer to the North as areas in the Northern Plains where Kiowas traveled and followed migration patterns of buffalo, which were key to sustenance and lifestyle on the Plains.

Kiowa language but never became fluent serves as a vehicle to teach about Kiowa language decline (seventh section). He mentions that his parents, who were fluent Kiowa speakers, did not teach it to him because of their traumatic experiences at Indian Boarding Schools. Joe Fish suggests that although his parents spoke to him in English, he could understand and speak Kiowa to some degree but was deterred from fully learning Kiowa.¹¹⁰ As a result, he now does not speak Kiowa because he “doesn’t want to mess it up.” Joe Fish is not direct on what is the moral or take-away of the story. Rather, this storytelling ambiguity allows for listeners to make meaning and engage with the story in their own way—through their own storywork (Archibald 2008).

By encouraging the listener’s own storywork, Kiowa storytelling pedagogy privileges and upholds listener agency. This allows them to make meaning and take away their own interpretations. Palmer even encountered this in his storytelling ethnography: “since I began work with the Kiowas I have noticed that many storytellers will open up a story and leave some parts of it unclear or unfinished so that the listener can provide some of the answers or comments or conclusions on his or her own” (2003:27). Listeners exercise their own agency of how they want to relate to the story, whether to understand how Kiowas learned language and music, to use this knowledge of how to learn language and music themselves, reflect of how they learn music and language, and/or what implications language decline might mean for being Kiowa. This openness and flexibility in Kiowa storytelling allows room for agency of the listener.

¹¹⁰ Delores Harra garra mentioned to me that her father, Lewis Toyebo, accounted that during this time there were a generation of Kiowas who translanguaged in Kiowa and English, but were not good at speaking Kiowa nor English. This generation of Kiowas were in the middle of intense language shift from Kiowa to English.

Kiowa Musical Pedagogy

Kiowa musical pedagogy privileges learning through observation and acts of doing. Kiowa singers can suggest how to learn songs, but ultimately the act of engaging in music making encourages learners to exercise their own agency. Kiowas engage in participatory (Turino 2008) Kiowa Christian hymn singing in Kiowa church services. Joe Fish's pedagogical approach to (re)producing this practice in a classroom setting resonates with how many older Kiowas learned Kiowa Christian hymns—through consistent exposure, repetitive listening, and the doing of participatory music making at church services. Joe Fish led these hymns in the class, allowing for participants to be immersed in traditional Kiowa Christian hymn music-making experience, whether they were familiar with it or not. Joe Fish does not go into depth about the lyrics but rather mentions that the lyrics are on the handouts and that Kiowa hymns can be a supportive tool for learning the Kiowa language. He does not describe *how* language learning can be done, but rather suggests that it can help. This is another approach of promoting listener agency and fostering self-study of Kiowa music and language.¹¹¹

Joe Fish's pedagogical approach also taught other forms of Kiowa cultural practice, such as Kiowa gender roles. Joe Fish, as a Kiowa man, performed the male role by starting hymns. Other women in the audience then joined in the hymns after the "lead," which is

¹¹¹ When I stayed with the Harragarra's in Carnegie during my extended summer visits in Oklahoma, Delores would often say "the groceries need to be brought in" or "I'm back from the store." She would not directly tell me what to do. I offered to help every time to bring them in, but it did not occur to me that this was the Kiowa way until Delores' granddaughter mentioned that the difference between older Kiowas and younger Kiowas is that Elders will not tell you what to do. "Grandma wouldn't say 'bring in the groceries,' she said, "it would rather be something like 'the groceries need to be refrigerated.'" Delores even told me numerous times that she never said "no" to her children and that was the way she grew up, to allow for children to learn on their own and in their own way.

commonly done in Kiowa church services. This immerses younger Kiowas in Kiowa Christian hymn singing by enacting it as it would be done in a church service.

This presentation also allowed for community discourse on Kiowa gender roles. Aye-kee-mah asked Joe Fish about how Kiowa gender roles compare to other Tribes. He briefly talks about his perspective on Kiowa women gender roles. Kiowa society is patriarchal, whereas many other Native Tribes are matriarchal. In other KLCRP classes, Elders often spoke of the reciprocal duality between men and women. I was taught that Kiowa women are in charge of taking care of things in the physical realm (family, children, food, clothing, etc.) where men are in charge of taking care of things in the spiritual realm (ceremony, song, dance). This duality also manifests in Kiowa musical practices. At the current moment, most if not all Kiowa songs are led¹¹² by men. This is the same case with Kiowa Christian hymns, which Aye-kee-mah was trying to address. Anthropologist Eric Luke Lassiter (2002) observes that women sometimes start Kiowa Christian hymns. In an interview with Aye-kee-mah (2023), she mentioned to me that her Elders told her that while men are supposed to lead Kiowa Christian hymns, Elder women can start them too because of their status as an Elder.

Aye-kee-mah's question addresses the density of gendered cultural practices. This is important for Kiowa youth because they are consistently exposed to inter-Tribal (Ellis et al 2005; Zotigh 1998) culture, which some Kiowa Elders see as threatening to homogenizing Native Peoples and erase Kiowa-specific practices. Most Kiowa youth also belong to more than one Tribe. This explicit differentiation separates gendered cultural practices among Kiowas from other Tribes.

¹¹² I intentionally say "led" because Kiowa Christian hymns, like other Kiowa songs, are started by men. Women usually sing an octave higher around halfway through the verse of the song.

Incorporating Orthography in Kiowa Pedagogy

While KLCRP implemented traditional forms of Kiowa pedagogy, such as observation, acts of doing, and encouraging learner agency, KLCRP also included non-traditional pedagogical approaches—primarily the inclusion of orthography. Younger Kiowas learned language through writing in the Oklahoma public school systems, which may be a reason why orthographic practices were incorporated into KLCRP's language learning pedagogy. Kiowa youth are primarily exposed to and learn through western pedagogies in public school settings. Another reason is that orthography helped with memorization. Several teacher candidates explicitly expressed this sentiment to me.¹¹³ Most KLCRP youth and adult participants embraced KLCRP's inclusion of orthography, while most Elders did not accept orthography because many learned Kiowa aurally and state that the Kiowa language traditionally was never written down.

Earlier ethnographers, such as ethnologist James Mooney (1898) and linguist John P. Harrington (1928), first wrote the Kiowa language in the late 19th century. Harrington's main informant, Parker McKenzie (Kiowa),¹¹⁴ studied under him and assisted his scholarship by translating Kiowa. Through this experience, Parker McKenzie, as a fluent L1 speaker, developed his own orthography for Kiowa.¹¹⁵ McKenzie chose to use the Roman alphabet instead of creating new characters like the Cherokee Syllabary, because he had a typewriter

¹¹³ Orthography helped me learn the prosodic elements of Kiowa.

¹¹⁴ Parker McKenzie is well remembered among Kiowas for his interest in the language. Some Kiowas criticize him for being a descendant of Mexican captives who were later adopted into the Tribe, however, most Kiowas celebrate him for his lifelong dedication towards Kiowa language work. See McKenzie and Meadows (DATE) for more on information on his life.

¹¹⁵ Parker McKenzie was not the only one to make an orthographic system. Alecia Keahbone Gonzales (Kiowa) also made her own orthography in the Roman alphabet that did not contain diacritic markers. Her orthography was more phonetic based with the assumption that readers' first language was English. Alecia Gonzales felt that her spelling would best help second language learners accurately pronounce Kiowa. As described in the previous chapter, SIL took a similar approach to their orthography by phonetically writing down Kiowa.

(see Figure 5). He decided to change phonemes that were specific to the Kiowa language into different letters of the English alphabet¹¹⁶ (Meadows and McKenzie 2001). For example, McKenzie denoted the /k/g/ sound with the letter “c.” Parker McKenzie later added special diacritic markers to his orthography to signify pitch, nasalization, and elongation, which are important prosodic elements in the Kiowa language.

Kiowas today debate over orthographic practices. Some Kiowa L1 speakers, all of whom are currently Elders, in KLCRP refuse to learn any form of orthography. Delores Harragarra told me numerous times that she is an “illiterate Kiowa” and that she will never learn any Kiowa writing system because her ancestors never read nor wrote Kiowa. Some Kiowa Elders accept orthography and use it for their own teaching purposes. One Kiowa Elder prefers to use the Alecia Keahbone Gonzales, a speech-language pathologist, method in her undergraduate classes. This Elder felt that this method would help younger Kiowas correctly pronounce Kiowa with the least difficulty. Another Kiowa Elder prefers the Parker McKenzie orthography because when she taught Kiowa language classes to undergraduate students at the University of Oklahoma, she found it helped most of her students learn how to correctly pronounce prosodic elements, such as tone, inflection, and stress, of the Kiowa language. Younger Kiowas in KLCRP mostly learn the Modified Parker McKenzie system since KLCRP used that as the standard writing system, yet a few Kiowa young adults still prefer other systems. As one Kiowa young man expressed on Facebook, “are you a hàu: or a hawwww type of Kiowa?” Some Kiowas online and in person expressed to me that they felt the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography was too hái:yái: (pretentious) while others

¹¹⁶ For example, the d/th sound in Kiowa is represented as “f” because there is no “f” sound in the Kiowa language. The same is with the g/k sound in Kiowa represented as “c” because there is no “c” sound in the Kiowa language.

found it too difficult to learn. One Kiowa man even told me that he thought that the Modified Parker McKenzie system “looked like Korean” and was unintelligible. I prefer the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography because it shows prosodic elements that are important in correctly pronouncing Kiowa (think about my story of trying to say “it is wonderful to meet you” in the Introduction). Of the Kiowas whom I spoke to outside of KLCRP, most use either SIL orthography or their own writing system because they are more phonetic and are more helpful to remember words and phrases. While there are debates over orthography, there seems to be a consensus. Younger and older Kiowas both desire to preserve the Kiowa language as much as possible. The question is *how* to do this. While the Kiowa Tribe has declared a crisis to reclaim the Kiowa language, this does not mean that Kiowas are salvaging their language, like older ethnologists and linguists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This means that Kiowas themselves are engaging in their own language work, documenting, researching, and actively (re)learning the Kiowa language in ways that resonate best for them. Orthographic practices in language reclamation can be beneficial, but more so for younger Kiowas, many of whom tend to have limited immersive experience regarding language. Older Kiowas who were immersed in the Kiowa language often do not find orthography to be useful because they often *heard* Kiowa and were surrounded by Kiowa speakers, both current and past. Despite the density of orthographic ideologies, KLCRP only encouraged its use and did not impose it on participants.

One prominent way that KLCRP incorporated orthography into their pedagogy through Kiowa logic was community collaboration. KLCRP conducted a survey among Elders and language speakers a year before the start of the project when they wanted to modify the Parker McKenzie writing system. They compiled the results and modified the orthography by replacing certain Kiowa phonemic symbols. For example, KLCRP replaced

the d/th sound marked as an “f” in the former Parker McKenzie orthography with “[d.” Collaborative engagement and community consensus is a commonality not just in Kiowa communities, but generally among Indigenous groups and constitutes a core part of resurgence movements. Leanna Simpson (2017) writes within the context of her Tribe in Chi’Niibisg (Lake Ontario): “We cannot just think, write or imagine our way to a decolonized future. Answers to how to rebuild and how to resurge are therefore derived from a web of consensual relationships that is infused with the movement through lived experience and embodiment” (Simpson 2017:162). To claim authority is seen as braggadocious and highly discouraged within Kiowa society. As it was expressed to me by several Kiowa Elders, those who truly possess knowledge often do not go around claiming they know that knowledge, while those who claim and brag knowledge authority often do not truly possess that knowledge. To maintain humbleness and cohesion with other Kiowas, KLCRP collaborated with and gained informed consent from members of the Kiowa Tribe to change the Parker McKenzie Orthography.

KLCRP also embraced orthographic heterodoxy as part of their pedagogical approach. Linguistic anthropologists Amber Neely and Gus Palmer Jr. (Kiowa) (2009) described orthographic heterodoxy among the Kiowa community before KLCRP started in 2016. They list four main Kiowa writing systems: Parker McKenzie; Alecia Keahbone Gonzales; SIL; and idiosyncratic forms of orthography. Neely and Palmer argue that Kiowas should write the Kiowa language in ways that best serve their needs. This is the same approach that Joe Fish ultimately took in his presentation as well as KLCRP as a program.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ This resonates with linguistic anthropologist Paja Faudree’s ethnography (2017) of Day of the dead competitions in the Oaxaca Valley in Mexico. She argues that the reason why this competition had wide community appeal was because it embraced orthographic heterodoxy.

KLCRP project staff produced language learning resources that included blank lines for individuals to write in their orthography of choice. KLCRP made the choice that they did not want to standardized the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography. Their approach was to promote whatever best supports language learning. These sentiments were expressed in Joe Fish's presentation, where he briefly discussed his views on the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography (fifth section). He expressed that while he dislikes the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography, he accepts that Kiowa, like any other language, can be written. After singing another Kiowa hymn, he mentioned that he did not learn the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography but rather used his own idiosyncratic style.

The combination of more traditional forms of Kiowa pedagogy with non-traditional forms of pedagogy reflects dynamic acts of teaching and learning in the context of Kiowa sound resurgence. While orthography is privileged in western pedagogies, KLCRP's incorporation of writing was done through Kiowa logics—namely community collaboration and consensus. Joe Fish's pedagogical approach slightly differs from other teachers' approaches in KLCRP, as we will see in the next section.

KLCRP Outreach Classes

KLCRP conducted outreach classes through community learning, another core pedagogical approach rooted within Kiowa ways of knowing and doing. Within Kiowa epistemology, the act of sharing knowledge is not only part of Kiowa ethics, it is also a praxis. Communal learning also functions to foster language and cultural interest among Kiowas. While most attendees were Kiowa adults and Elders, outreach events were open for any tribal citizen of any age to participate. KLCRP held outreaches at various locations in each of the five localities, either in Tribal office buildings, public school classrooms, or

church spaces. Outreaches were also conducted in the evening times to allow for more participation from Kiowas who worked or went to school during the daytime.

The theme of each outreach varied. KLCRP program staff determined topics based on a community survey in 2016 that outlined the ten most important things Kiowas need to know: sounds of the Kiowa language; words associated with Kiowa everyday life; foodways, numbers, time, and money; traditional stories; natural world; animals; kinship; body and clothing; song, dance, and societies. Each of these topics combined language with other cultural practices. For example, an outreach class on Kiowa meteorology (natural world) included the Kiowa story of how the tornado came to be, how to speak to a tornado to get it to go away, as well as songs to chase away bad weather.

While teacher candidates often led outreach events, KLCRP upheld the important roles of Elders as part of the outreach curriculum, especially in teaching language and culture. Elders are seen as scholars and knowledge keepers within the Kiowa Tribe. Elder mentorship and teaching was another core component to KLCRP's pedagogical approach in a way that resonated with Tribal values. Elders were often given the time and space in each outreach event where they shared stories and songs, provided their perspective, and taught language. Each of the five KLCRP cohorts had at least one or two Elder mentors who oversaw teacher candidates who organized and implemented the outreach events. The combination of teacher candidates and Elders leading the outreach events effectively contributed towards community learning. This approach draws from the knowledge of Elders, adults, and youth of the community so that all can benefit and learn together. Kiowa community learning was collaborative and dynamic. While there were learning agendas, the structure of community outreaches sometimes changed, either by allowing more time for Elders to share their knowledge or for youth to ask more questions or to engage all

participants in community activities, such as participatory singing, like one outreach class on Kiowa Christian hymn singing.

