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**IDENTITY IN NORTH AMERICAN
INDIGENOUS LITERATURES:
REPRESENTATIONS, WORLDVIEWS AND
IDENTIFIERS**

Doctoral Dissertation

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**IDENTITET U KNJIŽEVNOSTI
SEVERNOAMERIČKIH STAROSEDELACA:
PRIKAZI, POGLEDI NA SVET I POKAZATELJI**

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УНИВЕРСИТЕТ В БЕЛГРАДЕ
ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ

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**ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ В ЛИТЕРАТУРЕ
КОРЕННЫХ НАРОДОВ СЕВЕРНОЙ
АМЕРИКИ:
ОБЗОРЫ, МИРОВЫЕ МНЕНИЯ И
ПОКАЗАТЕЛИ**

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EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE

Most importantly, I thank my dear mentor, the academician Professor Zoran Paunović, for their trust and patience in this project. I would not have enrolled in graduate studies without Professor Paunović's support. Furthermore, their literary criticism helped me develop critical thinking, form my scientific attitude, and refine my artistic taste. Finally, I am most thankful for the knowledge Professor Paunović passed on, arousing my academic curiosity.

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I am forever grateful to the late author, Lee Maracle, for our friendship. Maracle introduced me to Indigenous Literatures, showing me Indigenous worldviews. Yet, I am saddened by Maracle's not reading my entire work.

I owe my parent, Milovan Glišić, special thanks for their unwavering assistance and encouragement in helping me succeed in this literary feat and for being my most dependable research aide. My sincere gratitude goes out to Milanka Glišić for insisting I change schools to sign up for English classes.

Above all, I thank my spouse, Siniša Dunović, for standing beside me and providing me with immense love during our life adventures. Last but not least, my literature-loving children, Aleksa and Sara Dunović, deserve endless thanks for inspiring me to share my love of literature with the world.

I could not have done this without any of you. My accomplishments are yours.

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I, Marija Glišić Dunović, a citizen of Serbia and Canada with permanent residence in Ontario, Canada, acknowledge that I live on Indigenous land in the metropolitan Toronto area of Etobicoke.

I thank Indigenous Nations for sharing their land with me and teaching me about living in the spirit of peace. I will honour the treaties, take care of this land with gratitude, and respect the people with whom I coexist.

In Etobicoke,

September 2023

ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT GENDER NEUTRALITY IN WRITING

Following The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) and The Federal Plan for Gender Equality, presented to the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in 1995, gender-neutral language will be used in this doctoral dissertation (Gender-neutral Language, par. 1).

Upon suffering beyond suffering, the Red Nation shall rise again, and it shall be a blessing for a sick world.

A world filled with broken promises, selfishness and separations.

A world longing for light again.

I see a time of seven generations when all the colors of mankind will gather under the sacred Tree of Life and the whole Earth will become one circle again.

In that day, there will be those among the Lakota who will carry knowledge and understanding of unity among all living things, and the young white ones will come to those of my people and ask for this wisdom.

I salute the light within your eyes where the whole universe dwells.

For when you are at that center within you and I am in that place within me, we shall be as one.

(qtd. Crazy Horse in Prophecy of Crazy Horse, pars. 5-11)

“The Indian and the white man perceive the world in different ways. I take it that this is an obvious fact and a foregone conclusion. But at the same time, I am convinced that we do not understand the distinction entirely or even sufficiently.”

(Momaday, *Man Made of Words* 50)

ABSTRACT

This doctoral dissertation delves into validating the Indigenous experience by examining historical views and social perspectives on the identity phenomenon. Evidence of grounding is detected in the literature(s) of the Indigenous Peoples of North America, from the oral tradition to the written era.

Theoretical chapters from the opening segment of this study are dedicated to discovering Indigenous worldviews and identifiers in literature. The second part interprets the survey findings about Indigenous representations in popular culture as viewed by the social subject related to Serbia.

The odyssey of identity quest coincides with alienation from one’s natural habitat. Then, the self-seeker embarks on a ritual heart-searching until the return to communal heritage. The seeker’s awakening is inscribed in oral tradition and voiced in literature.

The essence of identity is prone to construction and reconstruction under the spell of society. Therefore, the deconstruction of identity requires consideration in temporal and spatial contexts. Identity is not a simple result of social circumstances but an outcome of the subject’s adaptation to change. A multidisciplinary view of the identity expedition of North American Indigenous Peoples reveals the cultural and political resistance interpreted in Indigenous Literatures. Thus, identity correlates life with literature, i.e., community and language.

Keywords: identity, Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Literatures, North America, representations, worldviews, identifiers

Scientific field: Literary Studies

Scientific subfield: Anglophone Literature

UDC number:

„Indijanac i beli čovek doživljavaju svet na različite načine. Pretpostavljam da je to očigledna činjenica i unapred utvrđen zaključak. U isto vreme, uveren sam da tu razliku ne razumemo u potpunosti niti dovoljno.“

(Momed, Čovek od reči 50)

SAŽETAK

Potka ove doktorske disertacije je potvrđivanje domorodačkog iskustva kroz istorijsko sagledavanje i društveno promatranje pojma identiteta. Postvarenje se očitava u književnosti starosedelačkih naroda u Severnoj Americi, od usmene tradicije do pisane reči.

Teorijska poglavlja iz uvodnog segmenta ove studije posvećena su otkrivanju starosedelačkih pogleda na svet i njihovih pokazatelja u književnosti. Drugi deo tumači saznanja iz upitnika o prikazima urođenika u popularnoj kulturi, posmatranih od strane društvenog subjekta povezanog sa Srbijom.

Odiseja otkrivanja identiteta podudara se s otuđenjem starosedeoce iz prirodnog staništa. Potom, tragalac za sopstvom kreće u ritualnu potragu samopronalaženja do povratka plemenskom nasleđu. Buđenje tragača ispisano je u usmenoj tradiciji i izrečeno u književnosti.

Sušтина identiteta sklona je izgradnji i obnovi pod uticajem društva. Stoga, precrtavanje identiteta zahteva razmatranje u vremenskom i prostornom kontekstu. Identitet nije jednostavan rezultat društvenih okolnosti, već ishod prilagođavanja subjekta na promene. Sveobuhvatni pogled na identitet severnoameričkih starosedelačkih naroda razotkriva kulturološki i politički otpor dekodiran u starosedelačkim književnostima. Tako identitet povezuje život i književnost, odnosno zajednicu i jezik.

Ključne reči: identitet, starosedeoce, starosedelačke književnosti, Severna Amerika, predstave, pogledi na svet, pokazatelji

Naučna oblast: Nauka o književnosti

Uža naučna oblast: Anglofona književnost

UDK broj:

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“When you know who you are; when your mission is clear and you burn with the inner fire of unbreakable will; no cold can touch your heart; no deluge can dampen your purpose. You know that you are alive.”

(Chief Seattle, Chief - Chief Seattle, Duwamish (1780-1866), par. 1)

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

On the one hand, although the interest in Indigenous Literature(s) has increased in recent decades, Indigenous literary expression is still relatively unexplored in Serbian academia and somewhat unknown to Serbian readers. One of the reasons is the initial treatment of Indigenous Literature(s)¹ outside the dominant literary convention,² therefore explored in the cultural sites of anthropology and ethnography. The lack of texts translated into Serbian is the next excuse. Availability of books in the original, i.e., in English, in Serbia, could be better, owing to the need for systematic publishing and librarian activity.

On the other hand, despite being overly exploited, identity is an everlasting puzzle. This doctoral dissertation deals with the quest for identity in Indigenous Peoples' Literatures. The study explores a correlation between literature and life in which traditional beliefs and community, i.e., culturally specific roots of Indigenous Peoples, persevere. We will search for answers to the “characterization question,” “Who am I?” (Schechtman 1), applied to the Indigenous ethnos, i.e., “Who are Indigenous Peoples?”

The subject of this scientific research is the discovery of distinctive humanistic and epistemological features and poetics³ of the Literatures of Indigenous Peoples viewed through the prism of identity. This analysis defines dynamic identity through hybridization, otherness, and intercultural dialogue. Next, we will look for identifiers of the Indigenous letter, like social agents, referents, and strategies in the context of Indigenous Literatures. We will also deal with Indigenous representations and worldviews. That includes stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples from the Serbian⁴ viewer's perspective and possible historical similarities between Serbian and Indigenous ethnicities.

The etymological explanation of the disputed name of the first inhabitants of Canada and the United States of America and the terminology of naming will be offered. The political background of such linguistic endeavours will also be touched on, which, unfortunately, has yet to yield a conciliatory cultural consensus. However, the United Nations terminology considers some more favourable than others.⁵ Different views on this puzzle will be presented.

The prevailing idea during the research is to explore the transforming habitat of identity as an initiator of socio-historical changes and its manifestations in literature. Therefore, this study raises the following questions: “What is Indigenous identity?” and “How is it identified in literature?” While searching for answers, an attempt has been made to confirm the status of Indigenous Literatures despite its contentious postcolonial dimension resulting from the literary expression of Indigenous voices in English. Indigenous Literatures were first narrated through “chants, ceremonies, rituals” and songs, and then offered in writing (Ruoff 4).

Even though Indigenous languages were predominantly spoken with pictographic symbols, the English alphabet was the supreme script for documenting the oral narrative.

¹ The term “Indigenous Literatures” will be explained in the following chapters.

² “Literary convention” refers to “canon.”

³ “Poetics” is understood here as a literary discourse.

⁴ The epithet “Serbian” refers to the Serbian ethnos.

⁵ See 2.1. Social Substance and Anthropological Essence of Indigenous Identity.

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The turning point occurred when the Cherokee Chief Sequoyah (1776-1843),⁶ a member of the Five “Civilized”⁷ Tribes, i.e., Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cree, and Seminole, created “utalotsa woni - talking leaves” (Gubele 47), i.e., words on sheets of paper. To honour the power of the written word, the chief Sequoyah constructed a syllabic system of eighty-six Iroquoian phonemes, i.e., vowels and consonants. Chief Sequoyah also established a syllabary and designed the alphabet in 1821.⁸ Thus, Sequoyah has been known as the founder of Indigenous literacy.⁹ The newly created writing system enabled the printing of the first bilingual Indigenous newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, on 21 February 1828.¹⁰ It also paved the way for bilingual street names¹¹ in the modern age. Therefore, Indigenous national identity was indirectly changed. The well-being of such circumstances contributed to the general popularization of Indigenous Peoples’ writing and oral-literary traces salvaged from oblivion.

While we are trying to prove the intertwining of language and society, we intend to present Indigenous Literatures in all three phases: from the earliest beginnings of oral traditions through the first written records, then the so-called era of Native American Renaissance, to the postmodern period (Runtić 316). The creator of the expression “the Native American Renaissance” is Kenneth Lincoln, who mentioned it in the book *Native American Renaissance*, to signify the blooming period of Indigenous voices in the 1960s (1-14). The growing need to reveal the ontological secrets of the people who, thanks to their literary release, eased the historically gloomy, linguistically uncertain, economically insecure, but culturally rich path, underpinned the exigency of this study.

Indigenous Literatures are a cultural determinant in the tribal folk tradition, integrated into the North American literary heritage. Therefore, the history study as the Western temporal concept is inapplicable here. Instead, it is more appropriate to talk about the past of parts of North America, which did not begin with the arrival of the conquerors but changed and continued after that. The stage of written expression was set unequivocally by establishing oral Indigenous Literatures.

At first, it positioned Indigenous linguistic creations only to the margins of literary events. Folk Literature¹², along with modern fiction, captivates the attention of academics and causes critics to shift their focus from mainstream literature to the outskirts, thus bringing marginalized literature(s) closer to the forefront of literary trends. Creation and trickster stories were dominant in the eighteenth century. Autobiographies and personal narratives accompanied them before being replaced by protest literature in the dominant novelistic form around 1830.

The period from 1860 to 1900 is known as the Golden Age of Naturalism. After that, the epochs of modernism and postmodernism began when North American writing was

⁶ See Appendix 1. Cherokee Chief Sequoyah.

⁷ a derogatory meaning assigned by outsiders

⁸ See Appendix 2. Cherokee Syllabary.

⁹ The chief Sequoyah is named the “father of Indigenous literacy.” However, although it is unknown who coined the expression, it is used in some blogs, e.g., see (Evans title).

¹⁰ See Appendix 3. The Front Page of Cherokee Phoenix, 6 March 1821, “edited by Elias Boudinott, printed weekly by Isaac H. Harris for the Cherokee nation” (par. 1).

¹¹ See Appendix 4. Cherokee Street Signs in Cherokee, North Carolina. The signs are in English block letters on the top and Cherokee alphabet at the bottom.

¹² “Folk Literature” refers to folktales and creation stories. It is a colonial term, just like folklore.

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placed closer to the centre of world literary expression, widely exposing Indigenous Literatures to the public eye.

The devastating nineteenth-century national policy caused the displacement of Indigenous Peoples in the USA and their confinement to reservations

when, in 1851, the US Congress passed the Indian Appropriations Act, which legislated for the creation of reservations in what is now Oklahoma. This was intended as a way to resolve the problems between the Native Americans and the white settlers, which were growing progressively worse as the white settlers were not only trespassing more and more onto the Natives' hereditary lands but were depleting natural resources in the process. (Nozedar 406)

In Chapter XIV, it was stated:

An Act making Appropriations for the current and contingent Expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with various Indian tribes, for the Year ending June the thirtieth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of paying the current and contingent expenses of the Indian department, and fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes. (574-575)¹³

That so-called “peace policy” in the 1960s “included assigning specific territories to the Natives, often far away from the homelands where they had dwelled for generations” (Nozedar 406). The Church had a role in the process since “Church officials would replace Government officials on these plots of land since the teaching of Christianity was considered an essential part of ‘civilizing’ the Native peoples” (406). In addition, the Government's forcible seizing of the Indigenous land for the new settlement brought diseases and misery to the first inhabitants (Runtić and Knežević¹⁴ 239).

In Canada, *The Indian Act* was implemented in 1876 after the Constitutional Act of 1867 announced legislation regulating Indian affairs. Nevertheless, it was administered only to status Indian people. According to Statistics Canada, “Treaty Indians are persons who belong to a First Nation or Indian band that signed a treaty with the Crown. Registered or Treaty Indians are sometimes also called status Indians” (Registered or Treaty Indians, par. 2). For Indigenous Peoples, it meant annihilating human rights to be assimilated into official Canadian values.

The period from 1900 to 1940 is known as the Indian New Deal, when perceiving autochthonous folk tradition somewhat changed. Then, a ray of hope enlightened the centuries of Indigenous agony of assimilation into the prescribed European-American lifestyle when relations between the US government and the American Indians started to change. The breakthrough moment happened during the reign of US President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

John Collier, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner, took on the reformatory role, so the Indian Reorganization Act was passed in the United States Congress in June 1934. Although imperfect, the Act's goal was “to conserve and develop Indian lands and

¹³ See Appendix 5. The Indian Appropriations Act, 27 February 1851, for the complete document.

¹⁴ The scholar Marija Krivokapić Knežević sometimes signs articles under the name of Marija Knežević.

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resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes” (An Act to Conserve and Develop Indian Lands and Resources 984).¹⁵

In the 1960s, linguistic imperialism (Rose and Conama 385) ruled. It was manifested in the paramountcy of English over Indigenous languages when linguistic discrimination was refined. Linguistic imperialism conceptualizes the dominance of English over other languages regardless of whether the language planning happened or was a result of random occurrences in colonialism and globalization.

The “awakening” of the Indigenous literary voice followed. The enlightenment of the academic audience and critics took place during the declared Native American Renaissance. It was manifested as a desire to rewrite colonial history and overcome stereotypes. After the world readership had shown interest in the Indigenous literary voice, Indigenous Literatures were moved from the margins and integrated into the North American literary corpora.

This artistic expression experienced a rise in the seventies. The academic reality changed significantly in 1969 when Kiowa’s novelist, Navarre Scott Momaday, won the Pulitzer Prize for *House Made of Dawn* in the fiction category. After that, attention was drawn to the Indigenous literary voice.

In the subsequent decades, efforts were made to close the shameful historical chapter of assimilating Indigenous children into the dominant educational system through residential schools. Gordon’s Indian Residential School in Punnichy, Saskatchewan, was the last one in Canada; it was closed and demolished in 1996, invigorating Indigenous authors to take a stance.

In the United States, the closing date is more difficult to determine. In 1978, the American Congress adopted the Indian Child Welfare Act, giving parents a choice to avoid sending their children to Indian boarding schools. The process of their closure lasted until the nineties of the last century. Still, fresh wounds stemming from personal and family experiences empowered Indigenous writers to make their voices heard.

As the existence of literature is inseparable from criticism, which is about two hundred years old, the question arises, “How do we define a theoretical review of Indigenous Literatures from the outsider’s perspective?” This issue will be discussed. The universality of human problems and symbolic representations are presented in the works of famous authors: N. Scott Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, Sherman Alexie, Thomas King, Louise Erdrich, Maria Campbell, Janet Campbell Hale, Linda Hogan, Joy Harjo, James Welch, Zitkála-Šá, Lee Maracle, Pauline Johnson, Beth Brant, Cherie Dimaline, Janet Armstrong, Basil Johnson, Joseph Boyden, and many others, as well as critics like Paula Gunn Allen, Gerald Vizenor, Simon J. Ortiz, Vine Deloria, and others.

Educated by literary tradition and loyal to conventional narrative heritage, authors present characters usually of mixed origin, torn from the serenity of community, unaccustomed to urban unrest, lost in the modern world, and enchanted by the

¹⁵ See Appendix 6. The Indian Reorganization Act, i.e., An Act to Conserve and Develop Indian Lands and Resources; to Extend to Indians the Right to Form Business and Other Organizations; to Establish a Credit System for Indians; to Grant Certain Rights of Home Rule to Indians; to Provide for Vocational Education for Indians, and for Other Purposes, 18 June 1934, for the document in full.

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incomprehensible principles of consumer society. The protagonists are hostages of confused identities until ritual self-discovery and critical unification moments in a haven of inherited ancestral teachings. Therefore, the literary expression of the Indigenous Peoples of North America represents a common way to preserve memory and a clear trace to defend identity from politicized abuses of the past and the uncertain future.

RESEARCH GOALS, HYPOTHESES, AND EXPECTED RESULTS

In its theoretical part, this doctoral dissertation deals with worldviews and identifiers of Indigenous identity in Indigenous Literatures. The summary survey results about stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples in popular culture follow. Representations are observed and formulated by the Serbian social subject. The planned scope of this study is to confirm the central hypothesis that society and language are in an interrelationship, just as literature and life are inextricably linked. For that matter, resolving the issue of universal identity is necessary. The experiment is tested on a sample of Indigenous Literatures in Canada and the United States of America. Preserving Indigenous traditions through articulating a unique ethnic voice and affirming the identity of Indigenous Peoples through literary forms is the interpretive focus of this study. The research aims to show the relationship between literary narratives, life achievements, and social changes and confirm that the Indigenous Peoples preserved their authenticity despite cultivation.

In spite of the perceived obstacle and the defined subject of the research, the primary hypothesis is that the identity of the Indigenous ethnicity is a hybrid and unstable structure subjected to social changes. In the process of colonization, the Indigenous identity was decisively determined. Later, the quest for identity continues, as presented and identified in the literature(s).

Auxiliary hypotheses have been defined to unravel the secret of the identity of Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, the first additional premise calls upon interdisciplinary knowledge to confirm that identity is a complex construct of several socially fragmented elements.

The next confirmable starting point is the remark that colonization has notably determined identity, while opposing views on colonization from the perspectives of the colonized and colonizers have caused cultural conflict. It will also be investigated how Serbs observe Indigenous Peoples, fitting into the mould of ingrained stereotypes. Lastly, it will be proven that the Indigenous voice confirms assumptions as a search result.

The goal is to encourage the reading of Indigenous Literatures. This literary expedition aims to record social changes in the literature(s) of the first inhabitants of North America and investigate and prove Indigenous cultural roots despite transculturality. “The phenomenon of transculturality is understood here as the formation of multifaceted, fluid identities resulting from diverse cultural encounters” (Welsch 198). As individual and collective literary attitudes toward life, the literatures of Indigenous Peoples are placed in that social context.

The study seeks to contribute to English philology and humanities in Serbia as well as promote Indigenous Literatures. By following the scientific approach, indigenous identity is detected in the literary output of those ethnic groups. The idea is to encourage

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academic seekers to enhance their study of the writings of Indigenous Peoples. A logical consequence of this research would be a comparative study of Serbian oral literature and the orality of Indigenous Peoples.

RESEARCH PLAN

This study is conceived and planned in several phases to refute misconceptions about the political design to tame Indigenous Peoples’ supposedly inevitable fate of extinction. The research aims to explore changes on all levels of identity that resulted from colonization and have remarkably determined the literary path of Indigenous Peoples. The focus will be on renaming and replacing languages, paying attention to the positive aspects of globalization.

Special attention will be paid to the critical decoding of hybrid discourse as the crucial instrument of the subversive narrative strategy. Contrary to the colonial meta-narrative, not bypassing the synchronic-diachronic taxonomy and the adaptation to the tone of Western idioms, the Indigenous narrative reflects disobedience to the authority of the imperial account. Since traditional mythical heritage is a significant factor in defining identity, myth as the begetter of identity will be tackled.

The study will cover the categories of place and space that testify to the Indigenous cult of the land in creating indigenous hermeneutics. The concept of the land, a borrowed resource for Indigenous Peoples¹⁶ and strategic settlers’ interests will be reviewed through oppositions. In other words, the invaders perceived Indigenous Peoples as threatening and uncivilized, unlike the naïve Indigenous notions of the usurper. Philosophical, sociolinguistic, and anthropological knowledge will be used to defend the polyvalence of cultures and languages.

The intention is to present Indigenous Peoples through the richness of their experiences as sources and niches of fiction. Thus, the importance of oral literature as an echo of the voice of the people who endured will be demonstrated. The turning point in the transition to the written word will be emphasized to bring Indigenous Literatures closer to readers familiar with the Serbian oral tradition. The truth becomes evident when the story ceases to be just told and passed from generation to generation, engraved on the tree’s bark or inscribed on the belt made of stringed shell pearls. Thus, the narrative identity created in the story can be seen through the dialectic of identity, connecting life, and literature.

METHODOLOGY

The applied methodological approach combines the quantitative procedure of a survey with qualitative practice. The quantitative-methodological component will collect data, as the design of the survey questions will be described. Other features will be clarified, such as the

¹⁶ “Land-Based Learning” is a modern approach that focuses on the right of Indigenous Peoples to belong to the land. See “Indigenous Land-[B]ased Learning.” *Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario*, Oct. 2020, p. 11, etfofmi.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Book_Land-Acknowledgement.pdf. Accessed 3 Sept. 2023.

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sample size, response success, the survey availability time frame, participants' selection, the designated time to complete the survey, and platforms and modes of access. Finally, those results will be measured, categorized, interpreted, and presented.

The qualitative observation investigates the status of “Indigenous Literatures” and “Indigenous identity” in North America, i.e., Canada and the United States of America. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be deployed per Fairclough’s model (Language and Power; Critical Discourse Analysis).¹⁷ That approach describes Indigenous fiction (verbal and/or visual texts) and offers interpretation through “discourse practice” (reading, listening, and viewing). Literary objects will be examined and explained in the context of social conditioning, referring to power relations and ideologies. Expected constraints are, as in all theoretical approaches, the limitation in measuring the impact of representations of Indigenous Peoples in popular culture as preconditions in perceiving Indigenous Literatures.

That is why quantitative practice will complement this study. This methodology is applicable for several reasons. First, the text is the source of worldviews, representations, and identity identifiers. This method is suitable for exploring language as a means of power and social control, confirming the primary hypothesis that “language is a social process” (Fairclough, Language and Power 19) and a “socially conditioned process” (20). The particular interest is in the discourse process of creating and interpreting the text, as well as the final product, i.e., the writing.

A multifunctional view of text is therefore essential. I have followed systemic linguistics (Halliday 1978)¹⁸ in assuming that language in texts always simultaneously functions ideationally in the representation of experience and the world, interpersonally in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole (a text, precisely) and tying texts to situational contexts (e.g., through situational deixis). (qtd. Halliday in Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis 6)

The research relies on the traditional methodology of literary criticism, focusing on Indigenous authors’ intentions that arise from their life experiences. The new stylometry approach will be touched upon to detect insufficiently indigenized writing styles. Lastly, cultural theories’ clues will be traced in Indigenous Literatures. Those refer to representations, channelling the language of Indigenous authors toward deconstruction. The prominent feature is detecting fragmented and hybrid identities.

The obtained data will be compared to the existing figures. The researchable approach will be applied, using primary literature (fiction and poetry) and secondary literature (e.g., literary criticism). Moreover, philosophical, ethical, etymological, anthropological, and sociolinguistic parameters will be considered. The referenced materials, i.e., publications, have been selected firstly according to their relevancy, secondly to the publication date, and lastly to the presence in popular culture, e.g., media and blogs, exposed to peer review. Additionally, grey literature sources, such as dissertations and theses, conference papers and proceedings, government documents and reports, interviews, policy statements, and statistical information, will be cautiously used.

¹⁷ See page 7.

¹⁸ See Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. Edward Arnold, 1978.

“When you know who you are; when your mission is clear and you burn with the inner fire of unbreakable will; no cold can touch your heart; no deluge can dampen your purpose. You know that you are alive.”

(Chief Seattle, Chief - Chief Seattle, Duwamish (1780-1866), par. 1)

The research has come with challenges in collecting data in person and on-site. Therefore, the sole quantitative analysis will be conducted in the online survey form. Besides, long-lasting geopolitical indicators impacted access to literary resources. Still, the determination is to endure and produce generalizable results based on the observed patterns.

Lastly, while discussing Indigenous matters, we challenge ourselves as non-Indigenous educators to get familiar with Indigenous epistemology. Our knowledge has been acquired in three phases.

The first one lasted for thirty-plus years in the Serbian academic landscape. It provided us with general education and curiosity. The second chapter was a two-year transitional period, as literature researchers in North America. That was the time of confusion and revelation, which urged us to persist in exploring identity. The final episode has been in progress for almost nine years while permanently living in Canada, where some questions have been given responses and others were initiated.

While looking for clues, we remember that we speak with the non-Indigenous voice of an avid reader, not directly targeted by colonialism. Regardless of the place of residence, the imperialistic impact is unavoidable. Being born in a part of the world not teamed with A-league political players gives us an insight into the margin of power. It is oxymoron-like that we are burdened with a lack of first-hand, colonial experience. Still, a point in favour of understanding what “the otherness” means is that we have been living the life of an immigrant to Canada.

Although being an immigrant significantly differs from being Indigenous, the inequality mechanisms operate on many levels, yet are somewhat linear. We experienced how the lack of colonial representations shaped our identity development while in the homeland and later, as expatriates, living far away from our “native” land.

Our first immigrant experience started with fostering an understanding of the dialogue with the residents in Canada and the USA, who knew little about our country of origin. “Serbia” sounds like “Siberia,” therefore too far and rather cold for the North American taste, and looks like “Syria,” i.e., too dangerous and strange. Our contacts are grateful for learning about Serbia, and we are equally eager to investigate more about North America. We see ourselves navigating between the worlds as missionaries to engage in the education process. It is not the patronizing lamentation the study should turn into, but the opening to curing ignorance and interspace in our historical knowledge. We strongly believe that literature provides such content.

However, despite the absence of lived Indigenous experience, we approach this study with openness to discovering the complexity of Indigenous themes and the diversity of Indigenous existence. Still, we are aware of our limited understanding of an outsider’s stand, trying to avoid deceiving ourselves into ever completely grasping Indigenous Literatures. Nevertheless, by listening to Indigenous voices and reading the texts on Indigenous themes written by Indigenous and non-Indigenous writers, we offer our internal perception and interpretation, hoping to broaden our worldviews. To conclude, by searching for answers to the question “How have Indigenous Peoples rooted their identity in literature?” we aim to (re)construct and (de)construct our identity perspectives. This is our story.

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

(qtd. Dakota Sioux in Melcher, title)

1. IDENTIFYING PARADIGMS OF POSTMODERN INDIGENOUS WRITING: EPISTEMOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Every inquiry into American Literature starts with questions about notions such as “American,” literature, history, and canon, as the academic Radojka Vukčević notices (*Istorija američke književnosti* “A History of American Literature;” 17). The controversy is whether texts written by American authors or texts about Americans represent American literature.

Following the same analogy, we pose similar questions in determining Indigenous Literature(s). Is it principally the collection of works written by Indigenous authors, or is the writing about Indigenous Peoples a decisive criterion in deciding what Indigenous writing is?

Two hurdles have been identified in the stylometric analysis of the Indigenous “world of letters.”¹⁹ The first issue concerns ascertaining authorship. The other, equally important, attests to the author(s) Indigenous origin. Historical circumstances that institutionalized margins confirmed the Indigenous disobedience to imperialist authority through autochthonous cultural roots. However, the culture of marginalized peoples, in its most apparent language domain, is an increasingly shifting reality from the standpoint of a postcolonial theory.

Friedrich Nietzsche, the cultural critic, observed the world in flux. The author calls it “the source of all world-defamation (- the ‘better world,’ the ‘true world,’ the ‘world beyond,’ and the ‘thing-in-itself’)” (*Will to Power* 377). For the author, “becoming does not aim as the final state, does not flow into ‘being’” because “becoming is not merely apparent state; perhaps the world of beings is mere appearance” (378). Consequently, conflict is inevitable in the name of “‘civilization’ or ‘humanization’ or ‘progress’” (*Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil* 133).

Furthermore, in the cultural critique *On the Genealogy of Morality*, Nietzsche differentiates “a military and politically dominant group of masters” who “exercises absolute control over a completely subordinate group of slaves” (xxi). Masters introduce, define, and apply the term “good” as opposed to “bad” to justify their way of life. For Nietzsche, the quest for identity is the path to self-awareness in its metaphysical dimension, i.e., how people perceive and create reality in their minds (*Beyond Good and Evil* 14).

Identity is, thus, a search inseparable from language but also entrapped by the paradox of language. Namely, each linguistic subject enters a relationship with other entrants with whom one shares linguistic space and thus keeps being a subject or becomes an object (*Will to Power* 263). Nietzsche sees relationships as “‘knowledge’ of other things” (272).

Along with it, an opinion about oneself is formed through self-reflection. Individual and group identities, built into interactions, determine the social, historical, and cultural dimensions. As per the philosopher Martin Heidegger, “language is a house of being” (239), where all reflections of oneness begin with curiosity and doubt and reside in language. Hence, language and identity are directly proportional.

¹⁹ The expression “the world of letters” is common in many books and website titles. It is here used to denote unknown origin literature.

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

(qtd. Dakota Sioux in Melcher, title)

Identity is not stable, as nothing in the universe is. Thereupon, nations disappear with the extinction of a minority language when more dominant languages overwrite it. Therefore, nurturing Indigenous traditions must be conducted through articulating a linguistic voice, harmonizing the interactions between minority and majority cultures, and respecting linguistic rights. On that account, language is an identification parameter by which an individual determines oneself towards society.

Colonial contact is visibly linguistic, and overtly political, so language always accompanies the colonization of the territory. Language becomes an institutional norm that is implemented through social interaction. In postcolonial language practice, the rule of the conquerors' language was established in residential schools. Conversely, the languages of Indigenous Peoples were restrained, and their use was limited only to reserves/reservations.²⁰ Unfortunately, no international law sanctions language rights violations (Skutnabb-Kangas 13).

The literary critic Michel Foucault claims that language is a complex social phenomenon that can be used or abused to exercise social dominance since subjugation starts at the language level (Order of Things 38-39). According to the author, identity is not a fixed entity. It is defined in fluid communication with others where the identity shifts. Language is not a transparent representation of things as they are. For example, thoughts are inscribed in languages where words are valid, judging by the order structure in an analogy.