Community Learning through Kiowa Christian Hymn Singing

On May 31, 2018, I sat with Scott Langston¹¹⁸ in front of Delores Harragarra and her daughter, Carolyn, at the Kiowa AOA building for the KLCRP's event on Kiowa Christian hymns. These particular songs are expressions of joy and are sung at Kiowa churches of all denominations. At the AOA building, there were a few rows of gray chairs facing the front of the room, looking directly at a giant bison head that sits on top of the fireplace. Joe Fish and Freddie Cozad sat on their wheelchairs and Aye-kee-mah (Julia Noel) sat on a chair towards the front. All three of them were facing the crowd. Many attendees were Kiowa Tribal members, most whom I recognized. The majority were mainly middle-aged along with a few Elders. KLCRP staff handed out a packet of paper of Kiowa hymn texts containing the Kiowa words in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography and their translations in English (see Figure 6).

Joe Fish took the microphone sitting on one of the white tables and began the class by talking about the history of Kiowa hymns, mentioning that they were first composed by Gotebo. Joe Fish then spoke through the microphone and directed his attention towards Freddie Cozad:¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Scott Langston is a friend of the Harragarra family. He is a religion instructor and leader of Native American programs at Texas Christian University. He is non-Native like myself, and is often invited by Delores to attend KLCRP and Kiowa tribal gatherings.

¹¹⁹ You can watch the video of the class here. Start from 0:00 until 7:59. <
<https://www.facebook.com/thekiowatribe/videos/1995050307203534>>.

1) Joe Fish: My son here, Freddie, he's very knowledgeable, he's a good teacher.

His grandpa, he was taught very well. He was in the war, what he was doing, he was singing our songs, our hymns. So I'll turn over the microphone to Freddie so that he can explain how he got to learning all of this. (inaudible). So... [passes the microphone to Freddie].

2) Freddie Cozad: Uhh, I started learning these songs when I was probably about 11 or 12 years old. Grandma started to teach me. Later when I grew older, my uncle started teaching me as well. Uhh, I'm very proud and thankful that he taught me these songs. There's not a lot of the song leaders left and I take a lot of pride in singing these songs. The right way of singing them. And, I'm thankful for this program for allowing us to come and sing just a few of these songs. There were many, many songs that were composed by our Elders and these are just a few of these songs that we selected that are kinda less common; that we hardly sing anymore. I don't like talking so I'm gonna shut up. [Freddie and Aye-kee-mah laugh]. Thank y'all for coming. [Freddie puts down the microphone].

[Chatter happens] [Freddie and Joe look at the sheet passed around].

Joe Fish: So If you look at your handouts there, go to page one. [Freddie and Joe look at the sheet] [the audience starts to open their packets].

[Aye-kee-mah quietly practices the first hymn]

Freddie: Are we ready?

Someone in the audience: Track one?

Aye-kee-mah: Track one.

Joe: Okaaaay here we go.

3) [Freddie leads the first song, the rest of audience joins in song]

Dáuk'í gyà dáu:tsái nàu (I prayed to God, and)

Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè (He made my spirit/mind happy)

À óñ:táñ:dàu dò (I am happy)

Dáuk'í gyà dáu:tsái nàu (I prayed to God, and)

Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè (He made my spirit/mind happy)

À óñ:táñ:dàu dò (I am happy)

À óñ:táñ:dàu dò (I am happy)

À óñ:táñ:dàu dò (I am happy)

Dáuk'í gyà dáu:tsái nàu (I prayed to God, and)

Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè (He made my spirit/mind happy)

À óñ:táñ:dàu dò (I am happy)

[Everyone sings four times through]

- 4) Aye-kee-mah: [takes the microphone and speaks] The first part is Dàu:k'í: gyà dáu:tsái nàu, God to him I prayed and. Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè, he made my spirit happy, or my mind. À óñ:táñ:dàu:, I am happy. Dàu:k'í: gyà dáu:tsái nàu, God to him I prayed and. Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè, he made my spirit happy. And then of course À óñ:táñ:dàu:, It repeats and repeats and repeats. Dàu:k'í: gyà dáu:tsái nàu, God to him I prayed and. Éñ [bé:gyàòñ:táñ:àu:mè, he made my spirit happy. À óñ:táñ:dàu: dò, I am happy.

- 5) So, I know that it can be confusing because they're back to back, the way the lines are, but what we talked about in our last session, was, well I have to circle mine like that to make sure I know what goes with what to make sure [shows her packet to the audience], uh, but the lines I wanted to make sure to say that in our Lawton session, the lines are for your own writing. So if it's easier for how it

makes more sense to you phonetically, because everyone kinda has a different way sometimes, then that's what it's for. For your own notes.

Joe Fish is an acknowledged Elder and song leader in the Kiowa Tribe. He speaks for his son,¹²⁰ Freddie Cozad, acknowledging to the audience that he is knowledgeable and can be trusted as a teacher (first section). This act is imperative because in Kiowa cultural practice, speaking for oneself is perceived as boasting. Humbleness is an important virtue in Kiowa society and therefore when an Elder speaks on one's behalf, such as Joe Fish in this case, it signals that one has been given acceptance to teach. Kiowas usually describe a person's lineage when an introduction is being made. This is so that other Kiowas can understand your relationality and positionality¹²¹ within the Tribe. In this case, mentioning Freddie's grandfather is important, because he was a prominent Kiowa composer and singer, thereby signaling that Freddie comes from a strong familial line of singers. Freddie acknowledges that there are few song leaders in the Kiowa community, implying that there is a need for other Kiowa people to take part in sustaining this tradition (second section). Joe Fish translanguages a Kiowa expression that something is about to begin (ãñ:kó) in English when he says, "okaaaay."

Freddie leads the Kiowa hymn as is done in a church service (third section). The rest of the audience then joins in participatory hymn singing. As someone who did not know the hymn at first, I was able to sing the melody in its entirety in the third verse and read along

¹²⁰ Kiowa kinship is different from western kinship. Freddie is not the direct son of Joe Fish in the western way. However, in Kiowa kinship, if you are a boy/man, your father's brothers and male cousins would also be your father, as is in the case of Freddie Cozad and Joe Fish.

¹²¹ Jenny Tone-pah-hote (2019) argues that Kiowa nationhood is determined by Kiowa kinship. Kiowa Elders expressed to me that it is very important to know your relationality within the Kiowa Tribe and to know who your relatives are.

with the pamphlet. The words in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography were helpful. I also have a background in Kiowa singing and was able to quickly sing the hymn halfway in its song cycle. My experience coupled with the lyric handout helped me learn the hymn very easily.

After singing, Aye-kee-mah says the Kiowa words in the song and then follows with the English translations (fourth section). During this time, most audience members were looking at their handouts while Aye-kee-mah was reading the transliterations and translations. Her approach is helpful for language beginners as she not only provides translations, but also offers a pathway for how to learn Kiowa language through hymns. While the translations and grammatical aspects are explicitly translated into English, Aye-kee-mah and Freddie's approach also immerses language learners in *spoken* and *sung* Kiowa. This helps foster their "hearing of Kiowa." For myself, Aye-kee-mah's pronunciations of the lyrics helped me hear how it is supposed to sound while *spoken* and Freddie's singing helped me hear how it was supposed to be *sung*. By learning both singing and spoken Kiowa, participants are able to develop their "auditory fitness" (Kraus and Chandrasekaran 2010), or in other words, exercising different auditory systems, which strengthens their listening of Kiowa sound.

Aye-kee-mah acknowledges that some Kiowa members do not use the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography, yet encourages those who find it helpful to write down words in ways they find to be useful (fifth section). The handout packet contained blank lines to allow for another writing system of the participant's choice. The focus was "write it down how it sounds." The goal was to then encourage personal language and music learning on their own. This was done by KLCRP passing out CDs of Kiowa Christian hymns of joy at the end of the session.

Aye-kee-mah and Freddie's pedagogical approaches are similar to Joe Fish's style of teaching. Both classes engaged in participatory music making as part of teaching Kiowa Christian hymns and the Kiowa language. Learning music through the act of doing is a traditional Kiowa pedagogy that was implemented in these two classes. Additionally, both classes used lyrics in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography to help language learning. Joe Fish and Aye-kee-mah both encouraged orthographic heterodoxy and perpetuated the notion that writing is a supportive tool, not a panacea to language reclamation.

Community Learning

Community learning relies on the collective knowledge of all participants. This includes correction of Kiowa song and speech from Elders. One major advantage that KLCRP has from other Tribes is that they still have fluent first speakers who can assist in language instruction and provide cultural knowledge. Elders in KLCRP were able to correct pronunciation, translations, and cultural protocols when needed. Teacher candidates who are younger Kiowas do not correct those who are older because it is seen as very disrespectful. Within outreach events, KLCRP privileged the voices of Elders and their wisdom. While teacher candidates might have been the ones to organize the outreach events, Elders were seen as the primary teachers as they are seen in Kiowa thought. For this reason, KLCRP encouraged Kiowa Elders to intervene when they saw, heard, or felt¹²² something was incorrect. Such occurrence also happened with the outreach event on Kiowa Christian hymn singing.

¹²² Kiowa Elders would sometimes voice their discomfort if a phrase was said in a way that did not resonate with what they heard their Elders say, if a cultural practice was done incorrectly, or if they did not agree with a sentiment. I mention affect because it is important in Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

*Following the Kiowa Christian hymn outreach in the previous section, Freddie and Joe Fish begin the second song:*¹²³

1) (Freddie leads the second song, the rest of the audience sings along)

Háuñdé gyát tén:ts'ò:àu:mè dè (Someone for you, he made a way)

Dàu:k'yà:i: dáu: gàu gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè (The son of God he is and for you he made a way)

Áugàu háuñdé gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè de (There is someone for you he made a way)

Dàu:k'yà:i: dáu: gàu gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè gàu (The son of God he is and for you he made a way, and)

Óñ:dè gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè dè (Graciously he made a way for you)

À dáu:tsáihí:[dàu: dè (You will be praying to him)

[Everyone sings the song four times through]

¹²³ You can watch the video of this interaction starting from 10:21 until 16:23 <
<https://www.facebook.com/thekiowatribe/videos/1995050307203534>>.

2) Aye-kee-mah: [speaking through the microphone] So the first part, the first thing I want to do is, thank you Aunt Carolyn for pointing that out on that repeat. I put a bracket right where that second part comes back around. It's right there on that áugàu háuñdé gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè, that's where that bracket is. So where it starts that second part repeats. Then you finish all the way through and you starts all over again. So put that bracket or star or whatever you need to know.

3) Delores Harragarra: [talking to Carolyn softly while Julia is talking on the microphone] [unintelligible talking]...ehhh just leave it.

4) Aye-kee-mah: [continuing to talk through the microphone] and you can start all over again. So the first part, háuñdé gyát tén:ts'ò:àu:mè de, someone for us he made a way. Dàu:k'yà:í: dáu: gàu, God's son he is and, gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè, for us he made a way. Áugàu háuñdé gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè de, that's where we start back all over again. Dàu:k'yà:í: dáu: gàu, God's son he is and, gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè, for us he made a way. Áugàu óñ:dè gyát téñ:ts'ò:àu:mè de, he graciously has made a way for us. À dàu:tsáihí:[dàu: de, you will be one praying to him.

[Delores still whispers to Carolyn]

[Aye-kee-mah looks around] Grandma, do y'all want to add anything? Anyone want to add anything? Grandma Juanita? Grandma or...

5) Delores: [speaks loudly] I was wondering if it could be us, or it could be you?

Aye-kee-mah: [speaks away from microphone] Which part?

Delores: All of it.

Aye-kee-mah: [speaks toward microphone] She's saying that on the translations, it says someone for us made a way is the first translation, but grandma is saying it could mean me.

Delores: No, you.

Aye-kee-mah: Oh, *you* instead of us.

Delores: I mean it's fine the way it is, but then on the other hand, you could say *you* also.

6) Aye-kee-mah: I'm not sure if this is in that [Gáuidáuk'yàdàugyà, that little Red Book. Is it?

Freddie: It is.

Aye-kee-mah: So the translations in that book maaay be a little bit different it might be what grandma is saying.

Freddie: These are all in the Red Book.

Aye-kee-mah: But she said this is fine too, but instead of us, it could be *you*.

Delores: Cause you have *you* at the last, the last you will be, yeah. Either way, but then it's possible for whatever way the Spirit moves you, it might be talking to *you* and so you would say *you*.

This example is representative of how Kiowa Elders correct language learners in KLCRP. Growing pains are part of the language reclamation journey and vital to ensuring that Kiowa language is taught correctly. In this case, it was neither Aye-kee-mah nor Freddie who mistranslated the hymn, but rather SIL, who mistranslated a hymn lyric in the Red Book.

After singing the first song (first section), Aye-kee-mah holds up her packet to show where the second verse is repeated.¹²⁴ She continues providing translations of the Kiowa Christian hymn, meanwhile Delores was muttering to Carolyn about the translation given in the packet: “someone for us he made a way/for us he made a way” (third section). I was sitting next to Carolyn and tried not to pay attention to their conversation as I wanted to remain focused on the translations. By this time, Aye-kee-mah was able to hear the talking, but is unable to identify who is whispering, which is probably why she asked if her grandmas Dorothy or Anita (both Kiowa Elder speakers in attendance) would like to speak.

¹²⁴ The form of Kiowa music can best be understood as ABB. A is the “lead” as it is called by powwow singers. This is the section which the lead singer sings by himself (leads are always conducted by men). B is the main body of the song. There is a slight pause in-between AB and B. The second section is repeated. This is the second part that Julia is showing to the audience members at the event. For an audio example of a Kiowa Hymn, see <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHHxmbrq4>>.

This act is also an acknowledgment to the Elders in the room that they are authorial figures on the Kiowa language and is done out of respect and humbleness. Delores speaks up and offers her correction of the translation (fifth section). Aye-kee-mah, rather than dispute the translation, acknowledges that her grandmother (Delores) has a different translation than in the Red Book. Freddie chimes in and re-references where they received the translations. Instead of saying the translation should be corrected, Delores states that the lyrical line is saying “you” instead of “us.” This is a type of kind critique, and done so tactfully in a way that does not discourage Aye-kee-mah nor Freddie from teaching, but also ensures accurate translatability of the Kiowa language.

Community learning could not be done through the Kiowa way without the participation of Elders. Elders are not only seen as scholars and teachers, but also treasured and loved as individuals by the Tribe. While there was often a consensus among Elders in translations or cultural knowledge, sometimes there were disagreements. Community learning does not account for only one way, but rather draws on the density of collective knowledge, in which both Elders and teacher candidates alike acknowledge. The embracing of density and collective knowledge sharing is a pathway towards Kiowa sound resurgence.