(...) [R]eal language is not a totality of independent signs, a uniform and unbroken entity in which things could be reflected one by one, as in a mirror, and so express their particular truths. It is rather an opaque, mysterious thing, closed in upon itself, a fragmented mass, its enigma renewed in every interval, which combines here and there with the forms of the world and becomes inter-woven with them: so much so that all these elements, taken together, form a network of marks in which each of them may play, and does in fact play, in relation to all the others, the role of content or of sign, that of secret or of indicator. (38)

Since “the discourse”²¹ is not valid in its essence, it is not a tool for representation, but more like an object itself. A social subject cannot detach oneself from the culture and language; quite the opposite. As one is inseparable from language, immersing in the culture determines the relationship between the self and the other. To that end, language is likely to be full of artifice and fiction, whereas literature has “achieved autonomous existence” that compensates “for the signifying function of language” (49).

Foucault continues that “[i]t may be said in a sense that ‘literature,’ as it was constituted and so designated on the threshold of the modern age, manifests, at a time when it was least expected, the reappearance of the living being of language” (48). Siding with the critic means understanding that Indigenous writing appears in a time of historical turmoil and reconfirms its role in the resistance toward the dominant social subjects that exercise power. The play of different modalities of power is inextricably linked to identity.

Foucault's attitude toward power somewhat alters over time. In the publication *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, the author links power to societal institutions where it inheres, i.e., “they have all power of authority, of direction, of

²⁰ “Reserve” is the term used in Canada for the pieces of Indigenous land, whereas “reservations” are Indigenous land areas in the USA.

²¹ Foucault often refers to language as “discourse.”

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

(qtd. Dakota Sioux in Melcher, title)

administration, of commerce, of police, of jurisdiction, of correction and punishment over all the poor” (40). The writer sees “power as a demonstration” (79). In the essay “The Subject of Power,” Foucault explains that “power exists only when it is put into action” (788), i.e., context, and is “exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free” (790).

The controversy follows, considering Indigenous Peoples were overpowered and conquered institutionally but were freed literarily. Foucault’s theory was applied here to demonstrate the impact of powerful institutions on the sample of free nations, resulting in nations’ survival owing to literature(s).

The only aspect that Foucault did not connect to power is violence, claiming that “in itself, the exercise of power is not violence” (789). Nevertheless, the assimilation process for Indigenous Peoples was brutally violent. In addition, for the philosopher, the opposite pole of violence is passivity (789), which does not refer to Indigenous Peoples because they did resist the oppression.

Moreover, Foucault observes power as a variable discursive system that controls people’s thinking and behaviour. Still, the two do not always go together. Instead, the behaviour seems easier to manage than the thought. However, since knowledge and power are integrated to represent assets, every society must preserve its linguistic identity through acculturation resistance to the dominant linguistic ideology, ensuring the social community’s prosperity.

The “power of words” leads to a safe place and the position of linguistic relativity - the refuge of linguistic and cultural capital. “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (Douay-Rheims Version, John. 1.1). “And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us” (John. 1.14). Even when written in non-Indigenous languages, literature does not necessarily subjugate thought but liberates and emancipates it.

In the essay “Identity and Cultural Studies - Is That All There is,” the scholar Lawrence Grossberg questions whether any discussion of power is related to identity. The author suggests that the concept of identity be redeveloped for the sake of giving answers. A novel approach to the study of identity refers to placing discourse in the broader context of the demonstration of power as well as perceiving it as more complex than the relationship between oppressors and enslaved, which has been relevant to Indigenous Peoples (87-107).

The notion of identity, which is always incomplete in relations and processes, can be viewed differently. Grossberg accepts the perspective of the cultural theorist, Stuart Hall, emphasizing historical and strategic differences between identity models. One model implies the existence of primordial content determined by common origin and experience, and the other opposes it, which is why Hall defines identity in its contrasting interrelation between deconstruction and identity politics (1-17). The author sides with Nietzsche about “using resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being” (Hall 4).

Respecting the position of the philosopher Jacques Derrida, Grossberg views identity as a cultural and linguistic construct. Derrida introduces the First Principle of Logic, e.g., the law of identity, to deconstruct binary oppositions between speech and writing. The vague dichotomy of Indigenous writing is argued by applying Derrida’s undecidable concept. If Indigenous text is comprehended as other, i.e., “the dead letter” (17), it distances the author from the original idea to keep the story alive, and the story has lived.

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

(qtd. Dakota Sioux in Melcher, title)

Our line of thought is that Indigenous literary production is defined by the four elements presented in the Balance Wheel from an outsider’s point of view. The Wheel of Balance is a modernized version of a traditional medicine wheel or the Sacred Hoop, i.e., “a large cartwheel lying on its side” (Nozedar 286).

However, using the medicine wheel is multi-purpose, although not clearly defined due to the abundance of wheel appearances. Nevertheless, “they [the medicine wheels] are believed to have been used for ceremonial purposes and ritual observances” (287).

In pre-colonial times, the wheel had little practical value because its use implied the domestication of horses, which happened later, and environmental prerequisites, like accessible terrain. On that account, the first inhabitants of North America opted for transport with kayaks and canoes on the water and sleds on the snow. Indigenous Peoples were primarily hunters, then gatherers, and lastly farmers (Zimmerman 14).

At the time of initial contact, not industrialized enough, the Indigenous Peoples of North America were superficially marked as “primitive” by colonizers. For example, they were judged as being unfamiliar with the wheel. However, there is evidence “that the Kabal or the Mayan civilization was a potter’s wheel, and the Kabal was used prior to the arrival of the Spaniards” (Cheesman 188).

The saucer-like saucer like type Kabal is found at Mama, Yucatan and it consists of two parts: first, a pottery saucer similar to a mold used in Dasacare pottery making centers ... and second a round piece of wood. This piece of wood Petcha, goes on top of the Kabal (like a plaster bat of today) to make the flat working surface upon which the vessel is turned” (qtd. Brainerd in Cheesman 187).²²

Likewise, the wheel was identified in some toys (Cheesman 188). Once it was adopted, the wheel gained spiritual meaning (Nozedar 287).

(...) [T]he word ‘medicine’ is used as a description of the sacred nature of the landscape where the wheel is sited, and also of the spiritual significance of the rocks that form the wheel, as wheel as the shape of the wheel itself.

The circle itself, as a symbol, denotes eternity; the wheel has no beginning and no end, and as such also represents the seasons and the unending, constantly turning cycle of life. (287)

Our Balance Wheel²³ is in constant motion. Four visible lines, i.e., spokes shorter than diameters, aim toward the centre, positioned in radius angles toward cardinal directions, i.e., quarter turns. The point of their intersection is a hub for an axle, i.e., self. Those lines are aimed at under ninety degrees toward the imaginary baseline, i.e., tangent. It means there is firm ground or a line of reference to keep the wheel in motion mode.

The wheel has four layers, combining the conventional tyre wheel model and alluding to practicality. An outer green layer, tokenizing modernity and prosperity, protects a rim. That layer is solid when one’s inner self is balanced with the outside world. The coating below is the widest, where the spokes begin. It is a ring-like zone with rhythm and dynamics where thought, spoken word, experience, and text dwell. Finally, the innermost core is a central disc, the spinner, i.e., a land (red) down south, languages (black) in the west,

²² See Brainerd, George. W. Unpublished notes from the Department of Archaeology. Carnegie Institute, 1940, pp. 10-42.

²³ See Appendix 7. The Balance Wheel to get familiar with Indigenous worldviews.

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

(qtd. Dakota Sioux in Melcher, title)

a performance (white) up north, and a community (yellow) in the east. The ring forms four stages of self-discovery.

Indigenous Peoples’ connection to the land and nature is mental. A thought about it, i.e., awareness, is sublimed into an emotional need for healing, created in languages, and materialized in a spoken word. The aim is to experience it spiritually. A community is a physical shelter and a safe ground where enlightenment occurs in the transition from orality to the written word, i.e., a text. It is a circle of change and growth.

Therefore, the text is not the end of a cycle. Instead, the unique experience begins after reading, contemplating, retelling, and performing. Storytelling is a new creation process where the story changes and revives. That implies the border between speech and writing is blurry, requiring “listening to the indigenous writing,” as the author Peter Dickinson suggests (319). That concept also applies to recognizing Indigenous writing as an identity determiner.

“You have to look deeper, way below the anger, the hurt, the hate, the jealousy, the self-pity, way down deeper where the dreams lie, son. Find your dream. It’s the pursuit of the dream that heals you.”

(qtd. T.M. Mills in Shannon, par. 1)

1.1. THE CURIOUS CASE OF JOSEPH BOYDEN’S IDENTITY CRISIS²⁴

The controversial author, Joseph Boyden, starred in a scandal about their publicly disputed Indigenous roots. The Indigenous public claims Boyden does not belong to any Indigenous nation and, thus, must not speak on their behalf. The argument is that thinking of someone as Indigenous does not make them such.

The loudest among Boyden’s challenging voices is the APTN’s (Aboriginal Peoples Television Network) columnist Jorge Barrera, who wrote on 23 December 2016, “Author Joseph Boyden’s Shape-Shifting Indigenous Identity” (par. 1). Barrera investigated Boyden’s genealogy and found that Boyden’s only relation to any Indigenous community is their late uncle’s nickname, i.e., Earl Boyden, known as “Injun Joe.” It was explained in 1956 in *Maclean’s Magazine* under the title “The Double Life of Injun Joe:” “Earl Boyden may look like an Indian, think like an Indian, and spend most of his year among Indians, but so far as he knows, he hasn’t a drop of Indian blood.’ The article said Earl’s Boyden’s father ‘was a well-to-do Ottawa merchant who traced his family to Thomas O’Boyden of Yorkshire’ and that his mother was ‘Irish’” (qtd. in Barrera par. 2).

The public storm urged Boyden to continue proving their indigeneity by presenting the results of a DNA test in *Maclean’s Magazine* on 2 August 2017, which listed Boyden’s Indigenous origin. “The verdict is: we’re mutts. Celtic DNA. Check. Native American DNA. Check. DNA from the Arctic. Cool. I didn’t know that. Explains my love for winter. Some Ashkenazi Jew? I love it” (My name is Joseph Boyden, par. 12).

The spit tube was metaphorically implied to be spitting on Indigenous matters (Jago, par. 30). DNA results only fuelled the fire, provoking Boyden’s critics to keep denying the author’s Indigenous heritage. They referred to the fact that, despite the data, having some Indigenous blood does not necessarily mean belonging to the Indigenous community, which is paramount in claiming affiliation with the nation. All leading popular magazines and bloggers addressed the issue when Boyden’s text in *Maclean’s Magazine* sparked the debate.

The author contributed to the inconsistency by claiming their Mi’kmaq roots and Woodland Métis origin on their paternal side to update their stance. Then, they added Ojibway from their matrilinear lineage to the list, declaring themselves Métis. The last statement additionally muddied the waters because the discrepancy was apparent. For Boyden, “Métis” means mixed blood because of their Celtic and Scottish origin, but it does not indicate affiliation to the Métis Nation.

The prevalent comment is that Boyden should have known better, showing some knowledge of Indigenous nations. Unfortunately, the author also referred to the more general Anishinaabe term, shifting to firmer ground for the First Peoples’ classification. The bewilderment continued when Boyden mentioned their father’s Nipmuc blood, which launched the rebuttal.

Our area of interest in this identity crisis is the original polemics: whether Joseph Boyden, an acclaimed author, is of indigenous origin. If the writer is Indigenous, as they

²⁴ See the heather. Sidney Thomas Mills was the father of the Oglala Lakota Olympic athlete, William Mervin Mills.

"You have to look deeper, way below the anger, the hurt, the hate, the jealousy, the self-pity, way down deeper where the dreams lie, son. Find your dream. It's the pursuit of the dream that heals you."

(qtd. T.M. Mills in Shannon, par. 1)

claimed in their statement to CISION, "a small part of me is Indigenous, but it's a big part of who I am" (Statement, par. 3), is Boyden "Indigenous enough," so their writing is genuinely Indigenous? Above all, who will decide on that: readership, kinship, the entire Indigenous community, non-Indigenous people, critics, Boyden themselves, or everybody? If Boyden has made up to be "a white kid from Willowdale with native roots" (par. 3), we ponder what incited them to act that way. To prove the point, according to United Nations terminology, a modern understanding is based on "self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member" (UN Permanent Forum, par. 4). Another question is what Boyden might have gotten by declaring themselves Indigenous. After all, has the goal been accomplished?

On the other hand, Boyden's supporters find reasons for this conundrum in the writing, praising the author for openly speaking about violence on both sides and depicting brutal scenes in *The Orenda*. The perusal starts with etymology. For Haudenosaunee, "Orenda" the Great Spirit that, accompanied by the will of its own, resides in all aspects of the universe (Nozedar 341). It is a divine essence inherent to all human beings, emancipated to change the world.

Boyden's *Orenda* is a complex, epic narrative of multiple perspectives, resembling the indigenous patchwork pattern. The pre-reading requires the knowledge that Huron and Haudenosaunee have lived in the enmity of avenging their dead in ritual sacrifices. The novel's plot is set in the seventeenth century, amidst a war between the Huron and the Haudenosaunee. It is a tale of horror rituals, the terrible plight of drought and hunger, diseases, and personal tragedies like rape or addiction. The novel captures scenes of tearing out and eating the victim's heart (Boyden 79-80). "You cannot change what will soon happen," Bird says. "We are at war. And what my people will go through tonight is mourning warfare" (267). The New France colonization brought other social actors to the scene, such as Catholic missionaries, to convert the first inhabitants.

The novel offers three worldviews. The first is told by Indigenous characters, Bird and Snow Falls. Another one is Christophe, an agent of Christianization. The last perspective is of the mysterious shaman, Bird's lover, Gosling, who often echoes warnings and links the natural and spiritual realms. Three narrators tell their interwoven first-person, present-tense stories so that the reader gets a fuller picture of the life force that unites oppositions and erases differences toward the wholeness of life. The author chronicles those turbulent times through the voice of Bird, a Wendat (Huron) warrior, a recurrent protagonist in Boyden's novels. Another storyteller is Snow Falls, a member of the Haudenosaunee. Finally, Christophe, a Jesuit priest called Crow by the Huron, completes the story.

Each tragically flawed character is on a personal quest. Vengeful Bird kidnaps Snow Falls in retaliation to compensate for the loss of a family killed by the Haudenosaunee. However, Bird raises Snow Fall as their child, who rejects the capturers, plotting revenge, knowing what has happened. The symbolism of whiteness and purity of the name (Snow Falls) contradicts the black cloak of the religious fanatic Christoph, alias a fur trader who plans to Christianize the non-Christians. From Bird's point of view, Crow might be useful in the trade business. Differently, Crow finds the Indigenous world appalling and is unable to understand the natural order of things.

"You have to look deeper, way below the anger, the hurt, the hate, the jealousy, the self-pity, way down deeper where the dreams lie, son. Find your dream. It's the pursuit of the dream that heals you."

(qtd. T.M. Mills in Shannon, par. 1)

Still, over the years, characters grow and somewhat change. Bird becomes less naive and more respectful toward Crow, raising awareness of the dangers of Christianization. Snow Falls learns to love Bird as a parent-like figure. Christophe realizes the Indigenous connectivity to one another and nature. None of the characters is one-dimensional, serving Boyden's purpose to avoid the simplistic interpretation of the "white-red" polarity. Instead, the novel is a multidimensional interplay. The writer addresses the theme of violence: "'What is the point of this torture,' the warrior asks, 'if he is not present to understand its point'" (135)? The story wraps up the circular Indigenous pattern by ending the tale as it was started, with brutality and the implicit massacre on the island. It offers prophecy, if not hope, that "Orenda can't be lost, just misplaced. The past and the future are present" (487).

We ask, "Does Boyden, a person of words, offer their family stories here?" Still, they speak up about dreadful historical chapters. Their biography supports the link to Jesuit schools and life in the Indigenous surroundings. However, there is no relation to the author's intimate tragedy, which makes the story fiction. That might be one of the reasons Indigenous communities have yet to accept Joseph Boyden as Indigenous.