Towards Kiowa Sound Resurgence and Sounding Kiowa Resurgence

What does Kiowa resurgence sound like? This chapter provides two ethnographic instances where KLCRP used Kiowa Christian hymns as a pedagogical approach to reclaim sound. The first follows the presentation offered by Joe Fish, as an Elder and song leader in the Kiowa Tribe, that he gave for the first annual KLCRP Language Fair. The second looks at a collaboration of younger Kiowas, Aye-kee-mah and Freddie Cozad, prominent singers of Kiowa Christian hymns and active members of the Rainy Mountain Indian Baptist

Church, and how they used Kiowa Christian hymns to reclaim Kiowa sound. While these two stories approached reclamation differently, they were done so through Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

The act of reclaiming, the bringing back or (re)doing of something that was put to sleep or suppressed from settler colonialism, is key to resurgence. Sonic resurgence does not just focus on language, but rather a collection of sonic modalities and practices, such as storytelling and singing. These practices are all part of Kiowa cultural ecologies in ways that make them interconnected, interwoven, and interrelated to each other. While language reclamation is very important to resurgence, the “language” focus is a bit of a misnomer. Language and acts of languaging are not the only practice that are being reclaimed by Kiowas. Even Wesley Leonard, who coined the term and concept, acknowledges that language reclamation “must be produced in a way that integrates non-linguistic factors” (2017:20). This chapter maps the relationality between storytelling, singing, and languaging. While I focus on these three practices, there are other sonic practices like listening and audibility that NAIS can further examine within contexts of Indigenous sound resurgence.

Another key part to resurgence is the act of (re)envisioning. Cultures and societies inevitably change and the same is true for Indigenous cultures. Indigenous acts of (re)envisioning set forward a vision for how to navigate in current times of settler colonial occupation and towards Indigenous futures. Part of this future is with the next generation. As Chase describes in her work, “with this work we began to (re)envision Na:tinizwe education not just to revitalize culture but to create new possibilities for (re)newed worlds for our youth” (2020:31).

(Re)envisioning is a collective process and is done in ways that resonate most with Kiowa cultural practices. For example, as shown in this chapter, project staff made

determinations with the consultation *and* informed consent¹²⁵ of the community to modify the Parker McKenzie Orthography and how to implement it. Although orthography is not a traditional Kiowa pedagogical practice, the inclusion and development of the practice was done through Kiowa logics by informed consent from and collaboration with the community. (Re)envisioning is not always unified and is messy. Kiowas all do not agree on orthographic practices. KLCRP refused settler colonial monolingual ideologies surrounding orthography and instead embraced orthographic heterodoxy. They wanted to empower language learners by suggesting that orthography can be a supportive tool for language learning, rather than as a necessity to learning Kiowa. I contend that this does not take away from community goals of resurgence, rather, that the density of (re)envisioning opens up possibilities and alternatives for the community.

Framing pedagogy within the frameworks of sound resurgence shows *how* reclamation and (re)envisioning are taught and learned, and the complex processes that are involved. Pedagogy sets forward pathways for resurgence, both for individuals and collectively as a Tribe. Joe Fish and Aye-kee-mah/Freddie Cozad took different approaches to teaching Kiowa song, story, and language, but in ways that were rooted in Kiowa logics. This shows the density of Kiowa resurgent pedagogy and thus reflects Kiowa creativity and brilliance, as we will see how KLCRP adapted sound resurgence during the COVID-19 pandemic in the next chapter.

¹²⁵ In late February 2023, a meme spread throughout Facebook that had the caption “consultation is NOT consent.” This statement refers to the ways in which settler colonial entities engage in Tribal consultation, but do not enact the wants, needs, or desires of a Tribal community. Many Indigenous Peoples criticize Tribal consultations, also called “listening sessions” or “hearing sessions,” because they put a checkmark off the diversity checklist. In other words, Tribal consultations can (and have) acted as performative gestures instead of acting as a driving force for policy making.

Chapter 4

“Adaptation is Traditional”:

Kiowa Sound Resurgence Pedagogy during the COVID-19 Pandemic

On a KLCRP Zoom class in Winter 2021, almost a year since the SARS-CoV-2 virus made its way to the U.S., a group of Kiowa teacher candidates, Elders, and myself discussed the current tumultuous reality of the pandemic. We reflected on how physical distancing affected Kiowas and the Kiowa communities. Most participants expressed their longing to reunite with relatives in-person again. There was also concern about what Tribal shutdowns and physical distancing might mean for the Tribe as a whole, and the effects it might have on Kiowa community functions—specifically ceremonies that are integral to Kiowa world making and what it means to be Kiowa. I could not help but sense the overbearing feelings of anxiety, sadness, and frustration from the conversation. Eventually, we sat in silence, looking at each other on the screen. After a few minutes, one Elder spoke with hopefulness, “we are still able to be together, yet not be together. Our ancestors could never have conceived of such a thing as Zoom. Gyà sáu:mí.”¹²⁶

During the pandemic, many Tribal Nations implemented physical-distancing policies to halt the spread of COVID-19. Internet technology played a pivotal role in adjusting everyday life to the new realities of isolation and quarantine. Indigenous communities creatively engaged with internet technology to adapt their language reclamation projects,

¹²⁶ See the introduction for an in-depth translation for “gyà sáu:mí.”

especially through social media and virtual platforms.¹²⁷ In particular, KLCRP modified their pedagogical approaches to continue Kiowa sound resurgence through virtual spaces.

Building upon the last chapter's focus on Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogy before the pandemic, this chapter describes how KLCRP adapted their approaches on virtual platforms such as Zoom, Facebook, and YouTube. What does Kiowa resurgence *sound* like during the pandemic? How do Kiowas adapt their sonic resurgence pedagogies on virtual platforms? In this chapter, I describe how KLCRP synchronously and asynchronously engaged with virtual platforms and digital technology. Although the pandemic brought a great deal of suffering, loss, stress, and anxiety for the Kiowa People (and throughout the world), I focus on and celebrate Kiowa resilience and creativity during the pandemic. This chapter highlights the benefits (and sometimes disadvantages) of using digital media in Kiowa sound resurgence.

This chapter is more autoethnographic compared to previous chapters.¹²⁸ This is because I gradually became less of an observer and more of a participant during the pandemic. In August 2021, KLCRP invited me to join their teacher credentialing program as a formal teacher candidate instead of as an interested language learner. I rely on my personal experiences to describe the pedagogical processes that I went through to not only learn Kiowa sound, but also on the flipside, towards *supporting*¹²⁹ KLCRP Kiowa sound

¹²⁷ I observed this while working as a program specialist and analyst at ANA. I provided technical assistance for Tribes during this major time of transition towards using digital media and virtual platforms to continue their projects. In all of my impact evaluations with a plethora of community-based projects in Indian Country, every single project relied on digital technology to carry out their objectives.

¹²⁸ I want to emphasize that this approach does not seek to speak *for* Kiowas. I will conduct future work that will interview other teacher candidates about how music and digital technology was effective (and sometimes not so much) during the pandemic.

¹²⁹ When I was on the Pine Ridge Reservation in July 2018, I was sitting with my friend, Diana Courmoyer (Oglala Lakota) at a Ceremony talking about her position as director for National Indian Education Association (NIEA). She gave me one of the best pieces of advice that shifted my approach to working with Indigenous communities. She told me that when she started her position as director of NIEA, she went to different Tribal communities and asked how she could help. When she visited the Navajo Nation, one Elder looked at her and

resurgence efforts. As a teacher candidate, I attended weekly Zoom meetings and learned cultural knowledge directly from Elder Mentors. I also produced deliverables for KLCRP, such as lesson plans, translations, and audiovisual recordings, for any Kiowa teacher candidate to use for their own purposes. The core methodology of learning Kiowa sound and producing resurgent outputs were through a Kiowa version of Participatory Action Research (PAR). This type of community-based research consisted of relying on Kiowa Elder mentors as the knowledge keepers, or scholars if you will, of Kiowa culture. Teacher candidates formulated and asked their own questions, mainly for the purposes of developing language learning resources.

I offer my story and reflections as a way to describe the multifaceted ways Kiowa sound resurgence manifests. I hope that my story contributes towards J.B. Perea's (2021) call for (ethno)musicology and sound studies methodologies and scholarship to be "by, with, and for" Indigenous Peoples.¹³⁰ This radical approach, as J.B. Perea argues, is necessary for music and sound scholarship to not only "do no harm," but also meaningfully support Indigenous communities in ways that they deem are helpful.

My Journey during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Most of my direct contributions to KLCRP occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic when KLCRP classes migrated online in response to physical-distancing orders from the Kiowa Tribe. This allowed for me to participate more than in previous years because KLCRP switched from in-person classes to online classes through Zoom. During the

said, "we don't need *your help*. We don't need you to do things to help our community, but we will gladly accept *your support*." Diana looked at me and said, "don't ask Native People how you can help, always ask how you can *support*. This recognizes their sovereignty and the strength of their People." For non-Indigenous readers, this is a piece of advice I share with you.

¹³⁰ J.B. Perea (2021) cites Atalay (2012) in her discussions of conducting work "by, with, and for" Indigenous Peoples.

pandemic, I was living by myself in Silver Spring, Maryland. I felt very isolated and anxious daily as the pandemic unfolded beginning in March 2020. I put the dissertation on the backburner and started attending KLCRP virtual classes when I was invited by Delores Harragarra. It was not until after completing the teacher credentialing program that I asked KLCRP if I could use my personal experiences as part of my dissertation research.

These weekly Zoom language classes provided a virtual community for me and helped me grapple with physical isolation, as it did for other Kiowa participants. I first joined these weekly classes as an interested language learner and not an official teacher candidate. I attended every Thursday class and was able to achieve a beginner's proficiency level of Kiowa. After one year of participating as an interested language learner, Dorothy White Horse Delaune¹³¹ suggested to the class that I should become a teacher candidate for KLCRP. Several Elders nodded in agreement. I responded that I would be happy to join as a teacher candidate, but only if KLCRP and the Elders gave me permission to do so. I was primarily concerned about the ethics of learning Kiowa as a non-tribal citizen and discussed this in depth with Ralph Zotigh. He said that if KLCRP invited me to participate, he did not see any reason why I should not accept. After much more personal reflection, I concluded that if the Kiowa Tribe wanted me to participate as a teacher candidate, I would do so only if I was given formal permission from KLCRP. A few weeks later, Melody Redbird-Post, one of the language leaders in the Anadarko cohort, told me that the director of KLCRP and Elders discussed and agreed that it would be permissible for me to join as a teacher candidate.

¹³¹ Dorothy is one of the Kiowa Elder mentors in KLCRP and is a Kiowa L1 speaker.

On August 11, 2021, I officially joined fifteen other teacher candidates in the Norman cohort. Our assigned Elder mentor was Delores Harragarra, whom I had gotten to know very well since 2017. The teacher candidates and I went through virtual orientation training where we were told what KLCRP's expectations were as well as our duties and responsibilities as teacher candidates. We signed a contract with the Kiowa Tribe pledging that we would participate in at least 2 hours of Elder mentoring per week, commit to a minimum of 30 minutes of self-study per day, and that we would produce language learning deliverables such as lesson plans, books, and worksheets for KLCRP. The expectation was that teacher candidates would participate and contribute towards quarterly outreach events for the broader Kiowa Tribe and promise to uphold learning the Kiowa language to the best of our ability.

Credentialing Kiowa Language Teachers

One of KLCRP's objectives was to establish and operate a Tribally-owned credentialing board to certify Kiowa language teachers. On March 24, 2014, the governor of Oklahoma signed HB2921 that recognized "Native American languages as a language art" and authorized "the teaching of Native American language classes to count as certain credit" (State of Oklahoma 2014). In previous decades, the state of Oklahoma privileged monolingual educational policies. HB2921 allowed for Native languages to now be considered for "world language credit" in Oklahoma public schools. Chickasaw scholar Kari A.B. Chew and Cherokee scholar Courtney Tennell describe the state of Oklahoma's requirements for Native language teacher certification:

- 1) A Native American Language certificate (certifying proficiency in the language and issued by the Nation)

2) A Native American Language teacher certification (provisional and issued by the state), and

3) An Oklahoma traditional or alternative teaching credential (issued by the state and not required). Indigenous Nations can certify a teacher's proficiency in the language, but this does not equate to teacher certification as recognized by the state (2023:11).

While this was a first step in supporting Native language reclamation in Oklahoma by allowing Tribal Nations to certify teachers to teach their language, "Oklahoma imposes its own requirements for how Indigenous Nations can issue this Native American Language certificate" (Chew and Tennell 2023:11-2). Tribal Nations, such as the Kiowa Tribe, were required to submit their credentialing assessments to the state of Oklahoma for verification and compliance with state law. This is yet another instance in which settler colonial sovereignty is imposed over Indigenous sovereignty.

KLCRP was then able to fully and successfully establish its credentialing board to certify Kiowa language teachers. The credentialing board consisted of the Kiowa Elder mentors in the program: Delores Harragarra, Velma Eisenberger, Martha Nell Poolaw, Dorothy White Horse Delaune, as well as Martha Nell's grandson, Dane Poolaw, who is a Kiowa linguist and teaches Kiowa classes at the University of Oklahoma. The credentialing board created their own language assessments based on four levels (one being beginner and four being fluent). These evaluations also analyzed teacher candidates' language competency based on Kiowa grammar, pronunciation, conversation, and kinship terminology.

In addition to language assessment, each teacher candidate was required to submit a portfolio of ten lesson plans based on each of the ten themes that the Kiowa community thought and felt was most important for younger Kiowas to know. KLCRP provided templates to complete these lesson plans for grades K-12 and college level. Teacher

candidates exercised creative liberty to create their own lesson plans in ways that would best fit their classrooms. Once completed and reviewed by the KLCRP curriculum specialist, teacher candidates uploaded their lesson plans to a Google drive, which made them accessible for any KLCRP teacher candidate to use. After successful completion of developing curricula and passing language assessments, the Kiowa Tribe officially certified teacher candidates to teach the Kiowa language.

KLCRP Classes on Zoom

In addition to creating a digital library of Kiowa language learning resources, teacher candidates were required to attend weekly Zoom classes with Elder mentors. Before the pandemic, KLCRP held weekly in-person language classes for teacher candidates and Elders in their respective service sites since the start of the project in Fall 2016. The same approach was applied through virtual means starting in March 2020. During weekly classes on Zoom, we learned new vocabulary and grammar, listened to Kiowa Culture Committee (KCC) tapes, sang songs, discussed various aspects of Kiowa cultural practices, and learned Kiowa history. Weekly Zoom classes presented an opportunity to be somewhat immersed in the Kiowa language, where Elder mentors would speak to us in Kiowa and then explain what they said in English.

Each weekly class was approximately two hours on Thursday evenings. The Anadarko and Norman cohorts combined weekly sessions, totaling to 18 teacher candidates and 4 Elder mentors. Most weeks centered around a theme, such as greetings, kinship, meteorology, traditional stories, food, migration history, and songs. This allowed for teacher candidates to ask questions to Elder mentors and to do so speaking in Kiowa.

When we learned new words or phrases, teacher candidates would be asked to each say the new word or phrase in front of the Elder mentors to ensure accurate pronunciation. We were also asked to turn on our cameras so that Elder mentors could look at our mouths when we tried to pronounce a word or phrase. While all Elder mentors had their cameras on, some teacher candidates kept theirs off. This was especially helpful for me so that I could see Elder speakers' mouths when they pronounced in Kiowa, especially diphthongs that sounded similar but were different, such as / aui / and / oi /. This was anxiety-provoking for most teacher candidates at first, however, we gradually became more confident in speaking Kiowa and messing up. I learned this was an essential part of the language learning journey.