In dispelling doubts about establishing a corpus of texts that fall under the literature(s) of Indigenous Peoples, Arnold Krupat suggests that Indian writers must be of "real" Indian identity. However, the autobiographies of foreigners are a product of "bicultural composite authorship" (Indian Autobiography 24). Therefore, it would be liable and inappropriate to determine literary contents only or decisively depending on Western assessment of the quality of Indigenous texts. Likewise, it is unrealistic to expect an essentially Indigenous discourse to be established. Binary opposition, hybridity, and authenticity are intricately intertwined in literature, where Indigenous nations have shown cultural universalities in literary forms (Waldman 281).

In summary, Joseph Boyden writes about Indigenous matters appealingly, regardless of whether the writing is fiction or a historical account. However, more than self-identification is needed to claim the author's indigenesness. In this analysis, the Indigenous self and the non-Indigenous other are irreconcilably different. In Boyden's case, identity is given in the Indigenous community and by the community, i.e., self. Boyden, the other, eliminates themselves from becoming their true self through wrongdoing, confirming their inclination toward the genuine other. However, their blood work proves they are self, at least judging by a few drops of Indigenous blood, although they neither declare themselves as a pure self nor will ever be accepted as self-self. Thus, they must be other with a bit of self, i.e., the other-self. The non-Indigenous community, i.e., the other, is willing to accept the other-self. By doing so, the other shows some characteristics of the self and becomes closer to the self, i.e., the other-self. Finally, the Indigenous public, e.g., the self, condemns the other-self for their malintent, treating them as truly other and banishing them from the community. For that matter, the self distances themselves from the other and the other-self. Therefore, one behaves as the opposition from the other-self, showing the moods of a genuine other and becoming, i.e., self-other. In fine, no one is self-self as no one is other-other. Therefore, we conclude that reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people is needed.

“A very great vision is needed, and the man who has it must follow it as the eagle seeks the deepest blue of the sky.”

(qtd. Crazy Horse in *Ways to Experience Native American Culture*, par. 3)

1.2 THE CAUSALITY DILEMMA: WHICH CAME FIRST, AMERICAN LITERATURE OR INDIGENOUS LITERATURES?

The discussion about the term “Indigenous Literature” requires clarification of both elements of the syntagma, firstly, “Who is Indigenous?”, and secondly, “What is Literature?” (Eagleton 1). The concept of Indigenous Literature(s) is, by all means, incomprehensible in Western terms. Thus, why having many “Indigenous Literatures” might be an option will be explored.

The analysis starts by replicating the pattern and endorsing the term “Indigenous Peoples” because a general agreement between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people is that the denominator, “Indigenous Peoples,” is acceptable. Furthermore, on 13 September 2007, the General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, confirming the wording: “Article 13 1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons” (UN Declaration 12-13).

Article 13 guarantees the right to “use writing systems and literatures.” What is more, although the UN promotes “the fundamental criterion of self-identification” (UN Permanent Forum, par. 4), i.e., preferring belonging to the nation or clan, the term “Indigenous Peoples” is widely used for practical purposes. Even though, e.g., “Mohawk Literature or Okanagan Literature”²⁵ is undoubtedly the most precise terminology, the phrase “Indigenous Literatures” will be used in this research for many reasons.

The primary rationality is to unite still unexplored fields of national writing achievements by voting in favour of the adjective “Indigenous.” Since no generic term conjoins all literary texts, another discussion opens regarding a consensus on what text is literary. Suppose we start with the author’s intention. In that case, we agree with the literary critic Terry Eagleton that the author does not declare a text academic, as “[s]ome texts are born literary, some achieve literariness, and some have literariness thrust upon them” (Eagleton 7). The author’s intention is not the referential point in determining the text’s value or purpose.

Still, Eagleton does point out that the functionality of the writing substantially establishes literature. Therefore, what literature makes or brings to the world matters more than what literature ontologically is. The scholar Paternai Andrić explores literary theory topics and underlines the inference (155). Both critics conclude that literature obtains its role in the social context. Thus, we theorize that Indigenous writing serves the purpose of ethnic survival, proclaiming indigenous texts as literary.

The second reason we list is pluralizing the noun element of the initial word string by having a uniform attribute for distinct literary domains, as in “literatures.” In other words, “peoples” corresponds to “literatures.” Conversely, the literary discrepancy is limited by opting for “literature,” which contradicts the term “Indigenous,” where a common word unifies distinctions.

²⁵ See Jeannette Armstrong’s quote in this sub-chapter, p. 18.

“A very great vision is needed, and the man who has it must follow it as the eagle seeks the deepest blue of the sky.”

(qtd. Crazy Horse in *Ways to Experience Native American Culture*, par. 3)

The conclusive argument is that the pluralized noun form has already been in use. For example, in 1990, Indigenous writer and English language educator A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff wrote the book *American Indian Literatures: An Introduction, Bibliographic Review and Selected Bibliography*. In addition, the official document as a part of a social science high school curriculum in Canada was titled *Aboriginal Literatures in Canada: A Teacher's Resource Guide*. It was written by Renate Eigenbrod, Georgina Kakegamic, and Josias Fiddler and funded by the Curriculum Services Canada Foundation in 2003. Therefore, the academic application of the term “literatures” in the Indigenous context has already started.

Despite the noun “literature” being by default uncountable, we have found evidence for the precedent in leading English dictionaries. For instance, in Cambridge Dictionary, the plural form “literatures” is also possible when searching for “literature,” detected in Cambridge English Corpus, e.g., “Different literatures have emphasized different processes in explaining multiple victimization,” “there is also a strong, if brief, defence of the function of the canon in studying ethnic literatures,” and “we begin with a brief review of the relevant literatures.” Upon looking for the “literature” lexical entry in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, one more example was traced, i.e., “studies in different Asian literatures.” Collins Dictionary recognizes “literatures” as a “variable noun,” i.e., a word form in the plural, e.g., “the book explores the connection between American ethnic and regional literatures.”

The naming issue is not solved but merely vitalizes our consideration. That being the case, we assume the existence of the Literatures of Indigenous Peoples as a literary phenomenon proven.

Activist Jeannette Armstrong supports the previous statement. In the interview with Renate Eigenbrod on 6 August 2001, they said: “I would stay away from the idea of ‘Native’ literature, there is no such thing. There is Mohawk literature, there is Okanagan literature, but there is no generic Native in Canada” (Eigenbrod et al. 2).²⁶ However, Neal McLeod understands the need for the naming of “Aboriginal/Indigenous Literature” and continues “(...) Indigenous literature, if you want to use that label for convenience’s sake, holds many if not all of the beliefs, philosophies, worldviews of Indigenous people; it holds a history. So I would think that Aboriginal literature really is the heart of Aboriginal being” (qtd. in Eigenbrod et al. 2).²⁷

Another Indigenous author, Cherie Dimaline, former Toronto Public Library Writer in Residence, is of a similar opinion. On 13 June 2015, during their tenure, Dimaline pointed out in the text “What Is Indigenous Literature?” on the North York Central Library Blog:

Here’s what I think, for what it’s worth. I am not actually an Aboriginal writer. I am a Georgian Bay Métis writer. I do not write Indigenous literature. I write literature that is reflective of my Georgian Bay Métis culture. There is no such thing, I think, as Indigenous culture or Indigenous literature, because we are as diverse and unique from each other as bordering countries. There could be, instead, Cree literature, Anishinaabe literature, Haudenosaunee literature, etc. (par. 6)

Conversely, Gregory Younging, the author of *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples*, draws public attention to Indigenous copyright. The

²⁶ The contributing authors of *Aboriginal Literatures in Canada: A Teacher's Resource Guide* are Renate Eigenbrod, Georgina Kakegamic and Josias Fiddler.

²⁷ The excerpt is from Neal McLeod’s interview with Renate Eigenbrod from June 2001.

"A very great vision is needed, and the man who has it must follow it as the eagle seeks the deepest blue of the sky."

(qtd. Crazy Horse in *Ways to Experience Native American Culture*, par. 3)

writer suggests using a common denominator for indigenous writing. However, they argue that "Indigenous Peoples have Indigenous Literatures. The singular form ("Indigenous Literature") is pan-Indigenous - an umbrella term" (13). Thus, they suggest the generic term "Indigenous Voice" instead. Younging also condemns Canadian publishers and editors for compartmentalizing the Indigenous voice as a subitem of Canadian Literature. In supporting such a statement, the author mentions Kim Blaeser, the Anishinaabe author who discusses contemporary Indigenous Literatures. According to Blaeser, there is no supreme authority among the voices of people, natural phenomena, and animals involved in the story.

All of them need to be heard. Blaeser refers to the circular transcendental concept of time presented in Indigenous writing, where characters transition between natural and spiritual worlds. Younging mentions another argument for declaring a piece of work Indigenous by changing the speaker's gender, according to Jeannette Armstrong, who challenges readers to rethink traditional gender concepts. For that reason,

"Jeannette Armstrong connected to Indigenous thought in her well-known first novel *Slash* (which, in 1985, was also the first novel a First Nation woman published in Canada). She wrote *Slash* from a first-person male perspective" (Younging 14).

According to Younging, the proof of a unique Indigenous style is visible in Lee Maracle's novel *Sundog*. "It is written cover to cover with no chapter breaks" (14). However, to a novice reader, "the oratory style of an Elder speaking in a storytelling ceremonial setting" (14) might demand accommodation. Therefore, presenting the long-excluded Indigenous voice as a novelty in the 1970s in the Contemporary Literature Section of Canadian and/or American Literature needs to be revised.

Therefore, any divergence from conventional European writing must not be perceived as non-canonical. The way the critic sees it, the Indigenous voice is the continuation of oral traditions that predate conventional literature. "Indigenous Literatures are their own canon" (Younging 15), a literary entity on its own and not a tessera in the North American literary mosaic. Seeing a canon that measures literary value is disputable for all those reasons. Radojka Vukčević also mentions "američk[e] književnosti" ("American Literatures;" *Istorija američke književnosti* "A History of American Literature" 19) owing to contemporary perspectives in analyzing the past.

Furthermore, Younging identifies twenty-two principles of Indigenous style. A few will be analyzed here. The first principle of purpose refers to the necessity that the Indigenous design reflects Indigenous worldviews, distinct from the conventional type (99). The third precept establishes the status of Indigenous Literatures meant to "connect to and extend Traditional Stories and Oral Traditions that have existed for centuries and millennia and that long predate CanLit" (100), confirming the separateness of Indigenous Literatures from the mainstream literature. "Recognizing indigenous identity" is the fourth postulate (100). In defining identity as a critical stylistic determinant, Younging targets culturally diversified endurance, reclaiming uniqueness. Point thirteen proposes liner capitalization of the adjective "Indigenous" and not only in the syntagma "Indigenous Peoples."²⁸

²⁸ Since Indigenous Peoples favour addressing themselves according to the nation's belonging, we will keep capitalizing the adjective "Indigenous." Other descriptors like "Native" and "Aboriginal," as well as nouns such as "Natives" and "Aboriginals," in other syntactic units, will be avoided unless quoted. The reasoning is that "Indian(s)," "Native(s)," "Aboriginal(s)," "First Nations," and "Eskimo(s)" are all colonial terms.

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(qtd. Crazy Horse in *Ways to Experience Native American Culture*, par. 3)

Another one is Principle Eighteen, which speaks in favour of rejecting possessive nouns and adjectives. For example, Younging sees inappropriateness in, e.g., “Canada’s Indigenous Peoples” because Indigenous Peoples do not belong to anyone else but themselves. The last one to be examined is Principle Twelve, which refers to naming Indigenous Peoples according to their perceiving the world and expressing themselves.

“When Europeans first set foot in North America, it was to discover to their surprise that the continent already had human inhabitants” (Zimmerman 7). Settlers were skeptical about Indigenous Peoples because the absence of Biblical reference to Indigenous Peoples confused newcomers who had assumed Indigenous inexistence (8). It is believed that the first inhabitants arrived in North America 12,000 years ago. Throughout millennia, they have learned to survive, “adapting to the natural environments,” as Zimmerman explains (15). It is no wonder that the Western masters’ attempt to absorb the Indigenous Peoples “into the social mainstream” (15) fell apart. The commenter also insists on the faultiness of the definition of “discovering the Americas” (15). Perhaps the more precise approach would be “learning about the Americas,” i.e., the cultures existing before missionaries recognized them. Therefore, Zimmerman suggests “claiming the present” (22) through “reclaiming the past” (20) to confirm that “Indians are a people of today, not just yesterday” (15).

Referring to the title of this sub-chapter, we argue that “angloamerička perspektiva i prvi književni glasovi” (“the Anglo-American perspective and the first literary voices;” Vukčević, *Istorija američke književnosti* “A History of American Literature” 37) paradoxically confirmed that the planned “Manifest Destiny,” i.e., “agresij[a] protiv starosjedilačkih naroda” (“the aggression against Indigenous Peoples of North America;” 41) was counterproductive. Indigenous Peoples have been and are persistently trying, as Vukčević explains (41), “da sačuvaju svoju kulturu” (“to preserve their culture;” 41). Therefore, their literature is considered “integralnim dijelom kulture Sjedinjenih Država” (“an integral part of the culture of the United States;” 41).

Nevertheless, although “Indigenous” is also a colonial wording (lat. *indigena*, meaning “native”), which has been used for people, flora, and fauna, it seems to be the least harmful. See Younging pp. 99-104. However, as questioning prevails, explore the latest published observations of the U of California anthropology professor. See Singh, Manvir. “It’s Time to Rethink the Idea of ‘Indigenous.’” *New Yorker*, 20 Feb. 2023. www.newyorker.com/magazine/2023/02/27/its-time-to-rethink-the-idea-of-the-indigenous. Accessed 4 Sept. 2023.

“The finest of my elders remind me that being Indian is an attitude, a state of mind, a way of being in harmony with all things and all beings. It is allowing the heart to be the distributor of energy on this planet; to allow feelings and sensitivities to determine where energy goes; bringing aliveness up from the Earth and from the Sky, pulling it in and giving it out from the heart, the very center of one’s being. That is the Indian way.”

(Edwards 391)

1.3 STEREOTYPES, PREJUDICES, AND MISCONCEPTIONS – INTERPLAY

This section deals with the speculation that Indigenous Peoples of North America and Serbs of South-Eastern Europe are connected owing to their interwoven destinies. What Serbs and Indigenous Peoples have in common is being forced to claim their rights to the homeland and go on a quest, searching for identity while living a life in confinement.

The predominant simplistic characterizations construct representations of Indigenous Peoples in popular culture. They occurred during colonialism because of historical inaccuracies “through techniques of contextualization, misinterpretation, and tokenization” (Harding 225). The principal reason for their existence is the clash of cultures and reference value systems. False value frames have become widespread in cinematography, visual art, comics, and literature. That is why “America cannot truly understand the real issues of contemporary American Indian lifestyles and worldview without understanding the popular Indian images of the past, present, and future” (Pewewardy 198).

The general categorization shapes an Indigenous person as a “Noble Savage” (devious and violent but ignorant and, occasionally, gentle). That representation is a combination of a “Bloodthirsty Savage” (M. K. Green 324), a primitive and destructive person driven by vengeance, and a “Native Sidekick,” without the capacity for “higher cognitive function” (Byrne 114) in a subordinate role, but a “nobly innocent” individual (E. Bird 3). Other sub-stereotypes are “Vanishing Indian” (a dying Indian on the verge of extinction) and “an Indian Princess” (an enchanting beauty).

Additional rooted representations depict Indigenous Peoples as poor, more prone to abuse and modern diseases such as diabetes, alcoholism, and mental health problems, aside from not paying taxes to the government, enjoying tuition-free enrollment in colleges and universities, smuggling tobacco, and promoting gambling in casinos. The author David Treuer in *Native American Fiction: A User’s Manual* underlines, “we are, I think, hated because we are perceived as not living up to our potential” (111).

Those ready-made concepts harm Indigenous Peoples not speaking their minds and significantly limit non-Indigenous people from perceiving the world and thinking. Over time, stereotypes have slightly changed, but Indigenous archetypes in popular culture have remained antiquated.

1.3.1. REPRESENTATIONS

The critic Roy Harvey Pearce was among the early modern critics who tried to present the settlers’ perception of Indigenous Peoples from their first encounter until the nineteenth century. In the book *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*, Pearce identifies three specific periods (xi) as explained by Arnold Krupat in the foreword.