While Zoom was helpful in some aspects of learning Kiowa, sometimes, it provided disadvantages. The biggest was for those who lived in rural areas with limited internet infrastructure, in which their internet would sometimes suddenly drop or the visual functions would be blurry and the audio functions would make them hard to hear. There are a few internet "dead spots" throughout the former KCA Reservation. If there were thunderstorms, sometimes participants would not be able to log on at all due to the interference with internet connectivity. The second biggest disadvantage was internet latency. This was especially frustrating at the beginning of the pandemic when someone would say something, but their voices became distorted or would suddenly slow down and speed up. Internet lag was more so problematic when KLCRP tried to engage in participatory music making. This prevented us from truly singing together and therefore, as you will see later in this chapter, Kiowa participatory music making shifted towards presentational music making. Third, Zoom was a decent substitute for bringing everyone together, but it still did not have what some Elders call "the human element." I interpret this as a longing and desire to be together. As one Kiowa Elder expressed, every Kiowa gathering in the past was in-person. This was the first

time that Kiowas could still gather, yet simultaneously be separated. KLCRP recognized these disadvantages but maintained the position that they wanted to keep the Elders and those with immune compromised systems as safe as possible.

KCC Tapes

Weekly Zoom sessions not only provided a way for community members to still be together virtually and keep Elders safe, it allowed for Kiowa ancestors to have an active role in KLCRP. Given that KLCRP moved on a virtual platform, teacher candidates were able to play audio files of the KCC and incorporate their teachings as a core pedagogical approach for teacher candidates. In the 1970s, a group of Kiowa Elders formed KCC, a community-based initiative, and held weekly recordings to discuss what they thought would be important for future Kiowas to know. These Elders spoke only in the Kiowa language. The topics of conversations ranged from songs, dances, history, kinship, among other themes they felt were important. The voices recorded in the KCC tapes *were the Elders of current Elder mentors*. The inclusion of KCC tapes allowed for the voices of Kiowa Elders in the past to be in the now.

This Kiowa pedagogical approach expanded intergenerational transmission of knowledge but also strengthened the connection that Kiowas maintain with their ancestors. In one Zoom session, Harry Hall Zotigh, a past Kiowa Elder, in a KCC tape explicitly said in Kiowa that he was recording so that his descendants could hear his voice. His granddaughter, whom I personally know and was sitting in on the Zoom session, private messaged me saying that she could hear his voice just like it was 30 years ago. Small tears started to fall down her face on camera and smiled as her grandfather continued to speak in Kiowa. I couldn't help but cry and smile for her too. Touching moments like this occurred throughout

the Zoom weekly sessions as Kiowas could hear and listen to their parents, grandparents, and big brothers and sisters.¹³² Memory of past Elders is kept alive in the Kiowa Tribe, even before the pandemic. Digital technology served as a medium in which the voices of ancestors could continue to be alive, not only in a spiritual sense, but in a physical manifestation as well.

Not only did the inclusion and incorporation of KCC tapes maintain and strengthen ancestral ties, the knowledge that they embodied was also passed down through these recordings. It is important in Kiowa pedagogy to “cite” where one receives knowledge from. This usually takes place in the modality of stories, in which a Kiowa will retell how they received knowledge or information (Palmer 2003). Even though younger Kiowas see their Elders as knowledgeable and wise, Kiowa Elders themselves will enact this practice of crediting *their* Elders when sharing knowledge. During the pandemic, we were able to hear the Elders’ Elders directly, even if their voices had to be translated from Kiowa into English.

Simultaneously, the tapes provided an opportunity to be immersed in the Kiowa language. I was told numerous times from first speakers that prosody is very important to speaking “good Kiowa.” When KLCRP played the KCC tapes, I was not only listening to the wisdom and knowledge they were sharing, I listened to prosodic elements and the cadence of each Elder. I was able to listen and be immersed in spoken Kiowa and sung Kiowa. I noticed distinctly that the performance style was drastically different from contemporary Kiowa performance. Most notably, the Elders in the recording sang and beat the drum slower, and their singing voices were slightly more nasalized. This had a profound impact on me gaining the ability to “hear Kiowa.” In my conversations with Ralph Zotigh, I

¹³² As explained previously, Kiowas do not have a word for great grandparents. They use the term “big brother” or “big sister.”

was able to begin to speak in a way that he said his Elders spoke and sing in a way that his Elders sung. While I believe that I could never speak nor sing like those Kiowa Elders, I was able to at least try to get as close as I could.

Using Ethnographic Materials: A Cautionary Tale

KLCRP not only engaged with KCC tapes, they also looked at previous ethnographic materials from ethnology, anthropology, and ethnomusicology. KLCRP used field notes and recordings from: anthropologist James Mooney, who published on the history of Kiowa calendars (1898) and recorded Kiowa Feather Dance (Ghost Dance) songs;¹³³ ethnologist Raoul Weston La Barre, who documented Peyote practices with his field school in 1935 and 1936; and ethnomusicologist Willard Rhodes who collected various Kiowa song genres from 1941-1951. Some ethnographic material described ceremonies, tribal functions, and practices in which the Elder mentors were able to analyze, interpret, and comment, giving further clarification, provide context, and sometimes even correct mistakes. During one Zoom class in September 2020, teacher candidates and Elder mentors reviewed Willard Rhodes' (1954) paper that he published through the Smithsonian on Kiowa music. We skimmed through the different Kiowa songs that Rhodes recorded until we came down to "B2—Round Dance." This immediately caught my eye and the Elder's attention as the song was mislabeled as a Round Dance song when it was actually a War Mother song, one that was composed by James "Jimmy A" Anquoe for the 45th division during the Korean War.¹³⁴ The Elders talked about how other Tribes performed the Soldier Dance, which later became the Round Dance, but ultimately agreed that the Round Dance was not a Kiowa dance. Furthermore, they also

¹³³ James Mooney most likely sang these Ghost Dance songs himself in the recordings as this was a common practice among song collectors and comparative musicologists (Hall 2017).

¹³⁴ See Chapter Two in my master's thesis (Yamane 2018).

explicitly said that the Round Dance is not the same as the Kiowa War Mother dance, even though the drum beat and the dance moves might sound and look similar. All the Elder mentors agreed that Rhodes' description was incorrect.

Additionally, Rhodes describes in "B4—War Dance Songs" that "since the O-ho-mo (Óhòmàù) Society is in a state of decline, many of the dances associated with the ceremonialism of the society are dying out" (1954:17). Dorothy White Horse Delaune¹³⁵ immediately disagreed with this statement and said that the Óhòmàù society never stopped dancing and was never in decline. She mentioned one Óhòmàù song, known as the "Resistance Song," that instructs dancers to go ahead and dance even if it means being arrested. Another Elder mentor also expressed distaste for Rhodes' work because it did not accurately reflect Kiowa song and history. "Why did he (Willard Rhodes) not check with us on that (Kiowa songs)? I find it so disrespectful," she said. All members on the Zoom meeting nodded in agreement.

This critique is a cautionary tale for ethnomusicology. NAIS scholars (Deloria [1974]1994; Smith 1999; Xiiem et al 2019) critique social science disciplines, like ethnomusicology, for misrepresenting Indigenous cultures. Kiowa Elders did not appreciate the mischaracterization of their songs, and all together rejected Rhodes' scholarship on Kiowa music. They were rather interested in hearing the recordings of Kiowa songs by George Hunt (Kiowa), whom Rhodes himself recorded. This brings up another ethical issue. Rhodes' recordings with Kiowa interlocutors were not given back to the Tribe, but rather sent to the archives of the Library of Congress. This form of scholarship was done in service

¹³⁵ Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune's (Kiowa) father was one of the leaders of the Óhòmàù society.

to settler colonial song collection of Indigenous sound and not for the sole benefit of the Tribe.

During that particular KLCRP Zoom session, I offered to serve as a liaison between the Tribe and the Library of Congress to repatriate the recordings. Elders and teacher candidates agreed. I emailed Judith Gray, folklife specialist at the Library of Congress, soon after to request the repatriation of Kiowa recordings. Thankfully she quickly sent files of all Kiowa recordings to the Kiowa Tribe. While this was a good gesture of the Library of Congress, the fact that Rhodes did not give back to the Kiowa community in the first place is troubling. Kiowas tend to shy away from academics because of the very issue of theft of Kiowa cultural knowledge and intangible cultural property. One Kiowa Elder expressed to me that they felt that James Mooney was “very rude” for “intruding into the Kiowa community and demanding answers to his research questions.” While I am not here to villainize other non-Native academics who have conducted work with Kiowas, as scholars like anthropologist Eric Luke Lassiter, historian Clyde Ellis, anthropologist William C. Meadows, and anthropologist Michael Jordan have conducted meaningful collaborative ethnographic projects with Kiowas, this is another cautionary tale for the social sciences of how scholarship can harm Indigenous communities. This is why NAIS scholars, for among other reasons, have called for decolonizing methodologies (Smith 1998, 2012; Wilson 2008; Xiiem et al 2019) that refuse academic work that upholds settler colonial authority and rather privilege and empower Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being in scholarship, as well as conducting research for the sole benefit of Indigenous Peoples.

I find that the phrase “nothing about us without us” rings true within academia.¹³⁶ As non-Indigenous scholars, our responsibilities lie in conducting collaborative work that upholds “by, with, and for” Indigenous Peoples in ways that Indigenous communities determine (Atalay 2012; Perea 2021). For this reason, my participation in KLCRP was primarily for the benefit of the program and the Kiowa Tribe. My scholarship was secondary.

KLCRP Virtual Outreaches

KLCRP implemented virtual outreaches to Kiowa communities during the pandemic. These outreach events were based on the top ten themes of KLCRP’s resurgence curriculum. Each KLCRP cohort held synchronous outreach classes on Zoom and always incorporated Kiowa language in every aspect, whether it was teaching Kiowa phrases, words, or lyrics in songs. Each teacher candidate and Elder mentor contributed towards each outreach in idiosyncratic ways that were rooted in Kiowa logics.

One KLCRP outreaches focused on Kiowa practices of celebrating Christmas, including Kiowa Christmas hymns. On December 16, 2020, the Anadarko and Norman cohorts produced the outreach event “[Gáuihêñ[gàu [gyà:ánk’í (Kiowa Christmas Memories)” that described how Kiowas in the past and present celebrated Christmas. During the event, teacher candidates provided an overview of the different Kiowa churches in different Kiowa communities and showed a map of their locations. Next, Elders and older teacher candidates shared memories of how they and their relatives celebrated Christmas and

¹³⁶ See Sleeper-Smith et al 2015.

shared their favorite memories during Christmas. After a few Elders recounted their stories, the next segment of the outreach focused on several Kiowa Christmas hymns.¹³⁷

1) Melody Redbird-Post: Alright so here we go, we are going to go ahead and sing this first song. I'm very excited about this song because this is the "Kiowa Christmas Story" song. This is composed by Grandma D, Mrs. Harragarra, by her father, Louis Toyebo, and there's a picture of him on the screen. And this is the song lyrics that are in the Christmas booklet that Grandma D shared earlier. So, with that, we will go ahead and make sure everyone can hear okay. I'm going to go ahead and mute everyone and when we're done singing, we'll get back together. Ok here we go, ãñ:kó (let's start)

2) [Melody sings the Kiowa Christmas Story song by herself four times through]

[As Melody sings, the shared screen shows the lyrics in the Modified Parker-McKenzie Orthography]

Melody: Áuphày: hé:[gáut gyà dáu:mê (By the side of the hill it happened)

K'yáñ:hyóp [gíñ:gyà [gá:bòlyop: ét [dá:dò:dé (The men were watching the sheep at night)

¹³⁷ If you would like to watch the outreach, watch from 1:25:00 until 1:42:52 <<https://youtu.be/f-ShItwgJBk?t=5100>>.

Hègáu kòdédè pánnâñáu:bà (Suddenly above the clouds)

Ts'ólsáuk'í án tsán[bòñ:hèl (The angel was heard coming)

Gyà bóñáumdéhèl (The light shown)

Nàu [dó:nê “[bòl bé tsòigún[dàu:” (and he said, “do not be afraid”)

“Tàuñ:dé:t'à:gyà bát báu: dò” (“I bring you good news”)

Dàu:k'yá:í ám [bèdò kí:[bóñ:tsán (Jesus has come to give you salvation)

Melody: Óbàhàu (that's the end). Let me unmute everyone.

Kricket Connywerdy: Tsólhàu (that's the way)!

Kevin Connywerdy: Hàu: (yes [agreement]), good one!

Melody: Alright! So that was the Kiowa Christmas story. And next up, I'm going to turn it over to Ms. Pat and she is going to share the Kiowa Holiness song.

3) Pat: Do I unmute everybody or do you?

Melody: I'll go ahead and mute everyone now, Ms. Pat, you might have to make sure unmute yourself.

Pat: Ok, but I'll leave my mute.

Melody: You will have to click unmute. Just be ready. Ok, let's see, Ms. Pat you might need to.

Pat: Ok, can you hear?

Melody: Hàu:

Pat: Are the lyrics up there, can we get the lyrics up there?

Melody: Hàu:, let me pull them up. I pulled up the wrong thing so I'll pull it up for you. Let me share my screen again. Ok, you should be able to see them.

Pat: This song right here, where I first heard it, it was during a Holiness meeting. The Reverend Cecil Horse, someone was singing it in English and when he was through singing it English, he sang it in Kiowa the way he thinks it should be sung. It's a simple little song in Kiowa. The best way I think we should teach our children is to teach them with little simple songs, and let them understand what they are singing about, and tell them what they are singing about. I'll sing the English part and then switch to the Kiowa version.

[Pat sings in English one time through]

He wore a purple robe

He wore a purple robe

He wore a purple robe

For me

One day when I was lost

He died upon the cross

He died upon the cross

For me

[Pat sings in Kiowa three times through]

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Dàuk'yài (Son of God)

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Èm áñ kí[bóñk'í (Come here, savior)

Dàuk'yài (Son of God)

This song right here is composed by Harry Domebough. He taught us this when I was going to church in a little church in Stecker. Harry started coming to our church and started hearing Joy to the World and he started doing what he thought he heard in Kiowa. And it goes like this.

[Sings Joy to the World in Kiowa (version 1) by herself four times through]

[As Pat sings, the shared screen shows the lyrics phonetically written]

Dàuk'yài nàu [bèdó kí[bòñ:tsán (God's Son, it's for me you came)

Nàu [bèdó kí[bòñ:tsán (For me the reason you came)

Ám [bèdó èm tsánhêl (The reason why you came)

Ám [bèdó èm tsánhêl (The reason why you came)

Nàu [bèdó kí[bòñ:tsán (For me the reason you came)

Nàu [bèdó kí[bòñ:tsán (For me the reason you came)

Nàu [bèdó (For me the reason)

Nàu [bèdó kí[bòñ:tsán (For me the reason you came)

Pat: À:hô (thank you).

Kricket: Pretty.

Melody: À:hô, à:hô Ms. Pat. Let's see here. The next song that we have is going to be, I'm going to turn it over to Kricket.

- 4) Kricket: Okay. So, this one as you can read up here is, the words were put together by Alma Big Tree Ahote. She was the daughter of Omebo. Anyway, that's her

picture right there. (A Zoom Participant: I'll call you right back, I'm in class right now). So do you want to mute everyone again, Melody, and I'll unmute myself?

Melody: Yup [mutes Zoom participants].

Kricket: Okay. And anyway, I'll just sing this song and to me, once I sing it one time through. I think it is a really easy and catchy version of it that she put together. I think that everyone can join in and sing along. You'll only hear yourself, but it's good. So anyway, here we go.