“The finest of my elders remind me that being Indian is an attitude, a state of mind, a way of being in harmony with all things and all beings. It is allowing the heart to be the distributor of energy on this planet; to allow feelings and sensitivities to determine where energy goes; bringing aliveness up from the Earth and from the Sky, pulling it in and giving it out from the heart, the very center of one’s being. That is the Indian way.”

(Edwards 391)

Upon Europeans’ arrival in North America, the contact with the colonized was marked by the settlers’ image of Indigenous Peoples as “ignorant” and “devilish-like.” It raised awareness of the imminent obstacles in civilizing “the savages.” Therefore, since savagery represented danger toward human progress in the colonizer’s eyes, its “removal” was socially justified and religiously explained in an ethnocentric approach.²⁹ The second period traces representations of “the savages” in early American Literature and the first inhabitants’ influence on literature. Finally, the last phase explores the emerging nineteenth-century literature, intrinsically labelled by writers’ preconceptions about Indigenous Peoples (vii-xvi).

One of those infamous qualifications is the following: the story behind the disgraceful proverb contributed by General Philip Sheridan (Mieder 38).

It was in January, 1869, in camp at old Fort Cobb Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, shortly after Custer’s fight with Black-Kettle’s band of Cheyennes. Old Toch-a-way (Turtle Dove), a chief of the Comanches, on being presented to Sheridan, desired to impress the General in his favor, and striking himself a resounding blow on the breast, he managed to say: ‘Me, Toch-a-way; me good Injun.’ A quizzical smile lit up the General’s face as he set those standing by in a roar by saying: ‘The only good Indians I ever saw were dead.’ (qtd. Ellis in Mieder 44)³⁰

Over time, Sheridan’s remark was generalized into “The only good Indian is a dead Indian.” Controversy follows the incident since there is no written evidence of such a statement, as Sheridan denied ever saying that (Mieder 44). However, the saying remained attached to the General for their well-known brutality against the Indigenous Peoples.

1.3.2. DECODING PORTRAYALS OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN INDIGENOUS LITERATURES

In this sub-section, the role of Indigenous Literatures in redefining “stereotypes, ethnic slurs, and racial prejudices” (Mieder 38) will be traced. Modernizing clichés will be conducted on a sample of Indigenous and mixed-blood characters presented in literary works by Indigenous authors.

Writers, poets, and storytellers rewrite Indigenous stereotypes, rejecting monochromatism, flatness, and linearity by introducing complex characters that resemble lifelike humanity with their virtues and tragic flaws. In that window of characterization and prospects of widening the dynamism of authenticity, the understanding of Indigenous identity resides.

²⁹ from the colonizer’s perspective

³⁰ See Ellis, Edward Sylvester. *The History of Our Country: From the Discovery of America to the Present Time*. Jones Brothers, 1900, p. 1483.

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1.3.2.1. A NOBLE SAVAGE

The common motif in dominant literature is “A Noble Savage.” That stereotype has been redesigned in Indigenous Literatures. The epitome of representation is seen in Joseph Boyden’s *The Orenda*.

Bird, an elder Huron, vows to avenge their slaughtered family by killing a hundred Haudenosaunee people. A warrior on a mission takes part in “mourning warfare” and confesses, “I took no pleasure in killing the last two women. They were already so wounded, we knew they wouldn’t survive the trip home. Even though I asked Fox to do it, my asking is the same as if I myself had done it” (10).

Bird’s brother Fox, a Wendat chief, leads a brutal massacre and commits a horrific murder by killing a Haudenosaunee chief. The child left behind reminds Bird of the family tragedy, so they kidnap Snow Falls. Over time, Bird embraces the child as a parent. The other time, when their people are in imminent danger of Christianization, Bird plots the murder of the Crow, a Jesuit priest, so as not to be seen as a deed of the Hurons. However, they end up saving Crow’s life. The softer side of Wendat warriors is visible in pastoral images of family life when Bird becomes the shaman’s lover.

1.3.2.2. A VANISHING INDIAN

The term “a Vanishing Indian” is a common misconception about the race on the verge of extinction. However, the latest 2016 Statistics Canada Census data show that the Indigenous share of Canada’s population is 5%. The predictions are that Indigenous Peoples could range between 5.4% and 6.8% by 2041 under the medium-growth scenario (Projections of the Indigenous populations, par. 4). Furthermore, the Indigenous population is predicted to age more quickly but remain younger than non-Indigenous people, refuting the initial statement.

In Indigenous Literatures, the “Vanishing Indian” symbolizes deconstruction. For example, in *House Made of Dawn*, N. Scott Momaday presents Vidal, the protagonist’s older sibling, dying young of disease. Although Vidal is not alive, the bonding memories vividly mark Abel’s childhood. When Vidal and Abel went horseback riding, “Vidal took him [Abel] to the face of the red mesa and into a narrow box canyon which he had never seen before” (11).

Another tragic character is Arnold Spirit Sr., Junior’s parent, whom the award-winning author Sherman Alexie depicts as a person with flaws in *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part-Time Indian*. “When the holidays rolled around, we didn’t have any money for presents, so Dad did what he always does when we don’t have enough money. He took what little money we did have and ran away to get drunk” (150). Under different circumstances, Arnold Spirit Sr. might have been a successful saxophonist, so the parenting role is visible in encouraging Junior to try basketball.

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Junior’s other parent is also an ex-alcoholic and a book lover who turned religious after quitting drinking. Had their destiny been different, they might have become a college graduate.

1.3.2.3. AN INDIAN PRINCESS

Indian princesses are mainly represented in cinematography, often based on historical figures like Pocahontas, Chief Powhatan’s child.

Boyden’s Snow Falls in *The Orenda* is a child of the Haudenosaunee chief who witnesses the murder of the whole family while watching their parent sing a death song. A Huron smashes the Haudenosaunee chief’s head off the falling body with arms stretched out. The symbolism of the crucifix is inscribed in Snow Falls’ memory, warming up their revenge after being captive. It is believed that Snow Falls is a spirited soul. “She has something special. She has a gift” (53).

Throughout the novel, Snow Falls grows from a teenage orphan to a grown-up, learning to love their captors. The character’s tragic destiny continues. After being raped by an adoptive sibling, Aron, Snow Falls gives birth to a child soon to die poisoned.

In *Tracks*, written by Louise Erdrich, a tragic heroine, Fleur Pillager, a Chippewa (Ojibwa), has magical power because people who have crossed them have died mysteriously. Erdrich tells Fleur’s story from the perspectives of unreliable narrators Nanapush and Fleur’s antipode, Pauline.

Nanapush adopts Fleur after the rest of the family dies. Fleur escapes death a few times but is not liked on the reservation. Demonstrating stubbornness and independence comes at a price because Fleur gets raped and pregnant by fellow gamblers. “Fleur finally gave them a subject” (17). “And yet, it wasn’t just that she was a Chippewa, or even that she was a woman, it wasn’t that she was good-looking or even that she was alone that made her brains hum. It was how she played cards” (18).

Meanwhile, Fleur falls in love with Eli, who raises the child. To save the child from the reservation perils, Fleur sends the child to a supposedly safer boarding school. Other tragic events, like losing the land and delivering a stillborn baby, cause Fleur’s depression.

1.3.3. WORLDVIEWS

Once upon a time, there was free land in the Americas until some curious, white-skinned travellers pursuing gold and spices lost their way. Although the adventurers did not find what they were looking for, colonizers by profession did discover more than they hoped for - a different continent, intact in its beauty, a perfect fertile ground to demonstrate many of their talents, like the hostile takeover agenda.

The colour of the settlers’ skin has significance in this story. The colonizers’ potential for manipulation enlightened the opportunists and the army of their followers to seize the

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land, displace it, and enclose the remaining inhabitants. The self-proclaimed “superiors” occupied the Indigenous “inferiors” geographically, subjugated them politically, ravaged them economically, downgraded them ecologically, and caused their health to deteriorate. However, despite the invaders’ malintent, the cultural, linguistic, and literary fortunes of the conquered carried the day.

In some other fairy tale without a happy ending, there was a big, beautiful country in the heart of Europe. Unfortunately, its richness and winsomeness were in synergy with inevitable factors, such as the fall of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and heated nationalistic tendencies leading to the civil war in Yugoslavia. That was only a herald of further diminishing what once was an empire and what has become a meal served to politically hungry world map designers. Just like the Indigenous Peoples of North America, who happened to be in the way of those who had a master plan to recreate the world map, so were the Serbs, stranded at the crossroads between the East and the West.

The latest conflict started in 1991, and according to the International Center for Transitional Justice, about 4 million people fled their homes. Although not all of them were Serbs, 140,000 people were killed (Former Yugoslavia, par. 2). Due to some circumstances, approximately 12.32% of Serbian territory, i.e., 10,887 km² (Country Comparisons, par. 3) out of the total 88,361 square kilometres, unilaterally declared independence in 2008. The Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija is precious for natural resources like mineral wealth, such as coal, especially lignite, zinc, lead, silver, and chromium, as well as forests, rivers, mountains, and agricultural areas.

Moreover, the cultural heritage of medieval monuments in Kosovo was added to the World Heritage List in Danger (World Heritage Committee, par. 1). From 1999 to 2004, 140 Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries were damaged and destroyed in Kosovo (Serbenko 94).

Neither story has had an ending yet. Some people were forced to leave their native land on both ends. Those who stayed desperately try to be rooted where the soil is fertile and accept themselves as they are, with all their dreams and tragic flaws. Their sense of belonging is vague due to their hybrid, unstable, and fragmentary identity in crisis. In that new world, the national identity is revealed rather than personal, while parallel realities collide, making the identity plight unavoidable. Both ethnicities find themselves between the preferred, designed, and acceptable paradigm on the one hand and reality on the other. They wander, unable to navigate themselves within a newly established coordinating system of world politics, economic interests, and artificially composed boundaries among nations, claiming their ethnic identity.

Genuinely prone to the romanticism of a better life elsewhere, Serbs, i.e., Slavs, visualize themselves as “the Indians’ of Europe” (Vukušić). Branko Vukušić is the author of *Sloveni – Indijanci Evrope* (Slavs - European “Indians”). The author discusses that the Slavs are more numerous in Europe than the Anglo-Saxons. Still, Slavs are not yet considered genuine Europeans for numerous political reasons, making their status “Indian-like.” Following the pattern, we examine the position of Serbs in Europe.

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However, the similarity is more lexical than non-fictional.³¹ The consequences of colonialism, evident in political, economic, ecological, ideological, cultural, and social practice and the linguistic sphere, determined the destiny of Indigenous Peoples in North America and the world. Nevertheless, united by love for nature and their land, ready to defend them, and unaware that they were conquered, North America’s first inhabitants overcame the historical and cultural shock that befell them. After an attempt of unprecedented systematic extermination, thanks to the anthropological, psychological, ethical, and linguistic features embodied in artistic expression, Indigenous Peoples survived to tell their stories.³²

“The phenomenon of restrictions within reservations creates the space for echoing the imagination of silent voices as holy sounds” (Glišić Dunović, *Deconstructing Indigenous Feminism* 115) among Indigenous Peoples. The first inhabitants in North America have been experiencing restraints for seven centuries.

In like manner, for the past eight centuries, a burning issue of “the territory problem” is an open wound left festering for all Serbs who see Kosovo as their ancestral cradle. Moreover, within former Yugoslavia Serbs were under economic and diplomatic sanctions for years, from November 1991 until January 2001. An indicator of the devastating embargo impact is that the suicide rate increased by 22% (Cohen, par. 5). Even today, many years after that, the nation is still coping with the pace of revitalizing the economy and finding its way on the political scene of Europe.

Additionally, during the Kosovo War, which started without the official approval of the United Nations, Serbs lived under NATO bombing from March until June 1999. However, the sanctions and bombs did not “discipline” the Serbs. The analogy is an intrusive educational crusade of conversion to Christianity to “tame” the Indigenous Peoples to abandon their cultural values.

The imposed subject matter is the formulation of the social subject, such as “native,” “Indigenous,” “Aboriginal,” or “Native American,” preferable to the “Indian” denominator. Comparably, the nation’s name as the primordial constituent of identity is crucial for Serbs while distinguishing “Srbi” (“Serbs”) from “Srbijanci.”³³ Although the first term was somewhat linguistically questionable,³⁴ the second raises political controversy and negative emotions among Serbian people, who often see it as malicious. In most interpretations, the distinction refers to differentiating the geographical from the national concept.

Nevertheless, those notions need to be more explicit. In other words, people who declare themselves as citizens of Serbia are Serbs (“Srbi”). Others living in Central Serbia are “Srbijanci,” seemingly ignorant, unlike those living in the capital city and autonomous provinces of Vojvodina, and Kosovo and Metohija. Likewise, seen from the perspective of other ex-YU territories, only Serbs who live in Serbia are “Srbijanci.” In contrast, others who

³¹ See questionnaire results in 6.1. Indigenous Matters.

³² See 3. Colonization, Alias Cultivation.

³³ Controversy is added when pluralizing the adjective in the non-standard translation “Serbians.”

³⁴ Unlike the expected adjective “Serbian” (e.g., Canadian, American, etc.), the designated name for the people of Serbia is the noun “Serb.” The polemics is also about “Bosnians” [“Bosanci”] vs. Bosniaks [“Bošnjak/Bosnjak”]. See the title of Klajn’s interview.

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live abroad and in ex-Yugoslavian republics, now independent countries, are called “Srbi” (“Serbs”).

In the interview, printed on 25 April 2013, linguist Ivan Klajn resolved the controversy in the daily newspaper *Blic*. “Srbin” (“Serb”) is identified as a Serbian nationality, and “Srbijanac” is a person who resides in Serbia. Moreover, every “Srbin” (“Serb”) is not “Srbijanac,” just like not every “Srbijanac” is “Srbin” (“Serb”) (Klajn, par. 12).³⁵

Other identifiers also matter. When life was less uncertain, the good old days were particularly sentimentalized in post-socialist reality while dreaming about liberalism and peaceful times. That is why juggling stress became the pastime. According to the report issued by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, in 2021, the Serbian population counted 6.83 million, with a continued yearly depopulation growth of -9.4 ‰ (Procene stanovništva “Population Estimates;” par. 2). Serbs are the dominant ethnic group at 83.3% according to the 2020 data (Social and economic background, par. 5). Judging by the public world factbook published by Country Reports, Serbia is perceived as a struggling economy on a politically uncertain path:

Serbia has transitional economy largely dominated by market forces, but the state sector remains significant in certain areas. The economy relies on manufacturing and exports, driven largely by foreign investment. MILOSEVIC-era mismanagement of the economy, an extended period of international economic sanctions, civil war, and the damage to Yugoslavia’s infrastructure and industry during the NATO airstrikes in 1999 left the economy worse off than it was in 1990. In 2015, Serbia’s GDP was 27.5% below where it was in 1989. (Serbia Economy, par. 1)

When it comes to stereotypes about Serbs, many misconceptions are present. The core concept is that Serbs are supposedly nationalists who value honour. They are seen as disobedient toward higher authorities facing compliance challenges. Serbian identity is mainly elicited from ethnicity and national pride in famous scientists (Lalic, par. 6) and world-known athletes (par. 3). Most of the stereotypes derive from circumstances such as recent wars, leaving Serbian people to cope with the turmoil of political and economic upheaval.

According to the last completed and published census data in 2011, most of the Serbs, i.e., 84.6%, are Orthodox Christians (Social and economic background, par. 14). Despite being a monotheistic religion, there are some relics of Slavic pagan beliefs in Orthodox Christianity. As Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the reformer of the modern Serbian language, noted, “Od suđenja se ne može uteći. Narod naš misli da je svakome čovjeku suđeno što će mu se u vijeku dogoditi i kakvom će smrti umrijeti, i da se čovjek od suđenja ne može sačuvati (“There is no escape from fate. Our people think that every man is destined for what will happen to him throughout his life, what kind of death he will die from, and that man cannot be saved from the doom;” 218-219). Conversely, the Orthodox Christian denomination proclaims free will but also divine predestination.

³⁵ The columnist M.V. has interviewed Klajn. In most Serbian newspapers, the author’s name is hidden under the initials. Still, we suspect that the interviewer was Mića Vujičić.