[Kricket sings Joy to the World (version 2) by herself four times through]

[As Kricket sings, the shared screen shows the lyrics in the Modified Parker-McKenzie Orthography]

Mâõñ:dè bà [dóíñ [dèdàumtái (All over the world everyone say how wonderful)

K'yá[gôñbáu tàũñ:tsánhêl (He was born for all people)

De [bé:gyà[dòñ:gyà bàgî máu:hól (Everyone prepare your mind for him)

Gàu Mâõñ:dè bà [dóíñ (And you all say how wonderful)

Mâõñ:dè bà [dóíñ (You all say how wonderful)

Mâõñ:dè, mâõñ:dè (How wonderful, how wonderful)

Dáu tàũñ:tsánhêl (He was born for us)

Kricket: Alright, that's all, y'all learn that.

Melody: À:hô, thank you so much Kricket. Awesome. Let's see, so everyone can unmute if they want to. The next song that we have is that we wanted to share with everyone is the first Kiowa Christian hymn that Grandma D talked about when she was sharing her part, composed by Gotebo. And you can see the lyrics right here and there's a picture of him. I'm going to turn it over to Jacob Tsofigh for this part.

5) Jacob: Thank you, Dr. Post. I was asked by Kricket to lead this song but I didn't know my sègí (nephew) Warren was going to be on. So I'm going to ask him to lead this song since he is from Rainy Mountain. And so he's agreed to do that. And so if he'll turn on his video and his voice. So Warren has such a beautiful voice and I hope that he's able to come on.

Warren: Okay. Thank you sègí, so y'all sing along with me. I guess you're going to mute everybody, Melody?

Melody: Yeah, so Warren, I'm going to go ahead and mute everyone right now so you'll have to unmute yourself really quick.

Warren: Okay.

[Melody mutes everyone].

Warren: [sounds muffled].

Melody: Warren?

Warren: Okay [starts singing First Kiowa Christian hymn by himself four times through, he does not have his video camera turned on]

[As Warren sings, the shared screen shows the lyrics in the Modified Parker-McKenzie Orthography]

Hàundé dáu gàu kí:[bóñ:sèp (Who came down to save us?)

Hàundé dáu gàu kí:[bóñ:sèp (Who came down to save us?)

Jesus-sàudè dáu gàu kí:[bóñ:sèp (Jesus came down to save us)

Jesus-sàudè hàundó sèp (Why did Jesus come to save us?)

[Dé k'yàgômbàu kí:[bóñ:sèp (He came down to save all people)

Jesus-sàudè hàundó sép (Why did Jesus come to save us?)

[Bégyá[dòñgyà kí:[bóñ:sèp (He came to save our mind and soul)

6) Melody: À:hô (thank you) [Warren turns on camera, he is wearing a Santa Claus costume]

Melody: Déóñ:dé (how wonderful)!

Warren: Merry Christmas everyone! (Everyone laughs) Séndé, Séndé, Séndé Claus à [gáuíkáuñ (my Kiowa name is Saynday Claus). (Kenny: ho ho) [Everyone still laughing]

Melody: Tsólhàu (that's the way)

Kricket: Say it in Kiowa

Warren: Hêñgàu kí:dà bàu t'á:gyà (You all have a Merry Christmas)!

Melody: Warren, we're going to make your picture big so we can see you... [Saynday Claus is pinned on Zoom for everyone to see] [everyone laughs]

[Warren signs 'it is good' in Plains Indian Sign Language] [people still laughing]

Carolyn: Speak Kiowa. [Warren signs ‘yes’ in Plains Indian Sign Language]

Warren: Hêñgàu kí:dà bàu t’á:gyà (You all have a Merry Christmas). [People respond: hà:].

Warren: Bàu t’á:gyà. Ho! Ho! À:hô!

KLCRP took similar approaches to teaching Kiowa sound as they did before the pandemic. However, there were several ways in which they had to adapt for a virtual platform, such as Zoom. The following section examines how KLCRP adapted their pedagogical approaches on virtual spaces and developed digital media practices rooted in Kiowa logics.

Storytelling through Zoom

Digital media provided a virtual medium to continue Kiowa storytelling during the pandemic. The first half of the outreach (before Kiowa Christmas hymn singing) was dedicated towards Elder storytelling. Elders provided their personal accounts of their favorite memories. In each of the Elders’ stories, the PowerPoint shared through Zoom also included pictures of Kiowas past, the churches themselves, and Christmas celebrations to provide visuals for outreach participants.

Kiowa singers were able to effectively storytell *about* music through Zoom. Before the presenters sang their rendition of Kiowa Christmas hymns, they provided a story of each song composer. As described earlier in the dissertation, Kiowa stories are interconnected with song. Each story invokes the composer. In this presentation, Melody’s story of the

Christmas song invokes Lewis Toyebo, Pat's story of "Joy to the World" invokes Harry Domebough and Reverend Cecil Horse, Kricket's story of "Joy to the World" invokes Alma BigTree and her relatives, and Warren's story of the first Kiowa Christian hymn invokes Gotebo. Kiowas maintained ancestral connection while on Zoom. When each singer presented their song, KLCRP showed the PowerPoint presentation that included the name and picture of the composer. Most KLCRP outreaches before the pandemic only mentioned the names of composers and did not include pictures nor writing, with the exception of orthography on handout sheets. By including pictures on the Zoom presentation, Kiowa users were able to see each composer. KLCRP used digital media to provide a new capability to use visual elements as an additive to Kiowa storytelling.

Music Making through Zoom

The most notable change that KLCRP took in their resurgence pedagogy through digital media was switching from participatory music making to presentational music making when performing Kiowa Christian hymns. This change was a direct response to adapting on Zoom. As discussed in the second and third chapters, Kiowa Christian hymn singing normally is participatory during church service. Given that everyone quarantined and had different levels of internet reliability, Zoom could not fully support synchronization. This made it difficult for outreaches to sync users together in participatory music making. While this was the case, KLCRP still encouraged group participation but to do so on mute. Zoom also allowed for the outreach to be audio-visually recorded, thus making the outreach also asynchronous. This option provided Kiowa internet users the ability to go back to the recordings and (re)learn Kiowa sound. The recording of the outreach was posted on YouTube by Melody Redbird-Post so that anyone with internet could access it at any time.

There is also a noticeable change in the approach of Kiowa Christian hymn singing in this outreach compared to other events—most of the singers were women. While it is more common for men to start and sing Kiowa Christian hymns, most of the presenters were teacher candidates, except for Pat Kopepasah who is a Kiowa Elder and Warren Queton who was the Kiowa Tribe’s higher education director and is a Kiowa man. This shift in Kiowa Christian hymn singing practices is most likely due to the fact that there were no men in the 2020 KLCRP Norman and Anadarko cohorts. KLCRP also expected teacher candidates to teach at outreaches, as was part of their practice of teaching Kiowa language and culture. This shift in musical gender roles is noteworthy and might have been more acceptable in Kiowa communities given the shift of musical style practice towards presentational music making.

Digital media also recorded Kiowa Christian hymns that might not be well-known for other Kiowas to access and learn. The Norman and Anadarko cohorts planned to show the density of Kiowa Christian hymns with this outreach. This was first shown by Lewis Toyebo’s “Kiowa Christmas Story” song, as it is an uncommon song in Kiowa church communities that participants and Elders wanted to bring back. Pat Kopepasah’s rendition of “He Wore a Purple Robe” showed the ways in which Kiowas adopted a western hymn and put Kiowa words into the lyrics. This was also done so through the two versions of “Joy to the World” sung by Pat Kopepasah and Cricket Connywerdy, in which KLCRP showed how Christianity was practiced differently amongst Kiowa churches. As described in the second chapter, each church denomination not only has their own styles of singing, but they also have their own set of songs that are composed and then circulated throughout Kiowa Country. Some of these songs did not circulate outside of specific church communities. For example, Lewis Toyebo’s “Kiowa Christmas Story” song might not have spread because it is

unique in musical structure (not following the traditional ABB format) and it is difficult to sing (even Elders expressed how challenging it is to sing). The “Kiowa Christmas Story” song, in itself, is an anomaly compared to other Kiowa Christian hymns. Because this song is not commonly sung today, KLCRP wanted to bring it back and circulate it through the outreach session.

Orthography through Zoom

KLCRP continued to embrace orthographic heterodoxy during the pandemic. Pat Kopepasah’s performance of “He Wore a Purple Robe” and “Joy to the World” was the only presentation that used an idiosyncratic writing system, compared to Melody, Cricket, and Warren who used the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography. Zoom made it convenient and accessible to show the two orthographies through the screen share control of KLCRP’s PowerPoint presentation. The lyrics in Kiowa took precedence as the goal was to teach community members how to sing and speak in Kiowa. As someone who did not know most of the Kiowa Christmas hymns, the lyrics were very helpful in learning the words. Other Kiowas who were familiar with the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography and attended the outreach also stated that orthography supported their language learning. KLCRP continued to use orthography as a supportive means to aid language learning, especially learning the words in each song.

Languaging through Zoom

The focus of community outreach was to foster interest among Kiowas in learning Kiowa culture. Each service site was targeted using the Kiowa Census to reach as many Kiowas as possible. Digital media expanded outreach to Kiowas even outside of the five

service sites. The Elders and teacher candidates who organized and executed the outreach were aware that most audience members most likely spoke little-to-no Kiowa. For this reason, Elders and teacher candidates spoke mostly in English, but intentionally translanguaged between Kiowa and Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL). These included simple words such as “hàu:” (yes, agreement), “tsòlhàu” (that’s correct, that’s the way), and “óbàhàu” (that’s the end). Translanguaging in Kiowa with basic phrases and words helped encourage Kiowas to learn the Kiowa language by not overwhelming them as well as to begin normalizing the Kiowa language in everyday speech. Warren, especially, was able to translanguage in Kiowa and PISL¹³⁸ when he turned his video on and revealed himself and jokingly said, “Séndé Claus à [gáuikáuñ (my Kiowa name is Saynday Claus)” and wishing everyone, “Hêñgàu¹³⁹ kí:dà bàu t’á:gyà (You all have a Merry Christmas).” He also signed “it is good” and “yes” in PISL. These types of languaging exposures through audio-visual means helped immerse Kiowa internet users during times of quarantine. By conducting Zoom synchronous outreaches, Kiowas were able to be immersed in Kiowa and PISL in real time, and could go back and asynchronously immerse themselves again with recordings. The posted recordings of each outreach then allowed Kiowas to go back and (re)learn, (re)engage, or (re)immerse themselves whenever they desired. They were not only virtually immersed in spoken Kiowa language, but also sung Kiowa language.

Kiowa Sound Resurgence Pedagogy through Digital Media

Digital media broadened the ways in which KLCRP implemented their Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogies. Synchronous and asynchronous approaches helped Kiowa learners

¹³⁸ The field of Speech Language Pathology considers American Sign Language as a language itself. For this reason, I also recognize Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL) as a language too.

¹³⁹ “Hêñgàu” translates to “toy” in English.

increase their “auditory fitness” (Kraus and Chandrasekaran 2010), generate interest in learning Kiowa sound, expand outreach to Kiowas outside of the service areas, and increase accessibility to recordings and resources through the internet. While outreach events were for Kiowas of any age, KLCRP observed that most attendees were young and older adults and that outreach events were not necessarily geared towards children.

The Kiowa Jim Henson

When I became a teacher candidate in August of 2021, I was expected to contribute towards KLCRP’s quarterly outreach events. What I did not expect was to pick up a new skill. During early October 2021, the Anadarko and Norman cohorts began preparing an outreach event for the Kiowa community. This program featured everyday phrases/words in Kiowa to encourage Kiowas to use the language in everyday life, with a special emphasis made for the inclusion of Kiowa youth. During the planning meeting, I was paired with fellow teacher candidates Tim Yeahquo (Kiowa) and David Pohleman (Kiowa) to provide a contribution for the outreach. I had no idea where to begin. I called Tim to start brainstorming. He told me that he has an idea. He is going to draft a skit and then get back with me tomorrow.

As the next day passed, he called me again with a list of phrases to translate into Kiowa: “my nose is cold,” “go get some firewood,” “my hands are cold,” and “throw the ball.” Some phrases I could easily translate, but some I needed to consult with an Elder speaker. By this time in October, I drove down to stay at the Harragarra’s ranch house in Carnegie, Oklahoma. I told Tim that I am going up to Norman the next day with Kenny Harragarra to drop off mail for his mother, Delores Harragarra, who is staying with her daughter, and that I could ask her to translate the sentences then.

The next day, Kenny and I went to Norman. I received the translations from Delores.¹⁴⁰ As Kenny was driving us back, I called Tim and gave him the translations. He then told me the plot and storyline of the skit. The skit will feature an uncle and his màunsép (goofy, immature, erratic) nephew, where the nephew will enter the scene by singing the Kiowa Prairie Dog song wrong until he meets his uncle who is complains that he is cold. The uncle is going to tell his nephew to get some k'í (firewood), but the nephew is going to misunderstand and get his uncle some [gí (meat), then misunderstand him again and tell him to throw (k'í) the ball, then eventually understands and brings some k'í (firewood). The uncle will then teach his nephew how to properly sing the Kiowa Prairie Dog song and the skit will fade out into a recording of the Prairie Dog song. After mentally visualizing the skit, I laughed, imagining watching an amusing episode of Looney Tunes. I thought to myself, I understand the plot now. Tim said, “meet me at my house in New Castle on Thursday,”¹⁴¹ over the phone.

On Thursday, I invited Kenny Harragarra to accompany me to drive to Tim’s place. We loaded up in the car at his house in Carnegie and drove two and half hours towards New Castle, a suburban neighborhood of Oklahoma City. When we arrived at Tim’s house, we walk in and greeted each other with “déóñ:dé èm bóñ (it’s wonderful to see you)” while giving each other a hug. David and his nephew were sitting on the couch. We went over to them and gave each other a handshake. Tim pointed Kenny and I to the other couch and told us, “bé sáu: (you all sit down).” We sat down and started visiting with David and his nephew. “Gimme a second,” Tim said interruptedly as he walked into his room. After a few

¹⁴⁰ To be clear, I took a COVID-19 test (and tested negative), wore a KN-95 mask, and stayed at a minimum of six feet away from Delores. She was comfortable with me coming up to visit, however, I took every extent possible to ensure her safety.

¹⁴¹ We also discussed safety on the phone and we determined that because we would not see any Elders and we quarantined, we were comfortable meeting without masks.

moments, he walked out with two hand puppets. I could not believe my eyes. On Tim's left hand was the uncle puppet, an older Kiowa man with two braids in a green ribbon shirt with two stripes of red ribbon hanging from the chest. On the right hand was the nephew puppet, a younger white-passing Kiowa child with frizzy red hair in a blue pullover. Tim's speaking voice is usually smooth and low pitch. Not this time. He took the young Kiowa puppet and in a very high pitch, squeaky voice, he exclaimed like a little child, "sèeeeeeeeegüiiiiiiiiiii (uncle)!" All of us in the room busted out the deepest belly laugh we could muster. "I think we just found the Kiowa Jim Henson!" I exclaimed, and even more laughter erupts. Tim smiled and proceeded to show us how to make the puppet talk. He shaped his arm and hand to resemble something like a long-necked bird, with his fingers and thumb pointing outwards. Tim slowly dropped his thumb, keeping the rest of his fingers stationary. "This is how you get the puppet to talk," he said, moving only his thumb up and down. We mimicked Tim's hand motions. He gave the older Kiowa man puppet to David to practice with, and Tim took the nephew puppet, making the puppet do facial expressions and opening its mouth. "Okay, now you try Dave," Tim said pointing towards David's puppet. David put his hand in the uncle puppet, cleared his throat, and took a slight pause. In a deep pitch, slightly nasalized speaking voice, he slowly muttered "hàu:." After fifteen minutes of silly and goofy banter between Tim and David, both puppets, the Kiowa uncle and his nephew, came to life.

"Alright, let's go ahead and eat," Tim said to us, "bát [báu (let's eat)],"¹⁴² waving his hand to follow. In the kitchen, Tim pulled out a white crock pot of pulled beef onto the counter, the warm, spicy but sweet aroma filled the room. He grabbed two packages of hamburger buns and a bowl full of chips. We each grabbed our plate, took one bun and filled

¹⁴² Kiowa gatherings provide a meal for all participants before something is about to begin. This is part of Kiowa protocol and was commonly implemented by KLCRP, except during the pandemic.

it with pulled beef, and then grabbed a handful of chips before sitting down on the high-top kitchen table. Tim prayed over our meal, asking God for us to have an enjoyable time and to do this skit in a good way that will benefit the Kiowa People. He concluded his prayer and we started to eat. We chatted and continued to get to know one another, making jokes, and enjoying each other's company while we munched on our pulled beef sandwiches and crunchy ruffle chips. I thought to myself, this *feels* familiar. It felt like I am at a family camp at Kiowa Gourd Clan or at a powwow in Oklahoma. Even the taste of pulled beef sandwiches and potato chips reminded me of meals at different Native encampments during summertime.

After forty minutes of eating and visiting, we started to set up the backdrop for the skit. Tim put a Pendleton blanket on a set of wooden rods. The blanket was embedded with a background of aqua with miniature geometric designs, red, orange, and yellow stripes with dark blue, purple, and white triangles and circles; something that you would normally see in a Native space. He set the backdrop in the middle of his living room, putting a gray Pendleton blanket over his T.V. above the fireplace. David and Tim taped printouts of the script behind the backdrop and they sit cross-legged (not Indian style) on the floor, and held their puppets with one arm. They started to practice and run through the script while David's nephew and I set up the camera. David held the uncle puppet and said one line, "k'í bàt [báu (go get the firewood)," keeping the mouth open after he spoke. Tim, holding the nephew puppet, responded in a kid-like voice, "sègí (uncle) close your mouth, why is your mouth open?" We immediately busted out laughing at Tim's teasing, and David opened the uncle's mouth even wider. "Yeah, it is gyà t'ó (it is cold), sègí, gyà t'ó (uncle, it is cold)," the nephew puppet blurted out as the uncle puppet shivered, moving his googly eyes in a comical manner.

After a few more funny moments of practicing, we began filming the skit. We spent two and a half hours (re)recording. We ran into a few issues, like adjusting the camera angle, one of the puppeteers forgetting their lines, and moving a prop to be more center in the camera angle, but after a few attempts, we got the recordings that we needed. As the night came to a close and we began to depart, Kenny chuckled and made the comment, “wow! I can’t believe grown adults could have so much fun with puppets!” Neither did I.

Mediating Kiowa Puppets

A few days after recording the skit, Tim asked me if I could edit the footage and produce the video. I’m the only one with a MacBook Air and have a small amount of media editing experience, so I willingly agreed. Tim sent me the files through his Google Drive where I was able to download them onto my desktop. I dragged and dropped them into iMovie with ease and started to edit the film. I had no clue how to operate the system so I decided to look up YouTube videos for manuals and guides. After looking at “how to” videos on YouTube on how to edit on iMovie for an hour, I wondered about how Tim envisioned this skit to be portrayed. I was cognizant that I was a mediator in this role and needed to approach this video in a way that would resonate with Kiowa logics. How do we do this the Kiowa way? How do I make this skit to be culturally appropriate and culturally responsible? I called Tim again and ask for his guidance. As he began telling me his vision, I sat there and imagined the skit in my head. “Include a sample of the Kiowa Prairie Dog song and then fade into the puppet scene,” he said. “As the puppet scene progresses, include subtitles in Kiowa. After the scene ends, fade into a video of the Kiowa Rabbit society dancing to the song. Then the credits, then that’s the end.” I envisioned what Tim was telling me, but what about the subtitles? I asked him, “should we include the subtitles in Kiowa? Or

in Kiowa and English?” Tim paused, he responded, “well... if the subtitles are only in Kiowa, then the kids aren’t going to understand it.” That was a good point. Most Kiowa youth were going to be English L1 speakers, but if the goal is to get children to speak Kiowa, then wouldn’t it be better to have it only in Kiowa? Maybe this could be a good opportunity for youth to first watch the video in Kiowa so that they can be immersed, and then have English subtitles to help with understanding what is being said. I also thought that for younger and older Kiowa learners, they could start to learn that *how* to pronounce Kiowa is very important, and to be exposed to Kiowa homophones. I agreed with Tim and started editing the videos to include lyrics and subtitles in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography with English translations on the bottom of the screen.

After a full day of editing and drinking three cups of coffee, I sent the video draft to Tim for his feedback. He called me almost immediately and the only critique that he had for me was to highlight the words that the nephew got confused about into the color red to make it more noticeable for the audience. This will help emphasize homophones. I quickly made those changes, exported the file, uploaded it to YouTube. I sent the URL over to Melody Redbird-Post for the outreach.¹⁴³

Kiowa Christian Hymns and Kiowa Puppets

The first video of what some Kiowas dubbed the “Kiowa Muppets” received numerous positive responses. Melody Redbird-Post mentioned to me that she shared the video to a class at Anadarko High School and even high schoolers started making references and memes of the puppet skit. After popular demand, Tim, David, and I produced another

¹⁴³ Here is the video. Check it out and I hope that you enjoy! (Don’t forget to subscribe) <<https://youtu.be/pJnVCQ1Kgfs>>. I do not talk about Kiowa music making in this video because KLCRP only gave me permission to focus on Kiowa Christian hymns, not other forms of traditional Kiowa songs.

skit reenacting the Kiowa story of Séndé and K'ópsáupól (Bigfoot) for an outreach in December on Séndé stories.¹⁴⁴

Three months later, KLCRP tasked our trio again to make a puppet skit for another outreach on Kiowa foodways. This time, Tim made a skit that incorporated Kiowa Christian hymns. Unfortunately, I left Oklahoma in mid-February back to Maryland. I could not record in-person with Tim and David, but did talk with Tim on the phone about how the skit was going to go. He asked me to mediate the skit again, in which I gladly accepted.

A few days later, I called Tim and we talked about the plot of the skit. He told me that this skit was going to focus on the Kiowa Birthday song. The nephew will tell his uncle that it's his birthday and will request him to sing the Kiowa Birthday song, but to sing like Freddie Cozad. As the uncle sings the song, the nephew will chime in and mess the song up. Tim emphasized to me that he wanted to mention Freddie Cozad by name so that there was local representation in the skit, as Freddie is a well-known Kiowa singer in the community and is also a KLCRP teacher candidate. Afterwards, the nephew will have to go through a Kiowa lesson on words for food and kitchen items with his uncle. The skit will then fade out into a pre-existing clip of Kiowas singing the Kiowa Birthday song led by Freddie Cozad. This video¹⁴⁵ was posted by Cecil Gray (Kiowa) of Kiowas singing to Charismatic Toehay (Kiowa) for her birthday dance in 2016. Tim and I both agreed that this video would be good to show an example of Kiowa Christian hymn singing and help younger Kiowas learn the Kiowa Birthday song, which is the most common hymn that is sung today.

¹⁴⁴ I respectfully request that if you are going to watch this skit, to do so when Séndé's hand is out in the night sky. This star constellation is known in western cosmology as Orion's belt. Kiowa protocol instructs that Séndé stories can only be told when his hand is visible in the night sky or something terrible will happen to you. I kindly request that you adhere to this protocol: <<https://youtu.be/JZmli4PEJW0>>.

¹⁴⁵ Here is the video <<https://youtu.be/txVM5T2ehY8>>.

Two days after our call, Tim told me that he received permission from Cecil to sample his video into the skit. Perfect! I immediately downloaded Cecil's YouTube video and exported it as an MP3 file so that I could add it to the video. Tim sent me a zip file of the puppet skit through Google Files that he and David recorded. I used DaVinci Resolve (since I had to use it for the green screen editing effect in the "Séndé gàu K'ópsáupól" skit) to compile the videos, edit the footage, and add in the Kiowa and English subtitles. I highlighted certain words in red, similar to the first puppet skit, to help with vocabulary emphasis. I couldn't help but think that this is a Kiowa version of Sesame Street and marvel at the fact of how saturated the English language is in American society. This was important to create something that is for the Kiowa language and for the Kiowa People. After editing the puppet skit, I downloaded the file and put it onto YouTube and showed it at the outreach session.¹⁴⁶

Kiowa Sound Resurgence through Puppetry

The Kiowa puppets were a huge success with KLCRP outreaches. Kiowa youth and Elders alike both expressed how much they enjoyed watching the puppet skits. Given that KLCRP did not previously see many Kiowa youth on outreaches during the pandemic, we saw an increase of Kiowa youth attending subsequent outreaches. Tim, David, and I tried our best to make Kiowa sound resurgence accessible to them. None of us are professional puppeteers nor television producers. We relied on available digital technology, such as video recording, iMovie, DaVinci Resolve, and YouTube, to mediate puppet skits. Tim works with Native youth at Riverside Indian School in Anadarko and has ample experience making language learning accessible for youth, not to mention that he has a talent for puppetry.

¹⁴⁶ Here is the video, please enjoy! <<https://youtu.be/6D7G9JRnwLI>>.

David and his nephew also brought added talent and humor when producing the skits.

Without Tim's guidance and leadership, as well as David and his nephew's contributions, KLCRP would not have a Kiowa puppet mini-series.

We intentionally made these puppet skits to be accessible on YouTube for any Kiowa internet user. Our hope was that Kiowa parents could show these videos to their children as a way to encourage learning Kiowa language and song. While puppetry to my knowledge is not a traditional Kiowa practice, the way that we produced the skits were rooted in Kiowa ways of knowing and doing. When Kenny Harragarra and I visited with Tim the first time we produced the first skit, we had a meal together. This is a common cultural practice that is done in almost every Kiowa gathering and an essential part of gathering community. We also relied on Elders to ensure that the Kiowa language in the videos was accurate and would be representative of, as Delores Harragarra says, "things that Kiowas would say."

Additionally, we relied on incorporating Kiowa song as part of each puppet skit as we understood that Kiowa stories are interconnected with Kiowa songs, which leads to my final point. Digital media allowed us to use Kiowa puppetry as a (re)newed form of Kiowa storytelling. We used digital media and puppetry in the (re)telling of traditional story "Séndé and K'ópsáupól," as well as the first and third skits in learning Kiowa everyday life. Using Kiowa puppets fosters encouragement and increases comfortability with Kiowa youth to learn Kiowa language, stories, and songs, as they can relate with the nephew puppet.

Simultaneously, Kiowa adults can relate with the uncle puppet and his responsibilities to teach the younger generations. While some of the puppet skits were told in English (and even the medium of teaching Kiowa sound resurgence through puppetry), the focus here is not what is traditional and what is not. Rather, the focus is how grounding puppetry in Kiowa logic helps to foster Kiowa youth's immersion and learning in Kiowa epistemology

and ontology. Grounding puppetry in Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being are of paramount importance as it not only (re)news resurgence through creative means, but also to teach younger Kiowas Kiowa epistemology and ontology in ways that they can easily relate to.

Archive Building through Social Media

KLCRP used digital media to build a community-based archive of Kiowa sound. While I implement the term “archive” in this chapter, I do not reify western conceptions of archives that “capture” and “freeze” knowledge and objects for the sake of salvaging or preservation. Rather, I highlight how Kiowas themselves gather, build, and contribute knowledge towards a space that can hold knowledge and be accessed by Kiowas. KLCRP engaged in community archive building as a major part of Kiowa sound resurgence. Kiowa archive building in this sense is rooted in Kiowa ways of knowing and doing, and is done by Kiowas, for Kiowas. As Jessica Bissett Perea explains, “in the realm of creative expression, one could argue that Native American and Indigenous Peoples must continue to produce their own audiovisualizations, their own archives, as a critical and vital corrective to colonial regimes of sound and image that continue to vex our pathways forward to healing and resurgence” (2021:83). Outsider theft of knowledge and intellectual property is part of settler colonial structures (Callison et al 2016), one that even ethnomusicology has participated in when comparative musicologists engaged in “salvage” sound collection and ethnography (J.B. Perea 2021; Robinson 2020). While I described Kiowa critiques of ethnomusicology in the previous section regarding KLCRP weekly Zoom classes, this portion rather focuses on how Kiowas themselves used social media as a medium to gather and share knowledge.

KLCRP posted content primarily through their public Facebook page, “Kiowa Culture and Revitalization Program.” Most of the posts were videos that explained how to say different words and phrases and often coincided with cultural activities that occur throughout the seasonal calendar. For example, KLCRP posted a short series called “listen, replay, practice, repeat” (LRPR).¹⁴⁷ These videos sounded the voice of either an Elder or teacher candidate saying a word/phrase or singing a portion of a song. The video showed the words in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography and English translations. The sequence of the video followed the LRPR method by first sounding a word or phrase at least two times, then a slight pause for the user to practice, then saying the word or phrase one more time. This method encouraged repetition of listening and practicing so that users can strengthen their hearing and understanding of Kiowa.

KLCRP provided brief virtual immersion through Dr. Toni Tsatoke-Mule’s (Kiowa) “what is it?” video series. KLCRP posted most of these videos on their Facebook page during the pandemic.¹⁴⁸ Toni would ask in the videos the question, “háundé # dáu” (what is it?). This was then followed by showing videos of different animals and an audio track saying the animals’ names, such as “Áuñ:gáu[biñ: dáu” (Buffalo it is). These names were spelled in the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography and its translation in English towards the bottom portion of the videos. This allowed for Kiowa users to engage with short clips to build their vocabulary and to invigorate immersive language learning.

In terms of Kiowa song, KLCRP posted recordings of a few Kiowa Christian hymns on Facebook before and during the pandemic. In December 2019, KLCRP posted

¹⁴⁷ See <<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2737734246451453>>.

¹⁴⁸ See <<https://www.facebook.com/KiowaLanguageDepartment/videos/423895541956477>>.

information, a recording, and lyrics of the “First Kiowa Hymn.”¹⁴⁹ The video post shows an information sheet, including a brief account of Gotebo as a Kiowa sub-chief and that he was baptized in the Washita River near Anadarko in 1880, along with a picture of Gotebo on the bottom, and the ANA logo on the top (see Figure 8). The video has a recording of Joe Fish and Freddie Cozad singing the hymn with visuals of the Kiowa lyrics in the Modified Parker McKenzie orthography in black and the English transliterations in red. The watercolor background shows blue and red flowers with a geometric Kiowa design. To the left is the logo of KLCRP and a text box with the description: “song presented by Phil “Joe Fish” Dupoint and Freddie Cozad.” The post received 3,600 views at the time of writing this dissertation and Facebook comments reflect that the post was well received by Facebook users. Kenny Harragarra, a direct descendant of Gotebo, even provided further historical context on how Gotebo was asked by missionaries to compose a Kiowa Christian hymn and how it was performed for the first Kiowa Christmas celebration at Rainy Mountain Baptist Church. Another KLCRP post of the “Kiowa Birthday Song” sung by Freddie Cozad also contained the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography and English transliterations. The video contained gifs of clouds, cedar trees, and a star constellation etched with the words “Happy b-Day.” To my viewing, these gifs are reminiscent of ceremonial and purification symbols, such as cedar, as well as these symbols indexing the spiritual connection between Kiowa song and Dàuk’i. The video received 2,600 views and 105 likes and heart likes. One Kiowa user even commented on the video by providing historical context of who composed the song and how it became associated with being the birthday song for Kiowas.