“The finest of my elders remind me that being Indian is an attitude, a state of mind, a way of being in harmony with all things and all beings. It is allowing the heart to be the distributor of energy on this planet; to allow feelings and sensitivities to determine where energy goes; bringing aliveness up from the Earth and from the Sky, pulling it in and giving it out from the heart, the very center of one’s being. That is the Indian way.”

(Edwards 391)

Even though there is no proof of Serbs being present among colonizers of the New Continent, Serbs are Europeans and, therefore, marked in theory, more likely to be colonizers than colonized. Nevertheless, Serbs have never been genuinely adopted into “the European family.” Seeing it in historical circumstances, Serbia has always been enchanted by the Western World’s attainment, whereas emotionally, the inclination toward the East prevails. That consequently positions Serbia on the seesaw of the global political scene. In the long run, all that might confuse Serbian national and personal identities.

On the other hand, Indigenous worldviews are entirely different from Western religious perspectives in that they are not based on religion as a unique system. Thus, the Indigenous realm refers to rituals, spiritual practices, and beliefs.

Nowadays, Indigenous Peoples and Serbs are on their way toward restoring lost unities, discontinuity, and fragmentation in the community. Every analysis of identity in deconstructive criticism begins with observing distinctive features.

For Michel Foucault, studying identity is more of a discursive practice than a theory. The question of identification is posed as a new strategic concept in a displaced and decentralized position. The discursive approach no longer treats identity as a finished product. It is a continuous process where identities are constructed through differences. For Foucault, “to be the same is really boring” (Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth 166). The critic refers to a person’s relationship with oneself, i.e., relationships of “differentiation, of creation, of innovation” (166). Therefore, identity quests appear in critical historical moments.

In interactions between the individual and the social environment, individuality is not perceived as the opposite concept of collectivism. On the contrary, the study of identity refers to the individual’s socialization and the dialectic between an individual and a society. The essential characteristic of an individual is change. Numerous aspects form sub-identities: race, class, gender, fashion, age, occupation, education, political affiliation, or lifestyle. Especially in globalization, identity is created through contrasts that provoke different reactions: segregation or integration, acculturation or interculturality.

Identity allotropies connect at different stages of existence for an individual being through collective association and ethnic recognition as a national identity, confirming ownership. Identity is created by convention, or, for the Indigenous Peoples and Serbs, coercion and involuntary imposition by a dominant social subject, a more powerful identity, and a ruling ideology. Those dangers of impoverishment and dehumanization attempt to position the Indigenous Peoples and Serbs as others, denying the others’ striving for cultural diversity. Thus, identity should be understood as belonging to a culture, nation, religion, or language community. Serbs and the Indigenous Peoples of North America are no exceptions. Therefore, searching for identity is an uncertain and challenging path.

"In retrospect, I realized that we have done them (Indians) wrong. ... These films were for me, a bit of an attempt to correct the story. ... I have always admired their (Indian) beliefs and attitudes. ... I feel that my films have given them (Indians) a piece of restitution."

(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

1.4. SERB-INDIAN REALM OF SEMBLANCE: REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIGENEITY IN SERBIAN SLANG

The sub-chapter focuses on confirming the hypothesis that Serbs have prejudices and misconceptions about Indigenous Peoples, embracing representations as referencing points to form their opinions.

Most Serbs' affection for Indigenous characters dates from their earliest childhood and stories about heroes and heroines like Pocahontas, Hiawatha, and Winnetou. Avid readers start with adventure stories. In time, their image of the Wild West advances from idyllic in Zane Grey's books to somewhat realistic as their interest in historical novels like *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper increases.

The idea of a simple life in nature juxtaposed with the symbolic portrayal is enchanting. Book lovers are urged to read Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*. Tayo, a mixed-blood character, who tries to heal their confused identity in a ritual quest to reunite modern life with cultural origins and traditional teachings, charms readers. The novel points out the universality of problems: non-Indigenous people in a commercialized society and Indigenous Peoples seeking refuge. Protagonists like Fleur in Louise Erdrich's *Tracks* seduce the reader. Scott N. Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* leaves readers breathless throughout the protagonist's pilgrimage, as does the initiation into Kiowa tradition in *The Way to the Rainy Mountain*. A curious mind discovers Maria Campbell's and Thomas King's books highlighted by the Canadian curriculum.

Some Serbs find themselves Indian-like partly because of the "Serb-Indian" epitome, a director, an actor, and a stunt person, Gojko Mitić, who built their career in East German western movies. The actor has made their name the "Winnetou of the East" (Westerns All'Italiana, par. 1). In the 1960s, Mitić played minor roles in Karl May's films and was a leading actor in a trilogy *Ostern* ("the Easterns") *Die Söhne der großen Bärin* ("The Sons of Great Bear") (1966), *Chingachgook, die grosse große Schlange* ("The Great Snake") (1967), and *Apachen* ("Apaches") (1973) produced by Deutsche Film-Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA). The socialist milieu then influenced the Eastern European film industry.

For the first time, in *The Sons of Great Bear*, Mitić starred in the title role as the chieftain Tokei-Ihto of the Oglala's Bear Band in the Great Sioux War. The protagonist is a noble, heroic warrior who defends the Lakota people from non-Indigenous antagonists. A former sports teacher and an athlete fit into the role of a North American inhabitant in frontier sagas. Thus, Mitić became a stereotype of an Indigenous person in the eyes of the East Europeans. Even though they did the stunts themselves, Mitić was dubbed owing to their accent. The movie made Mitić into a celebrity specializing in Indigenous hero roles. These Eastern Block "Red Westerns" differ from West German Westerns, where a teaming up between "whites" and "Indians" is based on Karl May's books. Still, the overall naivety of acting performance prevails.

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(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

Similarly, the Indigenous symbolism means a forever-fashionable “Iroquois³⁶ haircut” and a dream catcher as decoration in Serbian houses, hoping for a healing effect on a sleeper.

The legend of the Dream Catcher originated when the child of a Woodland chief fell ill and could not sleep due to bad dreams and fever. The Medicine woman of the tribe formed a circle from a willow branch and with sinew, borrowed the pattern from our brother the spider who weaves a web. The dream catcher was hung over the bed of the child and soon the fever broke and the child slept peacefully. It is said that at night, when dreams visit, they are caught in the web and only the good dreams find their way and filter down through the feather. When the morning sun comes, the bad dreams that are caught in the web are burnt away. The good dreams, now knowing the path, visit again on other nights. (Oberholtzer 143)

The eminent Serbian rock musician Antonije Pušić, alias Rambo Amadeus, performs with the “Five Winnetous” band (News, par. 4). Hence, curiosity-driven Serbs are expected to listen to Winnetous before discovering the fictional Karl May’s Winnetou.

In 1984, the ex-Yugoslavian rock group “Zabranjeno pušenje” (“No smoking”) released their debut album “*Das Ist Walter*” (“*That Is Walter*”) inspired by the WWII-themed movie *Valter brani Sarajevo* (“*Walter Defends Sarajevo*”). The film is about the multi-ethnic partisan crew fighting against Germans in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Motivated by the political turmoil in the Balkans in the 1980s, the group members created a song about a distinct conflict, *Čejeni odlaze* (“*Cheyennes Are Leaving*”). It originated while the lead vocalist, Nenad Janković, known as Dr. Nele Karajlić, was in the army. As Karajlić says in the book *Fajront u Sarajevu* (“*Closing Time in Sarajevo*”), the lyrics predestine Serbs, metaphorically presented as Cheyennes, fleeing their homes in Kosovo because Shoshones are regrouping and rising (111).

Karajlić never confirmed that they had been referring to Albanians who live in Kosovo, i.e., “Šiptari,” setting the tribal war in Idaho (135). The plot is about land that is not large enough for parties involved in warfare. Karajlić also mentions “miran rezervat” (“a quiet reservation”) that a person of authority, “bijeli otac” (“a white father”), promises Cheyennes, who are armed and ready to fight for the land before leaving it behind. In the 1990s, when the Kosovo War happened, the song sounded prophecy-like, announcing the bloodshed.

Another example dates from the 1990s, when the ex-major of the Serbian capital, Belgrade, Siniša Mali, was a guitar player in the hardcore punk group “N.M.I.,” i.e., “Nismo mi Indijanci” (“We Are Not ‘Indians’”) during their student days. The text above the picture states that “samo ime grupe ne skriva rasističke ideje ili prezir ka izvesnoj grupi ljudi” (“the group name does not hide racist ideas or contempt for a specific group of people”).³⁷

However, naming “Indians” in artistic self-definition does have some context. Stating that group members are not “Indians” requires defining who “Indians” are. “Indians” are not the same as “non-Indians,” because if they were, the title would be “We are (all) ‘Indians.’” Since identifying is based on what group members are not rather than what they

³⁶ “Iroquois” is a colonial term. Members of Six Nations, call themselves “Haudenosaunee,” i.e., “people who built a house” (Haudenosaunee Guide 3; Younging 69-72).

³⁷ See Appendix 8. Nismo mi “Indijanci” (“We Are Not ‘Indians’”).

"In retrospect, I realized that we have done them (Indians) wrong. ... These films were for me, a bit of an attempt to correct the story. ... I have always admired their (Indian) beliefs and attitudes. ... I feel that my films have given them (Indians) a piece of restitution."

(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

are, we argue the following: Serbian syntax allows starting a syntagma with the negative verb, i.e., "Nismo mi 'Indijanci,'" following the pattern negative verb-subject-complement subject. The group's name begins with the verb "nismo" ("are not"), which seems to be the crucial word in a string. Had that not been the case, the group's name might have differed. However, in English, the pattern is, i.e., subject-negative verb-positive noun as a complement subject, "We Are Not 'Indians'" ("mi nismo 'Indijanci'"). That structure is still far from the positive-verb qualification "mi smo 'Neindijanci'" ("we are 'non-Indians'"), i.e., subject-positive verb-negative noun as a complement subject.

Since, in the eyes of the group members, "non-Indians" are recognized as different from "Indians," musicians have confessed, and perhaps even bragged, about not being "Indians." They are not "Indians" and not like "Indians." We ask: "Does the claim who they are not automatically define the searchers for identity who they are?" The linguist Ferdinand De Saussure remarks, "concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is being what the others are not" (117). If so, we deduce that "Indians," the others, are not punk music performers. Nevertheless, we wonder who "Indians" are.

We are starting with the reasoning that "Indians" are not in semiotic relations. If "Indians" were a sign, according to De Saussure's definition, the puzzle would be easily understood.³⁸ "Anything can be a sign as long as someone interprets it as 'signifying' something - referring to or standing for something other than itself" (Chandler 14). The claim opposes this view, where the argument gets its meaning only in interpretation (Essential Peirce 4), as the philosopher Peirce proposes in the semiotic triad (Chandler 30).³⁹ A sign materializes because it is more evident than the object. Are "Indians" more definable than, e.g., punk musicians? Hardly. Therefore, "Indians" are cognized when explained. However, it is unknown who "Indians" are, solely confirming who they are not.

Suppose "Indians" were not the sign but an icon, following Peirce's options for representing objects, then the signifier would be identical to the signified. However, that statement does not endure because of the stereotypical nature of the signified, i.e., what someone sees is not necessarily what it is being interpreted. That leads to the conclusion that stereotypes rarely resemble reality.

So, if "Indians" are neither a sign nor an icon, they might be a symbol, i.e., a conventional token. That premise is also controversial and does not seem applicable owing to the absence of a universal definition of who "Indians" are. The defining process leads to the trap of turning symbols into stereotypes.

Another alternative Peirce offers is that "Indians" may be understood as an index. In that case, the physical existence generates the signified, i.e., the concept. That condition is fulfilled because "Indians" do exist. Nevertheless, here, the hurdle is constructing a definition from the part of a "non-Indian" that gives oneself the right to determine what the other is and is not. That weighs up defining process validity.

Following the deduction, we contemplate that "Indians" are not a sign, an icon, a symbol, or an index. What if "Indians" were a signifier, perceived as strange and/or

³⁸ See Appendix 9. De Saussure's Model of the Sign.

³⁹ See Appendix 10. Peirce's Semiotic Triangle.

"In retrospect, I realized that we have done them (Indians) wrong. ... These films were for me, a bit of an attempt to correct the story. ... I have always admired their (Indian) beliefs and attitudes. ... I feel that my films have given them (Indians) a piece of restitution."

(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

different? Then, non-Indian would mean familiar and/or the same. However, are real "Indians" too peculiar, or do Indian stereotypes make them less likeable among "non-Indians"? What is more, do Indians declare themselves regarding punk music or "non-Indians" overall? To be aligned with the original idea of negative formulation, we are voting in favour of a negative syntagma, that "non-Indians" are not strange and/or different.

The last option is that Indians are signified because they are not a sign, an icon, a symbol, an index, or a signifier. Therefore, "Indians" are interpreted as strange and different, making "non-Indians" not strange and or different. Consequently, the outcome of the relationship is that the punk group has an audience because of the receptivity of the music they create. Seemingly, it is because the performers and non-Indian punk lovers are not Indian or Indian-like. But how about a potential Indian audience? To put it differently, are punk admirers among "Indians" not odd because they match the group's music taste or quirky because they are "Indians"?⁴⁰

For quite some time, there has been a literary dispute between two Serbian intellectuals on daily political issues, targeting the Indigenous Peoples of North America. The author Svetislav Basara, a twice-winner of the most prestigious Serbian literary award, NIN-ova nagrada ("The NIN Award") and the academician Slobodan Divjak, the author of the popular book *Problem identiteta: kulturno, etničko, nacionalno i individualno* ("The Problem of Identity: Cultural, Ethnic, National, and Individual") spotlight in this polemic.

Namely, in the independent newspaper *Danas*, in the article titled "Čiroki politička filozofija" ("Cherokee Political Philosophy"), Basara refers to riots in Belgrade in 2020. The moral of the story is the author's recommendation that their readers "not indulge in the Cherokee political philosophy" where "prijatelj moga neprijatelja je moj prijatelj" ("the friend of my enemy is my friend;" par. 11). There is no apparent connection between the proverb and the Cherokee. However, the saying of questionable authorship exists in an altered version: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

That remark exploded with contra-arguments made by political and cultural dissenters, rushing to judge Basara for their intention to Indianize and diabolize Serbs (par. 16). The loudest among those voices is Divjak's, who lectures Basara on what Serbs are not. Divjak accused Basara of lacking knowledge and unskillfully metaphorizing and, above all, "zalaganje za izolaciju Srba u rezervatskim logorima" ("advocating for the isolation of Serbs in reservation camps;" par. 17). Divjak identifies Basara's inclination toward cultural reduction as "da sve vrste ljudske delatnosti izvodiš iz pojma culture" ("deriving all kinds of human activity from the notion of culture;" par. 5).

It seems that Divjak refers to the Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)⁴¹ theoretical framework, mediating people's thoughts and emotions with their actions. The way Divjak sees it, Serbs and "Indijanci" ("Indians") are nothing alike (par. 10), culturally or historically. For one thing, "Indian culture" is antiliberal, unlike Serbian's liberal counterpart. Here, Divjak calls upon the reductionist parsimony assumption to explain that

⁴⁰ See more about Serbian views of Indigenous Peoples in 6. Survey - Voices on Indigenous Peoples and the survey interpretation in 6.1. Indigenous Matters.

⁴¹ The theory was based on the activity theory by psychologists Aleksei Leont'ev and Lev Vygotsky. See Burner, Tony and Bodil Svendsen. "Activity Theory - Lev Vygotsky, Aleksei Leont'ev, Yrjö Engeström." *Science Education in Theory and Practice: An Introductory Guide to Learning Theory*, edited by Ben Akpan and Teresa J. Kennedy. Springer, 2020, pp. 311-322.

"In retrospect, I realized that we have done them (Indians) wrong. ... These films were for me, a bit of an attempt to correct the story. ... I have always admired their (Indian) beliefs and attitudes. ... I feel that my films have given them (Indians) a piece of restitution."

(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

the simplest principle determines any complex phenomenon. Since precultural societies are falsely claimed, Indigenous culture cannot define the complex Serbian culture because it does not offer simple principles. Regarding religion, the two also differ since Orthodox Christianity is a monotheistic religion, whereas, as per Divjak, paganism is a dominant belief among Indigenous Peoples (par. 11). Lastly, Serbs are not to be confined to disciplinary camps to fit into the civilizing trends (par. 17).

We argue that, in the first place, although Basara metaphorically discusses "Čiroki" ("Cherokee") philosophy, applying philosophy to Indigenous cultures requires careful handling. Besides, Basara lacks knowledge when transcribing the nation's name into Serbian, that is, "Čeroki." Likewise, Divjak talks about tribes (par. 11), outdated terminology, diminishing nations, and disregarding clan sub-classification. Finally, both analysts are primarily interested in commenting on Serbs, but neither Basara nor Divjak condemns confinement politics that target(ed) Indigenous Peoples.

In the opinion of De Saussure, the distinction between language and speech is in the following. "Langue refers to the system of rules and conventions which is independent of, and pre-exists, individual users; parole refers to its use in particular instances" (Chandler 12). By applying the Semiotic Theory instituted by the literary theorist Roland Barthes, we conclude that the truth is between Divjak's and Basara's denotation.

Surprisingly, neither author refers to connotation, i.e., the associated meaning. "Semiotics is concerned with anything that can stand for something else (...) in signs that are seemingly straightforward but that subtly communicate ideological or connotative meaning and perpetuate the dominant values of society" (Griffin 332). For example, the signified is a concept, like stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples in popular culture, i.e., the association with "Iroquois⁴² hairstyle." The signifier is the argument, i.e., the nation, since most of the Serbs get to know about the Indigenous culture by the hairstyle of the Haudenosaunee, which associates them with Indigenous Peoples.⁴³

In conclusion, throughout the fray, both parties address stereotypically the "Indian issue." The fear is that the lack of understanding habituates in the language domain and more profound notions.

Serbs are unlikely to mention Indigenous Peoples of North America in everyday conversation. However, on the other hand, "Indians" often appear in the Serbian linguistic paradigm of jokes.⁴⁴ "Indians" stand for wittiness, like in the popular weather joke. The adapted version goes like this.⁴⁵

"The Indians" asked their healer what the winter would be like that year. So, the diviner went to consult the spirits and said, upon their return,
- "It will be a long and harsh winter."

⁴² The proper term is Haudenosaunee.

⁴³ See the Survey results in 6.1. Indigenous Matters.

⁴⁴ trans. "vicevi"

⁴⁵ Numerous versions of the joke differ, e.g., the time of collecting wood, i.e., two or three years. In some portrayals, the foreteller had died, so "Indians" had to go to the Meteorological Institute to inquire about the weather.

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(qtd. Mitić in Arico, par. 4)

"The Indians" immediately set out to gather wood for the winter. However, the winter was short and mild. The following summer, "the Indians" asked the spirit medium again about the upcoming winter weather prospects. The elder thought about it and said,

- "Last winter was mild. So, this one must be cold. Go back and announce that the holy spirits warned that the following winter would surely be a cold one."

So, "the Indians" kept collecting wood. The second winter was not harsh either. When "the Indians" had asked the sorcerer what the winter would be like for the third time, the prophet told them they would get the answer upon their visit to the holy mountain to learn about the weather. Instead, puzzled by the unexpected and looking for answers, the spirit-raiser went to the Meteorological Institute and asked the chief meteorologist,

- "What will the next winter be like?"

- "Long and cold," the meteorologist replied.

- "How do you know?"

- "Well, 'the Indians' have been collecting wood for two years" (Indijanci cjepaju drva "Indians Are Chopping Wood;" par. 3).

However, in everyday slang, the representations of "Indians" are seldom consistent and often contradictory. Namely, "Indians" are "good guys" but prone to losing since they do not fit into the social templates made by political creators. Conversely, they are also mischievous, trickster-like, dreamers, and self-destructive. Besides, "Indians" are in excellent shape or peculiar, lost, and ignorant. A typical representation is:

Person A says, "Who are those characters whom you were playing basketball with last night? I haven't seen them around so far."

Person B responds, "Don't ask, just some 'Indians'" (Indijanac "Indian;" par. 12).

Connotation appears here as well in the metaphor of "being strange," i.e., "somewhat bad guys."

In sports terminology, some representations also refer to forwarders in the zone of defence who talk rather than play (Indijanac "Indian;" par. 17). Some are perceived as dancers performing like they were calling for rain (Indijanac "Indian;" par. 13). Someone who does not take complete pictures but "cuts" the head or hair, i.e., takes the scalp of the model or self, is also seen as "Indian" (Indijanac "Indian;" par. 16).

In conclusion, representations of the Indigenous Peoples of North America in Serbian slang are inconsistent yet stereotypical. We comment that portraying groups of people or entire nations as endangered or dangerous is false as well as scientifically flawed.

“You can’t wake a person who is pretending to be asleep.”

(qtd. Navajo in Quotes, par. 1)

2. SEMANTIC SIDEWAYS IN CONTEXTUALIZING INDIGENOUS IDENTITY

This chapter aims to identify the suitable names of the first inhabitants of North America. In addition, the names of Indigenous Peoples in official use in Canada and the United States of America will be explored.

First and foremost, it is necessary to banish some prejudices, starting from understanding North American Indigenous Peoples. The long-used tag “Indians” wrongly assumed the cultural universality of Indigenous Peoples who inhabited the New World. According to the historian James Carson, in Edmundo Gorman’s words⁴⁶, labelling someone an “Indian” forces that person out of mainstream history and revokes that person’s right to own land (Carson 925).⁴⁷ Reasons for rejecting the characterization of “Indians” as historically inaccurate and “politically incorrect” are many.

Above all, it is an inappropriate denominator for the cultural and linguistic diversity of nations inhabiting the area of North America. However, the long-outdated notion of “Indians” has been persistently maintained because of its predominant status in the texts of peace agreements, which ensured practical applicability but neglected the individuality of Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, the Canadian Government Agency, Indigenous Services Canada, clarifies, “[m]any Indigenous people in Canada prefer not to describe themselves as ‘Indians’ and view this term as rooted in colonialism and racism. Under the *Indian Act*, the precise legal meaning of the term ‘Indian’ refers to First Nations persons who are entitled to registration” (About Indian Status, par. 1).

Thus, a more appropriate caption is Native Americans (M. Y. Bird 1-2). For some time, this phrase was considered more acceptable but imperfect, even though it insisted on the standard American heritage of the first inhabitants (6). Conversely, the term insufficiently emphasized the peculiarities of the unique ethnicities in the territory of the United States of America and Canada while focusing on “nativeness” and “American” origin (6). Later, other ways of speaking were accepted.

For example, the term Aboriginal Peoples has become familiar in Canada. The standard grammatical rules are not circumvented by adopting the unusual plural form “peoples” instead of the expected “people” of the singular “person.” The terminology confirmed the general notion of the “peoples”⁴⁸ in the *Canadian Constitution 1982*, Section 35, “Definition of aboriginal peoples of Canada/(2) In this Act, aboriginal peoples of Canada⁴⁹ includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada” (Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada, par. 2).

What is more, the specifics of behaviour, manner of dress, language, and stories of the first North Americans are to be emphasized (M. Y. Bird 3). The set phrase Aboriginal Peoples was officially used in Canada until 31 March 2021, when it was amended following the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples - UNDRIP, 2007, Article 13.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Edmundo Gorman developed a revolutionary approach toward history beyond evidence while modernizing the role of historians in education.

⁴⁷ See 3.1. Indigenous Geospatial and Temporal Ontology about the inseparability of land and Indigenous identity.

⁴⁸ The term is recommended when referring to ethnic groups (Persons vs. People vs. Peoples, par. 1).

⁴⁹ (the term) Aboriginal Peoples of Canada

⁵⁰ See 1.2. The Causality Dilemma: Which Came First, American Literature or Indigenous Literatures?

“You can’t wake a person who is pretending to be asleep.”

(qtd. Navajo in Quotes, par. 1)

“The terminology within the concept has been updated from ‘Aboriginal’ to ‘Indigenous’ in English. The wording of the concept definition and the categories in the classifications have been reworded but the meaning is unchanged” (Indigenous [I]dentity of [P]erson, par. 7).⁵¹

Nevertheless, on the webpage of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada, “‘Indigenous peoples’ is a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants. Often ‘Aboriginal peoples’ is also used” (Indigenous Peoples and Communities, par. 1).

After integrating tribal communities into ethnic groups, an acceptable but rather Canadian term, First Nations, was introduced. “There are more than 630 First Nation communities in Canada, which represent more than 50 nations” (First Nations, par. 1).

First Nations ⁵² refers to First Nations (North American Indian). The Classification of Indigenous identity classifies persons. However, certain of its categories may also be used to classify responses (see Classification of Indigenous group response). The definitions presented here for the terms ‘First Nations (North American Indian),’ ‘Métis’ and ‘Inuk (Inuit)’ reflect the use of these terms in both the classification of persons and the classification of responses. When presenting data on Indigenous identity, only the definitions pertaining to the classification of persons need be used. (Classification of Indigenous [I]dentity, par. 1)

However, there is a need for more distinct terminology for “non-Indians” who do not identify as First Nations. Thus, Indigenous Peoples living predominantly in sub-polar and polar parts of Canada are recognized as the Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic, i.e., the Inuit. The common term “Eskimos” for the people inhabiting the Canadian North, Alaska, and Arctic regions is demeaning. Therefore, the superseded label refers to the Inuit, Yupik, and Inupiat people. Nowadays, the wording Arctic Indigenous Peoples is up to standard in Canada, whereas the applicable term in the USA is Alaska Native for the non-Inuit speaking population. In other words, “Inuit, too, gave themselves an identity” (Freeman 87).

The Indigenous nation of Métis is also categorized separately in Canada at two crucial moments.

“On April 14, 2016, the Supreme Court declared that Métis and non-Status Indians are ‘Indians’ for the purpose of federal Parliament’s law-making jurisdiction under subsection 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*” (Métis Rights, par. 4). The Daniels decision⁵³ was named honouring Métis activist and a plaintiff in the case against the Crown Harry Daniels. The document issued by the Supreme Court of Canada on Appeal from the Federal Court of Appeal, court file 35945, points out that “this Court has consistently and clearly held that the Metis are a distinct Aboriginal people separate from Indians in culture, history and identity” (Supreme Court 2). It concludes “that the Metis are a unique and distinct Aboriginal people” (2).

Another crucial moment for claiming Métis membership occurred in September 2003 when “the Supreme Court of Canada’s decision in *R. v. Powley* [2003] 2 S.C.R. ruled in favour of the Powleys, affirming the Métis right to hunt for food as recognized under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*” (Métis Rights, par. 5). “In 1993, Steve and Roddy Powley, two Métis men, were charged with hunting contrary to Ontario law after killing a moose. The case was appealed up to the Supreme Court of Canada, where it was

⁵¹ As per Statistics Canada, the term “Indigenous group of person” has been used since 1 April 2021.

⁵² (the term) First Nations

⁵³ The Daniels decision is not used in the possessive form like “the Daniels’ decision.”

“You can’t wake a person who is pretending to be asleep.”

(qtd. Navajo in Quotes, par. 1)

argued that Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* protects the right of Métis to hunt for food” (Métis Rights, par. 5). From that moment onwards, the so-called Powley Test has been used in determining Métis rights, which refers to the need for a person to identify oneself as a Métis, be accepted by the Métis community, and have historical ties to the Métis community (Métis Rights, par. 8).

In the United States, the domesticated terms American Indian and Indigenous American are mainly used, according to the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (Teaching & Learning about Native Americans, par. 1). Kevin Gover, the director of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, explains the controversy:

[th]e term Native American grew out of the political movements of the 1960s and ‘70s and is commonly used in legislation covering the indigenous people of the lower 48 states and U.S. territories. But Native Americans use a range of words to describe themselves, and all are appropriate. Some people refer to themselves as Native or Indian; most prefer to be known by their tribal affiliation – Cherokee, Pawnee, Seneca, etc. – if the context doesn’t demand a more encompassing description. Some natives and nonnatives, including scholars, insist on using the word Indigenous, with a capital I. In Canada, terms such as First Nations and First Peoples are preferred. (par. 7)

The scholar James Taylor Carson implies the existence of “America’s first and second peoples” (921), referring to the former as Indigenous Peoples and the latter as white settlers. Other terms in use are Native Peoples or Natives, even though they have been lately avoided because of the pejorative connotation of savagery. However, Carson wonders why “scholars in the United States are almost alone in their use of the term ‘Indian’” (924). The author continues, “it is important, then to ponder the meaning of the word ‘Indian’ and the ways in which foundational category and its opposite ‘white,’ have shaped the contour of United States historiography” (924).

Two notions are considered here. In other words, endonyms (Collins Dictionary) are names created by inhabitants of a demographic unit, whereas exonyms (Collins Dictionary) are labels given by non-residents. Thus, in political paradise, a lexical solution would be one common term. The discrepancy is evident in the comparison of Inuit and Eskimos. “The word Inuit means ‘the people’ in the Inuit language of Inuktitut. The singular of Inuit is Inuk” (Inuit, par. 1). “*Inuit* is also a collective noun. [...], so it does not take an article or the qualifier *people*” (Younging 66). An Inuk elder, Mini Aodla Freeman, adds,

Inuit differentiated themselves from the animals of nature, not from other races. ‘Inuk’ means one human; ‘Inuuk’ means two humans; ‘Inuit’ means many humans. ‘Inuk’ can also mean alive as opposed to dead. Today, of course, the Inuk identifies himself as Inuk, different from any other race he has encountered since the days when just he and the animals of his land lived in the North. (87)

On the other hand,

Eskimo is a word that presents challenges for anyone who is concerned about avoiding the use of offensive language. Its offensiveness stems partly from a now-discredited belief that it was originally a pejorative term meaning “eater of raw flesh,”⁵⁴ but perhaps more significantly from its being a word imposed on

⁵⁴ The theory dates from the scholar John Steckley, who also investigated the origin of “Eskimos.” The term likely originated from Cree, i.e., “raw meat eaters,” after the contact between Cree and Inuit. Still, new

"You can't wake a person who is pretending to be asleep."

(qtd. Navajo in Quotes, par. 1)

aboriginal peoples by outsiders. It has long been considered a word to be avoided in Canada, where native people refer to themselves as Inuit, a word that means "people" in their language. But not all the native people who are referred to as Eskimos are Inuit. Eskimo has no exact synonym; it has a general meaning that encompasses a number of indigenous peoples, and it continues for now in widespread use in many parts of the English-speaking world. (Eskimo, Merriam-Webster Dictionary)

As Freeman continues, "[t]o me the word 'Eskimo' does not mean anything. It is an Indian word - 'escheemau'-that qallunaat⁵⁵ tried to say at one time. It is a Cree word: 'Escee,' yagh, sickening, can't stand it; 'mau,' human. At first encounter Cree Indians got sick at the sight of the Inuit eating raw meat (and 'Indians' do not eat raw meat)" (87).

However, the most certain position is addressing the North American first inhabitants as they represent themselves according to their affiliation to the nation, e.g., Cherokee, Kiowa,⁵⁶ etc., while mentioning "the tribe" should be used cautiously, e.g., a member of the nation. "The term used, originally by the French colonists to describe the Native peoples of Quebec. Later the word was applied by other European settlers to large confederacies of tribes. 'Nation' became the official way to describe several tribes including the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole peoples after they were relocated to the Indian Territory in the 1830s. Sometimes, Nation means the same as tribe, and is the term that is preferred by many of the Native peoples themselves, since it implies autonomy." (Nozedar 324-325) In this manner, spotlighting belonging to the people avoids traumatic historical experiences, not denying traditional ties.

Thomas King shares authors' naming struggles.

Terminology is always a rascal. I've tried to use 'reservations' for Native communities in Canada, and 'tribes' for Native groups in the United States and 'bands' for Native groups in Canada. But in a number of instances, when I'm talking about both sides of the border, I might use 'reservations' or 'reserve' and 'band' or 'tribe' or 'Nation,' depending on rhythm and syntax. I actually prefer 'Nation' or a specific band or tribal name, and I try to use it whenever possible. (King, *Inconvenient Indian* xiii-xiv)

Similarly, "[t]he U.S. government officially recognizes 574 Indian tribes in the contiguous 48 states and Alaska. These federally recognized tribes are eligible for funding and services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, either directly or through contracts, grants, or compacts" (*Federally Recognized Indian Tribes*, par. 1).