¹⁴⁹ Here is the Facebook post: <<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=573134819930054>>.

The inclusion of orthography can help users learn the lyrics of Kiowa songs. As previously described, singing in Kiowa is different from speaking in Kiowa, thereby requiring two different modes of listening and audibility. For myself as a language learner, looking at the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography helped me learn the Kiowa language because I grew up in the American public school system, where writing and literacy is privileged with language development. Other Kiowas expressed similar sentiments elsewhere. While the inclusion of orthography can help users learn the Kiowa language and immerses them in what sung Kiowa sounds like, this approach mostly resonates with younger Kiowas. Older Kiowas, often who are first speakers, do not care for Kiowa orthography because that is not how they, nor their ancestors, learned to speak and sing Kiowa. Most older Kiowas are not on social media, either. This allows for younger Kiowas to not only share knowledge, but to do so through pedagogies that resonate with them in a space that is commonly used and circulated by young people.

An additional point to this is that KLCRP normalizes Kiowa sound *with* orthography. In Kiowa households where Kiowa is not spoken, the only exposure to Kiowa sound is either through KLCRP classes or through the internet. Given the importance of internet usage during the pandemic, KLCRP produced more content to continue the resurgence of Kiowa sound on virtual platforms. This also allowed for KLCRP to further normalize the Modified Parker McKenzie Orthography by consistently using this writing system. The coupling of orthography with sound helps reinforce Facebook users' idiosyncratic learning, knowledge, and skills.

The Internet allows users to utilize Facebook to produce content and to circulate it through virtual social networks. In this case, KLCRP used Facebook to share cultural content in which users could interact with by either liking or emoji liking (increasing the Facebook's

algorithms to put more KLCRP content on their newsfeed), sharing (increasing visibility of content on other users' personal newsfeeds), and by commenting (allowing for public discourse to occur, such as sharing stories and adding to collective knowledge). This approach resonated with KLCRP's pedagogical focus on communal learning and sharing as well as increasing outreach to the entire Tribe.

Pedagogies of Kiowa Sound Resurgence through Digital Media

How did KLCRP transform sound resurgence pedagogical approaches through digital media? The pandemic catalyzed a surge of new mediation practices to adapt to the realities of physical distancing and quarantining. As this chapter shows, KLCRP engaged with digital media and virtual platforms to continue pedagogies of Kiowa sound resurgence in creative ways. Virtual platforms such as Zoom, Facebook, and YouTube created spaces on the internet where Kiowas could continue community connection, interaction, and collaboration. This extended to Kiowas outside of the former KCA Reservation, especially Kiowas living outside of the state of Oklahoma, who were interested in learning more about their Kiowa culture and engaging in acts of resurgence. Digital media served as both a functional medium and supportive pathway for Kiowa sound resurgence during the pandemic.

KLCRP established and built a community-based digital archive where any Kiowa internet users could connect to, contribute towards, and engage with. By building a virtual archive away from the confines of western institutions, Kiowas exercised self-determination by having full access and control of their own knowledge and intangible cultural property. KLCRP shared resources to learn Kiowa language, songs, and stories with Kiowa internet users through virtual means. Digital media broadened new opportunities for Kiowa internet users of how to engage with Kiowa sound resurgence. KLCRP blended synchronous (virtual

outreaches and weekly Kiowa language classes on Zoom) and asynchronous (Facebook posts and YouTube videos) approaches to maximize community outreach.

These digital adaptations did not come without significant changes. Most notably, KLCRP altered the way in which Kiowa Christian hymns were sung. Internet lag and limited bandwidth on Zoom posed barriers against music making synchronously. KLCRP moved away from participatory towards presentational music making to navigate through this obstacle. To maintain some level of participatory music making, as is commonly done with Kiowa Christian hymn singing, KLCRP encouraged Kiowa internet users to sing along while muted or while listening to a recording. Some Kiowas saw this as the second-best alternative to *learning by doing* with participatory hymn singing in-person, but others observed how this presented another way in which Kiowas can (re)engage and (re)learn songs, by exercising their own agency in idiosyncratically learning song through repetitive listening and sonic mimesis. While learning songs from recordings is nothing new to Native singers (J.C. Perea 2017), Kiowas who were not singers or had scant experience learning Kiowa Christian hymns and other forms of Kiowa songs in-person therefore had to engage with digital technology by (re)playing recordings as well as (re)relating and (re)engaging with them. These changes in pedagogy temporarily presented alternatives to sonic pedagogies during times of physical isolation.

Digital media in these virtual resurgence contexts also changed Kiowa pedagogies of listening. The inclusion of KCC tapes as a major part of Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogy on weekly Zoom classes was an especially profound adaptation during the pandemic. KLCRP Elder mentors extended guidance and incorporated the voices of *their own Elders* as part of their pedagogy. Before the pandemic, Elder mentors only told stories about their Elders and shared the knowledge that each of their Elder embodied, as is a common Kiowa

pedagogical practices through the modality of storytelling (Palmer 2003). During the pandemic, teacher candidates were able to directly listen and learn from the voices of past Elders themselves through digital recordings. I do not say that this made the voices of those Elders come to life, as I understand that in Kiowa belief that the ancestors are always among the Kiowa People. Rather, playing the KCC tapes through Zoom's sound share option created a sonic space for the voices of past Elders to teach in the present moment. The Kiowa Elders in the KCC tapes foresaw that Kiowas would begin to lose language and culture within decades to come. And they were right. They expressed in the tapes that they were recording so that they could pass on what they felt future Kiowas should know for the sake of maintaining what they thought and felt was important to being Kiowa. These precious recordings were invaluable resources in harboring the voices of Kiowa ancestors. The inclusion and emphasis of including the voices of past Kiowa Elders served as an imperative driving force for Kiowa resurgence pedagogy.

The listening relationality between Kiowa teacher candidates, current Kiowa Elders, and past Kiowa Elders is also important. As J.C. Perea (2017) describes in his relational listening of recordings of his teacher, Dr. Bernard Hoehner (Lakota), listening to recordings of past Elders is a fluid process: "I hear and interpret Dr. Hoehner differently today than I did eighteen years ago. In this way, I find that my own traditioning—my sonic sense of identity as a powwow singer—must be understood as a fluid process, since the social experience of playing those tapes is unique each time I press the play button" (68). This fluidity also resonates with the ways in which I and other teacher candidates related with recordings. When I listened to the same Elder recording at different times during my language learning journey, it seemed that I only scratched the surface the first time, and learned more as I listened to their voices over and over again. This way of cyclical, fluid

listening simultaneously helped me (re)enforce and (re)learn the knowledge that they were so gracious enough to give. Other teacher candidates also expressed similar sentiments. One teacher candidate expressed to me that repetitive listening to the KCC tapes helped her become immersed with Kiowa sound that she did not have the opportunity to do while growing up. Through these recordings, she was able to strengthen her “Kiowa ear” and be able to speak in Kiowa “just as my ancestors did.” Delores Harragarra expressed to me that she is very thankful for those recordings because teacher candidates can learn “how real Kiowas sound like.” Kiowa relational ways of listening between and among multiple generations would not have been possible without digital technology serving as a medium and supportive tool.

Adaptation is Traditional

I was on Facebook sometime during the height of the pandemic and saw a Native user post a very brief, but profound statement: “Adaptation is traditional.”¹⁵⁰ This phrase struck me. How is adaptation traditional and what does that mean for Kiowas during the pandemic? KLCRP’s resurgent approaches with digital media continued to be rooted within Kiowa logic but also experienced transformations throughout the pandemic. Virtual platforms allowed for Kiowas to continue to gather as a community, yet simultaneously not be together. KLCRP met synchronously on Zoom and asynchronously on Facebook and YouTube, as well as engaging with the voices and wisdom from Kiowas in the past, connecting them with Kiowas in the present for the benefit of Kiowas in the future. Kiowa

¹⁵⁰ Scholars (Belmar and Glass 2019; Fisher 2016; Hilder et al 2017; J.C. Perea 2017; Scales 2012) have shown how Indigenous communities engaged with digital technology in ways that both maintain and negotiate cultural practice. This chapter seeks to contribute towards these discourses by showing how Kiowas used internet platforms to resurge Kiowa sound during the pandemic.

digital media practices merged time and space. As the Kiowa Elder expressed at the beginning of this chapter, using digital technology to continue Kiowa resurgence the pandemic was *gyà sáu:mí*.¹⁵¹ Resilient and radical actions during times of turmoil and change is nothing new to Kiowas. Kiowa resiliency ensured survival during settler colonial violence, erasure, and dispossession,¹⁵² and continues to do so today. But it is not just survival, but also brilliance and creativity. While the pandemic both hindered and imposed barriers for the Kiowa People, it also created new possibilities and alternatives for the resurgence of Kiowa sound.

Acts of (re)envisioning through digital media and technology during the pandemic is part of the long experience of Kiowas adapting to shifting realities and tumultuous times caused by the forces of settler colonialism. The phrase “adaptation is traditional,” to my current understanding, speaks to a few key points of Kiowa resurgence in the pandemic. First, Kiowa resurgence is resilient. Despite the difficulties that the pandemic caused for KLCRP, all participants, Elders, teacher candidates, audience members both old, young, and in-between, collectively decided to continue (re)claiming, (re)envisioning, and *(re)sounding* to further strengthen cultural practices and senses of identity. Second, Kiowa resurgence is not linear, but rather cyclical. Kiowas of today drew upon the knowledge and wisdom of Kiowas past through the inclusion of audio recordings into their Kiowa sound resurgence pedagogy. The blending of time and strengthening of ancestral connection through the medium of audio recording technology created new opportunities for past Kiowas to engage with Kiowas today. Third, Kiowa resurgence is a collective effort. The adaptations and

¹⁵¹ See the introduction for an explanation of “*gyà sáu:mí*.” As previously explained, the Kiowa language is often incommensurable with the English language.

¹⁵² See Tone-pah-hote (Kiowa) (2019) for in-depth discussions of Kiowa resiliency during the progressive era.

transformations that KLCRP took towards resurgence in the pandemic relied on the combined strength, creativity, and brilliance in transforming approaches to account for the realities set forth from the pandemic. This included engaging with digital technologies in new ways, but through Kiowa logic and thought. Not only did KLCRP cleverly use virtual platforms and the internet to serve their needs, but they also created new pathways that expanded resurgence methods and pedagogies that continue today.

Conclusion

On March 21, 2023, I talked with Aye-kee-mah over the phone about how KLCRP used Kiowa Christian hymns in their pedagogical approach. She first recounted how her Elders practiced Christianity. “They (Christian missionaries) used the word of God to teach our Kiowa people, but they had enough respect for our Kiowa People and asked Gotebo to compose a song in Kiowa. And that’s really profound if you think about it,” Aye-kee-mah said. “In the same breath we have traditional teachings and we have our traditional lifestyle, with our ceremonies and our customs and the use of our language. It didn’t die out because of those missionaries. In fact, it was strengthened through our Kiowa hymns.” Further in the conversation, Aye-kee-mah commented that when she was a little girl, her father, Bubba Noel, as well as other Kiowa Elders foresaw that there would be a decline in Kiowa speakers. Her father told her that he truly believed one day, “these songs will save our language.”

Once used as tools for missionization, Kiowa Christian hymns have become a pedagogical tool to reclaim the Kiowa language. KLCRP used these songs through traditional and non-traditional means to teach and learn the Kiowa language, especially through digital media during the COVID-19 pandemic. As this dissertation demonstrates, Kiowa language reclamation was not just the revival of the Kiowa language. Kiowa language reclamation also included other forms of Kiowa sonic cultural practice, such as music making, storytelling, and listening. These forms of Kiowa sonic cultural practices, or *Kiowa sound*, are important to Kiowa identity and explains why KLCRP engaged in the *resurgence* of Kiowa sound. This dissertation shows KLCRP’s dense approaches towards these efforts. I do not attempt to definitively define Kiowa sound resurgence, but rather show

how it manifests. The density of KLCRP's pedagogical approaches show dynamic forms of Kiowa sound resurgence that are rooted in Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

Kiowa Sound Resurgence

I circle back to the four chapters of this dissertation. I began by situating chapter one in Washington D.C. I asked two intersecting questions: 1) How do U.S. policy makers tell stories about Indigenous languages and how might this affect language planning and policy (LPP) on Native language reclamation projects? 2) How do Indigenous performers and storytellers tell their own stories about their languages and initiatives *with* and *through* music in settler colonial government spaces? I first problematized how Congress' discursive practices framed Indigenous languages through "damage-centered" (Tuck 2009) narratives to rationalize settler colonial safeguarding policies. Congressional deficit-based stories *about* Indigenous languages justified minimal financial support and devaluation of Indigenous languages, while also masking settler colonial structures and practices that continued to harm Indigenous communities. In contrast, I showed the relationship between Indigenous storytelling and music making by providing an example of Ralph Zotigh's story of his "Kiowa Women Veterans Song" that explained why he composed the song and how it circulated throughout Indian Country. The chapter then described the different strategies that several Indigenous performers told stories *with* and *through* music making about their languages and communities. These examples demonstrated that the *dense* array of Indigenous storytelling and music making is a commonality among Indigenous cultural practices, and that Indigenous performers used these tactics to reclaim stories about their cultures.

The second chapter described how Kiowas adopted and practiced Christianity from the late 19th century into the 21st century. I focused how Kiowas created their own expressions of Christianity through the development of Kiowa Christian hymns. Kiowas in the late 19th century gradually accepted Christianity because Baptist and Methodist missionaries encouraged religious practices that resonated with Kiowa epistemologies and ontologies, there was a spiritual void among Kiowas after the U.S. military forcefully suppressed the Medicine Lodge Ceremony and the Feather Dance, and prominent Kiowa leaders like Gotebo were baptized and followed the Jesus Road. Kiowa churches spread and Christianity became popular among Kiowas until the middle of the 20th century during Kiowa rural-to-urban migration. The uprising of inter-Tribal culture, such as the development of the modern powwow, and decline in Kiowa church membership led towards the decrease of Kiowa Christian practices. In the 21st century, several Kiowa churches continue to operate, but there has been a growing concern among Kiowas about the decline of Kiowa Christian hymn practice. Some Kiowas produced recordings as a way to preserve Kiowa Christian hymns for future generations. This chapter described historic and contemporary Kiowa Christian hymn practices that contextualized the next two chapters of how KLCRP used these songs in their pedagogical approaches.

Chapter Three examined the pedagogical approaches that KLCRP took towards Kiowa sound resurgence through Kiowa Christian hymnody. This chapter situated the reclamation of Kiowa music and language under the frameworks of Indigenous resurgence, as *Kiowa sound resurgence*—the social processes of recovering sonic forms of cultural practice that are important to being Kiowa in the present moment. I provided two ethnographic examples that compared how a Kiowa Elder and two KLCRP teacher candidates coupled traditional pedagogies, such as storytelling and engaging in participatory

music making, with non-traditional Kiowa pedagogies, like learning language through orthography. This chapter showed that while these approaches were different, they were rooted in Kiowa ways of knowing, doing, and being.

The fourth chapter described how KLCRP engaged with digital technology and Kiowa Christian hymns during the pandemic. I showed that virtual platforms provided new ways for Kiowas to expand community outreach; build a community-based archive through recording technology; engage with recordings of Kiowa Elders in the past; as well as disseminate and share sound learning resources among Kiowa communities through social media. While the pandemic brought a time of anxiety and suffering, I highlight KLCRP's brilliance and resiliency. KLCRP's adaptations with digital media pushed boundaries of time and space by bringing the recordings of Kiowa Elders past that embody Kiowa wisdom and knowledge to the present moment on virtual space. The density of KLCRP's pedagogical approaches during the pandemic demonstrate the innovative ways that Kiowas expanded their resurgence capabilities.

Contributions

This dissertation contributes to interdisciplinary discourses on how Indigenous language revitalization initiatives can effectively use musical practices. I have argued that the study of Indigenous language revitalization and music is better understood under the concepts of *language reclamation* and *resurgence*. I rely on linguist Wesley Leonard's (Miami) (2017) concept of "language reclamation," which acknowledges that the revival of Indigenous languages should be community-based and should lead towards desired outcomes of the speech community. Additionally, he notes that reclaiming Indigenous languages is inherently a decolonial process, given that the bringing back of Indigenous

languages goes against settler colonial systems of erasure. Language work is not only the reclamation of language, it also is the recovery of Indigenous epistemologies, and it is those ways of thinking that guide language reclamation efforts.

I show that the reclamation of language goes hand-in-hand with recovering sonic cultural practices and forms of audibility like music making, storytelling, and listening. I frame these social processes and practices as *sound*. I then place sound under the frameworks of Indigenous resurgence. NAIS scholars explain that resurgence simultaneously contributes to efforts of decolonization, both in terms of reconnecting relationships with the land and returning Indigenous lifeways back to Indigenous communities (Tuck and Yang 2012), as well as reclaiming Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being. Only one NAIS scholar (Chase 2020) describes Indigenous resurgence in an educational setting and argues for more research on Indigenous resurgence pedagogies. This dissertation builds on Chase's call for scholars to *listen* to what *pedagogies of Indigenous resurgence sounds like*.

This dissertation also complicates notions of Indigenous resurgence. NAIS scholars explain that one goal of resurgence is decolonization. As this dissertation exhibits, KLCRP implemented Kiowa Christian hymns as a pedagogical approach to reclaim Kiowa sound. While Kiowas developed their own distinct expressions of Christianity, Christianity and its religious institutions still underpin settler colonialism. One could argue that this contradicts resurgent efforts of decolonization. While Indigenous communities will envision and enact decolonization in different ways, here, I argue that, despite KLCRP reinforcing Christian hegemony by using Kiowa Christian hymns, Kiowas asserted Tribal sovereignty by exercising *agency* in reviving, reclaiming, and resurging Kiowa cultural practices and identity. KLCRP's community-based movement of *resurging Kiowa sound* and *sounding Kiowa resurgence* demonstrates that, even though Kiowa resurgence sometimes is not

entirely divorced from settler colonialism, KLCRP maintains Tribal sovereignty by choosing to use Kiowa Christian hymnody as part of Kiowa sound resurgence. Furthermore, chapters three and four show the ways that Kiowas implemented Kiowa sound resurgence through Kiowa knowing, doing, and being, even though some approaches, like orthographic practice, were not traditional Kiowa pedagogies.

These four chapters show the permeability of Kiowa sound resurgence in time and space. Kiowa sound resurgence can happen anywhere. It can occur in federal government spaces in Washington D.C., within Kiowa communities in the state of Oklahoma, and on internet platforms like social media. Kiowa resurgence blurs boundaries of time by bringing the voices of past Kiowa Elders into the present to guide KLCRP's efforts and produce outcomes for the future. Acts of Kiowa sound resurgence manifest differently and can range from singing the "Stars and Stripes" Kiowa veteran song at a federal agency's conference, telling stories about Kiowas in the past and relating ancestral knowledge to the present, immersing Kiowa teacher candidates in Kiowa conversations on Zoom, mediating Kiowa puppet shows on YouTube, and singing Kiowa Christian hymns in-person and online. The density of Kiowa sound resurgence is not limited, but rather full of endless possibilities.

Future Directions

It is my hope that this dissertation will continue conversations regarding the social phenomena of Indigenous sound resurgence and resurging sound. I acknowledge that there are limitations in this dissertation, and that there is much that I did not incorporate. I plan to conduct more research *with* these individuals for future scholarly works, and would like to co-publish with them for future journal articles on Kiowa sound resurgence.

I also plan to continue producing language learning resources for the Kiowa Tribe. During the beginning stages of this dissertation, I presented a food basket, tobacco, and money to Warren Queton, the higher education director during the time, at the Kiowa Tribal office in Anadarko, Oklahoma. I asked him, “how could I give back to the Kiowa Tribe?” He took me to the office of another Kiowa co-worker and introduced me to her. Warren told her that I was interested in conducting research on Kiowa Christian hymns. She seemed to light up and said, “I love hearing the words in those songs, but I never knew what they meant.” Warren pointed out that creating a song book with Kiowa to English translations would be beneficial. He also mentioned that I could potentially create a guidebook for how to use Kiowa Christian hymns as a method to teach the Kiowa language.

In the near future, I plan to create these deliverables for the Kiowa Tribe. I started conversations with several Kiowa community members in collaborating in a potential project that will document Kiowa Christian hymns, the stories associated with each song, as well as the lyrics both in Kiowa and English. Compared to the Red Book, this document seeks to be community-led and community-driven. This project would be true PAR and done solely for the benefit of the Kiowa Tribe. I will also submit my field notes, interview recordings (with individual permission), and the dissertation itself to the Kiowa Tribe. It is my hope that Kiowas now and in the future will find this information to be useful.

I end this dissertation by relaying a saying that Ralph Zotigh always told me: Kí: t’á:gyà (today is a good day). No matter how difficult the odds might be, if you speak it, if you do it, it will come.

À:hô Dàumâuihyômdàuk’í. Ám [bédo kí:dà gyà ôñ. Tsólàu èm dáu nàu háuñdé gyà sáu:mí. Yá:[dè káuñ áuñ dé èm dàu:sá:[dáu. Háiyái à t’áu:t’áu. [Gáuik’yà[gôm[báu bè

tái:[dò:dé gàu [dá:[dò:dé. [Gáui[bégú èt màuhêñmàu. [Gáuisáñ:dàu t'á:gyà èm k'ía. À:hô dé
bàt háu.

Óbàhàu yáñ [dóñ:zán:mà (that is the end).

Appendices



Figure 1

Gotebo. Virgil Robbins Collection. Photo no. 19344.64.1. No date. Oklahoma Historical Society.



Figure 2

Big Tree and Gotebo. Reverend George W. Hicks Collection. Photo no. 22117.23. June 21, 1920. Oklahoma Historical Society.



Figure 3

Reverend J.J. Methvin. Virgil Robbins Collection. Photo no. 16459. No date. Oklahoma Historical Society.



Figure 4
Mary Jane Ballew Hicks. Reverend George W. Hicks Collection. Photo no. 22117.14. 1889.
Western Historical Society.



Figure 5

Parker McKenzie with his type writer. Parker McKenzie Collection. Photo no. 19650.309. c. 1916. Western Historical Society.



Figure 7

Kenny Harragarra looking at two Kiowa puppets. The puppet skit was performed and filmed at Tim Yeahquo's house. Photo by author. October 14, 2021.

The First Kiowa Hymn (Gotebo)

hãundé dáu gàu ki|bõñ:sèp
Who/what is that came to save us?
hãundé dáu gàu ki|bõñ:sèp
who/what came down to save us
Jesussàu de dàu gàu ki|bõñ:sèp
Jesus came down to save us
Jesussàu de haundo sèp
Why did Jesus com down to save
[dè k'yà]gôm bàu ki|bõñ:sèp
He came to save us all
Jesussàu de hãundó sèp
Why did Jesus come down to save
[bè gya:doñ gya ki|bõñ:sèp
Mind and soul who came to save
composed 1893

Kiowa sub-chief. Born about 1847 in what is today Kansas, he was called Kau-Tau-Bone. He was one of the first Kiowas' to accept conversion and be baptized in the Washita River near Anadarko on the Kiowa reservation in the 1880s

ANNA NATIVE AMERICANS

Song presented by Phil "Joe Fish" Dupoint and Freddie Cozad

0:03 / 1:45

First Kiowa Hymn

Like Comment Share You, ThoKohn Ghou GhouDaw, Tulsa Kicrp and 98 others · 8 comments · 3.7K views

Kiowa Language and Culture Department
November 22, 2019 · 9

Overview Comments

Most relevant

Kenny Harragarra
Q'odébòhòn was asked by the missionaries, Lauretta Ballew and Marietta Reeside, to compose a Kiowa song for the first Christmas celebration at Rainy Mountain Chruuch, With the help of Setangya's (Sitting Bear) daughter, Julia Given, he presented this fi... See more

Melinda Ware
Beautiful! I want to learn that hymn. It's all about

Write a comment...

Figure 8
Facebook post of the First Kiowa Hymn from the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program (now called Kiowa Language and Culture Department). Originally posted on November 22, 2019. Screenshot on April 10, 2023.

Memorandum of Understanding Between The Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane

1. Preamble

This Memorandum of Understanding (hereinafter referred to as "Memorandum") is made on DATE, by and between the Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane, for the purpose of conducting a dissertation project (hereinafter referred to as "Project") on the subject of language revitalization and music by Maxwell Yamane.

2. Purpose

The purpose of this Memorandum is to provide the framework and responsibilities for the Project between the Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane.

3. Duration

This Memorandum shall be in effect upon the date of the agreement between the Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane until completion of the Project. This Memorandum may be terminated, without cause, by either party, which notice shall be delivered by hand, certified mail, or electronic communication.

4. Responsibilities of Maxwell Yamane

Maxwell Yamane will be responsible for conducting and completing the Project. Maxwell Yamane will be required to gain expressed informed consent from the Acting Director of the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program to permit discussing his own experience of participating in the program for the Project. Maxwell Yamane will also be required to gain expressed informed consent from each individual participating in the Project to be interviewed and will recognize their full right to individually participate, not participate, or drop from participation, without cause. Any form of data created as a result of the Project will only be used for purposes of the Project and shall not be used for any other purpose, except for the expressed informed consent of participating individual(s) or the Kiowa Tribe. Maxwell Yamane will provide deliverables resulting from the Project- including dissertation manuscript, field notes, interview transcriptions, and other forms of data concerning the Kiowa culture and language, except for when a participating individual does not consent to being identified or any form of data concerning said individual wishes not to be shared with the Tribe- to the Kiowa Tribe.

Maxwell Yamane will recognize that the Kiowa Tribe has ultimate and final say on the implementation of the Project.

5. Responsibilities of the Kiowa Tribe

The Kiowa Tribe will be responsible for oversight of the implementation of the Project. This Memorandum will affirm that the Kiowa Tribe has an inherent right to their intellectual, tangible, and intangible property and will have final say for how such property may be used or talked about. The Kiowa Tribe will have the right to review the dissertation manuscript and request edits, in which Maxwell Yamane will comply with. The Kiowa Tribe will have final say for all aspects of the implementation of the Project.

6. General Provisions

- a. Amendments: Either party may request changes to this Memorandum. Any changes, modifications, revisions or amendments to this Memorandum which are mutually agreed upon by and between the parties to this Memorandum shall be incorporated by written instrument, and effective when executed and signed by all parties to this Memorandum.
- b. Applicable Law: The construction, interpretation, and enforcement of this Memorandum shall be governed by the laws of the Kiowa Tribe. The courts of the Kiowa Tribe shall have jurisdiction over any action arising out of this Memorandum and over the parties, and the venue shall be Kiowa Tribal District Court.
- c. Entirety of Agreement: This Memorandum represents the entire and integrated agreement between the parties.
- d. Third Party Beneficiary Rights: The parties do not intend to create in any other individual or entity the status of a third-party beneficiary, and this Memorandum shall not be construed so as to create such status. The rights, duties and obligations contained in this Memorandum shall operate only between the parties to this Memorandum, and shall inure solely to the benefit of the parties to this Memorandum. The provisions of this Memorandum are intended only to assist the parties in determining and performing their obligations under this Memorandum. The parties to this Memorandum intend and expressly agree that only parties signatory to this Memorandum shall have any legal or equitable right to seek to enforce this Memorandum, to seek any remedy arising out of a party's performance or failure to perform any term or condition of this Memorandum, or to bring an action for the breach of this Memorandum.

WHEREAS the Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane will enter into an agreement in which the Kiowa Tribe will allow Maxwell Yamane to conduct and complete the Project.

WHEREAS the Kiowa Tribe will retain all rights concerning intellectual, tangible, and intangible cultural property.

WHEREAS Maxwell Yamane will uphold Kiowa Data Sovereignty and act in an ethical manner in the Project.

WHEREAS the Kiowa Tribe will provide oversight of the Project.

WHEREAS the Kiowa Tribe will review and have final say of data to be included or not be included in the dissertation manuscript produced as a result of the Project.

WHEREAS Maxwell Yamane will provide any deliverables produced as a result of the Project- except for when a participating individual does not consent to being identified or any form of data concerning said individual wishes not to be shared with the Tribe - to the Kiowa Tribe for the benefit of the Kiowa Tribe.

WHEREAS the Kiowa Tribe has final say of the implementation of the Project.

THEREFORE, the Kiowa Tribe and Maxwell Yamane agree to enter into this Memorandum of Understanding.

7. Signatures

The parties to this Memorandum through their duly authorized representatives have executed this Memorandum on the days and dates set out below, and certify that they have read, understood, and agreed to the terms and conditions of this Memorandum as set forth herein.

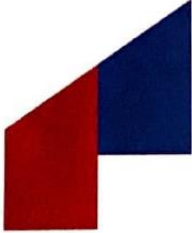
The effective date of this Memorandum is the date of the signature last affixed to this page.

Kiowa Tribe

Lillie Pinnell 03/23/2022
Lillie Pinnell Acting Director, KLCRP

Jacob Tsoitigh 10/17/22
Jacob Tsoitigh Vice Chairman, Kiowa Tribe Date

Maxwell Yamane 08/01/2022
Maxwell Yamane



*Kiowa Language & Culture
Revitalization Program*



This Certifies:

Maxwell Yamane

has successfully completed all requirements prescribed by
the
Kiowa Language Teacher Credentialing Board
to teach the
Kiowa Language
July 23, 2022

Dorothy Whitehouse DeLaune

Dorothy Whitehouse DeLaune

Martha Nell Poolaw

Martha Nell Poolaw

Dane Poolaw

Dane Poolaw



Delores Harragana

Delores Harragana

Velma Eisenberger

Velma Eisenberger

Interviews Conducted

Baker, Lawrence. 2021. Interview by author. Virtual. August 21.

DuPoint, Phil "Joe Fish." 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 2.

DuPoint, Phil "Joe Fish." 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 9.

DuPoint, Phil "Joe Fish." 2017. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 21.

Harragarra, Delores. 2017. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. June 8.

Harragarra, Delores. 2017. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. June 14.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 18.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 20.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 23.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 26.

Harragarra, Delores. 2018. Interview by author. Mountain View, OK. July 27.

Harragarra, Delores. 2021. Interview by author. Norman, OK. December 30.

Noel, Julia "Aye-kee-mah." 2023. Interview by author. Virtual. March 21.

Toppah, Ernest "Iron." 2018. Interview by author. Carnegie, OK. June 18.

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