Nevertheless, the discussion continues due to the delicacy of the term "tribe." Imperfect lexical variants such as "tribes, nations, bands, pueblos, communities and native villages" are in use (*Tribal Nations*, par. 2). Still, "tribes" are mentioned in the heading, "tribal nations" in the title, and "Indian Nations" in the text.

Canadian official terminology acknowledges "Indigenous group" and/or "Indigenous group of person." "'Aboriginal group of person' replaces the standard 'Aboriginal identity' as of Apr. 20, 2009" (*Aboriginal [G]roup of [P]erson*, par. 9).

approaches stand at the point of the anthropologist Yves Goddard. Languages in contact, e.g., Montagnais, yielded the meaning "shoe-netter" for "Eskimos," which is closer to the lifestyle of inhabitants of polar areas.

⁵⁵ (kha-loo-naht) non-Inuit, i.e., the Inuktitut word for white people considered as a group.

⁵⁶ Colonizers coined and anglicized names of Indigenous nations as they misheard them, associated them with some terms, observed them, etc. See Younging 69-72.

“You can’t wake a person who is pretending to be asleep.”

(qtd. Navajo in Quotes, par. 1)

“Indigenous group of person” has been in official use in Canada in official use since 1 April 2021, replacing the previous category “Aboriginal group of person” with no change in the meaning of the term.⁵⁷, i.e., the

Indigenous group refers to whether the person is First Nations (North American Indian), Métis and/or Inuk (Inuit). A person may be included in more than one of these three specific groups. Aboriginal peoples of Canada (referred to here as Indigenous peoples) are defined in the Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35 (2) as including Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples. First Nations (North American Indian) includes Status and non-Status⁵⁸ Indians. (Aboriginal [G]roup of [P]erson, par. 1)

“(…) if the person belongs to more than one specific Aboriginal group, he or she is classified using the appropriate ‘Multiple Aboriginal responses’ category” (Aboriginal group of person, par. 2). Since the UN terminology institutes no unique global guidance, it leaves it up to national identification processes. Still, the preferable approach refers to individual responses about belonging to the particular Aboriginal/Indigenous group(s). With regard to that, “[t]he terms ‘First Nation(s)’ and ‘Aboriginal’ should always appear with initial capitals. In addition, the term ‘Aboriginal’ should not be used as a proper noun, but rather as an adjective, e.g. Aboriginal people(s), not Aboriginals” (Legistics, par. 2).

“Under the Indian Act, the precise legal meaning of the term ‘Indians’ refers to First Nations persons who are entitled to registration” (Indian Status, par. 2). “Indian status is the legal standing of a person who is registered under the Indian Act” (About Indian [S]tatus, par. 3). The Indian Register is maintained at Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) as the official record under Section 6 of *The Indian Act* (par. 6). However, “to be registered under the Indian Act isn’t the same as being a First Nation member or citizen” (About Indian [S]tatus, par. 4). In addition, “there is no register at ISC for Métis or Inuit” (par. 6), implying their “non-Indian” status.

A dispute regarding terminology persists in the Canadian national scene. Major English dictionaries do not recognize the coin as “a group of person.” The Collins Dictionary offers a countable noun, “group,” exemplifying “a group of people” (Group). Similarly, the Cambridge Dictionary presents a word cloud⁵⁹ of general words for “groups of people” (Groups of [P]eople), whereas “a group of persons” is detected in formal writing (Other Groups of Persons - Fees, par. 2).

We argue that since “Aboriginal group of person” substitutes “Aboriginal identity,” and as both terms contain the same denominator, “Aboriginal,” therefore, a “group of person” refers to “identity.” In conclusion, the official Canadian terminology implies the existence of Aboriginal identity only in a group setting.

⁵⁷ On 15 June 2009, Canadian terminology recognized a “population group of person,” replacing the previous standard “race (ethnicity)” (Population [G]roup of [P]erson, par. 17).

⁵⁸ See 2.1. Social Substance of Indigenous Identity for details about “non-status Indians.”

⁵⁹ a word collage

“Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance.”

(Lakota Proverbs, par. 2)

2.1. SOCIAL SUBSTANCE AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESSENCE OF INDIGENOUS IDENTITY

The phenomenon of identity is a critical determinant in the unique glory of one’s life. It operates despite the social limitations expressed in racial and gender differences in the interplay between the inner and outer worlds (Harms 5).⁶⁰ Therefore, decoding the Indigenous identity concept is essential, considering the historical and social context of economic and political circumstances and the development of culture.

Identifying the identity phenomenon from the period of the dominant oral tradition to the era of literacy aims to confirm Indigenous cultural experiences. The research will be conducted on a literary sample of Indigenous Literatures, viewed within a narrow scope of two North American countries, Canada and the United States of America. Therefore, indigenous literary traces in ethnic literature will be investigated by available literary criticism.

A multidisciplinary view of the identity of North American Indigenous Peoples influences the creation of alternative interpretations of identity, like elements of the nationwide cultural and political resistance. For example, as a literary critic, Gunn Allen claims in the analysis of *Off the Reservation: Reflections on Boundary-Busting, Border-crossing Loose Cannons*, “I did not know the word resistance then, but I was raised in a family that assumed resistance to be the bedrock of its reality” (7).

The conditions of existential threat, uncertain future, displacement, and exiguousness will be discussed. The North American Indigenous Peoples have faced the hardship of fitting into the imposed life frame upon colonization. Thus, the mightiest weapons of words, i.e., Indigenous Literatures, have been created in a search for artistic meaning. For a long time, unrecognized and always socially engaged, Indigenous Literatures can be understood as a two-way mode, a survival of the inhabitants of North America, and an expressive literary outlet.

2.1.1. IDENTIFIERS

The backbone of the research in this sub-chapter is naming the concept of Indigenous Peoples within the American Literary Register in the last few decades. We are particularly interested in how the Indigenous authors name Indigenous and non-Indigenous characters in their pieces of work “on reservation and off, cross-border, boundary un-bound” (Allen 7).

Activist Wab Kinew, in their book *The Reason You Walk*, names the character an “Anishinaabe man” (1), preferring nation affiliation. The author also talks about

⁶⁰ “Inner and outer worlds” are here understood multidimensionally. While being observed in place and time, the inner world stands for biological, psychological, and spiritual dimensions of the self-challenged by the outer world’s relational, social, structural, and cultural dimensions. The syntagma has no connection to the documentary *Inner Worlds, Outer Worlds*. Directed by Daniel Schmidt, performance by Patrick Sweeney, REM Publishing Ltd., 2012. www.imdb.com/title/tt2415372/. Accessed 3 Sept. 2023.

"Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance."

(Lakota Proverbs, par. 2)

"Indigenous people" (27), "First Nations people," and "non-Native people" (27). In addition, Kinew discusses "non-Native men" (28), "non-Indigenous men," and "the non-Native" (28). However, Kinew insists on capitalizing on the equally applicable adjectives "Indigenous" and "Native." Moreover, every time the descriptor "Indian" is mentioned, Kinew puts it under quotation marks, e.g., "the 'Indians'" and "a group of 'Indian kids'" (29), as a reminder of the attributed meaning.

Sherman Alexie acknowledges Indianness in *The Absolute True Diary of a Part-Time Indian* without talking marks: "Indians still ride horses in Montana" (99). At the same time, "white people everywhere have always believed that the government just gives money to Indians" (119). The writer continues, "the people who live in those white towns don't always like Indians much" (100). Alexie also debates the cultural discrepancy between the two worlds through the critical lenses of characters Junior and Gordy.

Junior: "(...) some Indians think you have to act white to make your life better. Some Indians think you become white if you try to make your life better, if you become successful." Gordy: "If that were true, then wouldn't all white people be successful" (131)?

The plight of an Indigenous youth coming of age is described in Junior's confession: "[L]ife is a constant struggle between being an individual and being a member of the community" (132). "The people at home, a lot of them call me an apple" (131). "They call me an apple because they think I'm red on the outside and white on the inside" (132). When put together, red and white are dissonant.

In *Reservation Blues*, Alexie presents "Indian men" who "stagger through their lives," and "Indian women" who "are forced to amend their list of qualifications" (75). Unfortunately, the author's prophecy is horrid because the identity crisis is inevitable in interracial contacts. "Why did you love him, that broken Indian man" (283)? Alexie continues.

Chess wanted to tell the white woman that her child was always going to be halfway. He's always going to be half Indian, she'd say, and that will make him crazy. Half of him will always want to tear the other half apart. It's war. Chess wanted to tell her that her baby was always going to be half Indian, no matter what she did to make it white. 'All you can do is breed the Indian out of your family,' Chess said. 'All you can do is make sure your son marries a white woman and their children marry white people. The fractions will take over. Your half-blood son will have quarter-blood children and eighth-blood grandchildren, and they won't be Indians anymore. They won't hardly be Indian, and they can sleep better at night.' (283)

Chess, a musician and an observer, is not silent and wants "to save Indians from the pain that the white woman and her half-Indian son would cause" (Alexie, *Reservation Blues* 83). On the other hand, "the woman," like an accessory in the act of "producing" mixed-bloods, wants "to save them," i.e., the family, "from the pain other Indians would cause" (283). All of them stand in relations pre-taught by colonialism. For Chess, "the white woman" is nameless, and the mixed-blood child is inadmissible in the Indigenous community because "the real Indian" feels genuinely unsafe near white people and mixed-bloods. Moreover, the child's drop of whiteness threatens the community's purity of Indianness, categorizing mixed-bloods as undesirable victims among whites and villains among Indigenous Peoples.

'Those quarter-blood and eighth-blood grandchildren will find out they're Indian and torment the rest of us real Indians. They'll come out to the reservation, come to

“Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance.”

(Lakota Proverbs, par. 2)

our powwows, in their nice clothes and nice cars, and remind the real Indians how much we don't have. Those quarter-bloods and eighth-bloods will get all the Indian jobs, all the Indian chances, because they look white. Because they're safer.' (283)

Blood quantum is a labyrinthine methodology determining nation/band membership. It is a legislative product that fails to display Indigenous ancestry, since it exposes assimilative tendencies of the Federal Government of Canada. Registration rules were originally presented in section 6 of *The Indian Act* of 1867, where band membership was based on male lineage. For example, “a status-Indian woman” married to “a non-status man” would become enfranchised, lose the band membership and become unable to pass along the status to decedents. Moreover, losing status occurred if “a status-Indian” completed a university degree, started a high-paid professional career, or joined the army. In 1985, *Bill C-31* amended sections 6(1) and 6(2) of the *Indian Act*. However, confusion about passing along the status and establishing “the second-generation cutoff” prevailed (Indian Status; Indigenous Foundation, par. 10-16).

Alexie paves the way to deconstruction, admitting that “Indians can be just as judgmental and hateful as any white person” (Absolutely True Diary 155). White colour implies safety, but only for whites, whereas whiteness brings danger and uncertainty to others. Conversely, Indians are acceptable if they have a drop of white blood because “other [pure] Indians” are dangerous. In the interview with Åse Nygren, Alexie mentions “pain,” unseparated from identity coded and mutated in DNA, causing generational trauma. Thus, the writer measures “Indians” by pain (Nygren 157). On the other hand, “[y]ou can never measure up to a stereotype. You can never be as strong as a stereotypical warrior, as godly as a stereotypical shaman, or as drunk as a drunken Indian. You can never measure up to extremes. So you are always going to feel less than the image, whether it's positive or negative” (qtd. Alexie in Nygren 158).

The critic Edward Said agrees that interest in a “lesser world” (Culture and Imperialism xvi) where “the lesser or subject peoples are to be ruled” (24) eventually results in demoting “different experiences of others to a lesser status” (32). The reason might be because “[t]wo central ideas clearly were held over from the past and still hold sway: one was the great power's right to safeguard its distant interests even to the point of military invasion; the second was that lesser powers were also lesser peoples, with lesser rights, morals, claims” (Said 36).

Critics Taylor and Dubé base their findings on William James' duality of self. In Volume I, Chapter X of *The Principles of Psychology*, James distinguishes the present knower and thinker “I self” from the past known “me self” (291-400). The “me self” is multilayered and relies upon physical, social, and spiritual awareness. James also observes the self in culture as an individual and within a collective, proving that self-concept significantly depends on others. According to Taylor and Dubé, ownership appears in two modes: personal and social identity. As argued before, identity comes into being in society.⁶¹ Personal identity can be defined as a set of unique characteristics of an individual's behaviour as a group member. It manifests dichotomously and “has two possible meanings: one is the self as a subject or agent (i.e., the ‘knower’), i.e., an omniscient subject, and the second is the self as a perceived object (i.e., the ‘known’)” (Taylor and Dubé 81).

The search for personal identity is an uncertain and challenging path filled with doubts. As for a mixed-blood individual, the self is neither the knower, the subject, nor the

⁶¹ See 2. Semantic Sideways in Contextualizing Indigenous Identity.

“Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance.”

(Lakota Proverbs, par. 2)

object, the known, as Alexie shows (Nygren 158). The mixed-blood self is not the subject because it does not have the power of an agent, i.e., the doer. It is marginalized to the status of being powerless. Besides, it also cannot be the known, i.e., the object, because the mixed-blood self is not allowed access to the knowing process, e.g., has not been integrated into society to be acknowledged as the objectified. Therefore, it is the other, i.e., the unknown object. Rejected by the Indigenous community and unaccepted in the non-Indigenous world, the mixed-blood lives through an identity crisis of depersonalization, starting with the blood mixing and ending with the labelling.

As Paula Gun Allen explains,

One of the major issues facing twenty-first-century Native Americans is how we, multicultural by definition – either as Native American or American Indian – will retain our “indianness” while participating in global society. It is the subtext of this volume. That we do not fit easily into the pre-existing officially recognized categories is the correlative of our culture of origin. As Native Americans of the Five Hundred Nations never have fit the descriptions other Americans imposed and impose, neither does our thought fit the categories that have been devised to organize Western intellectual enterprise. (Allen, *Off the Reservation* 6)

In the collection of short stories, *Blasphemy*, in the chapter “The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven,” Sherman Alexie calls for social change and tolerance. The author follows Victor’s turbulent relationship: “She was white and I lived with her in Seattle” (161). The dominant criterion for identifying Victor’s lover is skin colour. Reflecting on Alexie’s struggles on and off the reservation, Victor is a flawed protagonist.

In *Fools Crow*, James Welch uses traditional names for Indigenous characters. The writer often refers to the Indigenous Peoples as “our people,” e.g., “many of our people feel this way” (385), while the non-Indigenous are “they.”

“You see what they do to us. There are too many of them and their weapons are more powerful than ours. More Pikunis died this one day than in all the days since I have been alive. They kill our women and children. They kill our old ones” (385). From the mouth of General Sully, Welch gives an ultimatum to the war chief Rides-at-the-door of vivid cruelty in cases of disobedience. Still, the naming rhetoric is the same for white people since “Indian people” are also “they.”

You must make other chiefs. Especially Mountain Chief, aware that war is imminent. Their people will be killed like so many buffalo. They themselves will be killed or brought to justice. It is not the wish of the United States Government that such desperate measures be taken. We are a peaceful people and we would wish to pursue the course of peace, to live in harmony with all Indian people. But we are capable, and some more than willing, to punish any Indian who would deliberately thwart that peaceful course. You are warned – and you would do well to warn those other chiefs who saw fit to ignore this chance for peace. (283)

However, as Edward Said explains in *Culture and Imperialism*, differences surpass simplistic polarization to “we” vs. “they” and “our” vs. “their,” which “defend the essence or experience itself rather than promote full knowledge of it and its entanglements and dependencies on other knowledges” (32).

For Thomas King, “[w]hites’ is a perfectly serviceable term” (Inconvenient Indian xiv) that “Native people have been using (...) for years, sometimes as a description and sometimes as something else” (xiv).

“Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance.”

(Lakota Proverbs, par. 2)

In a collection of poems and prose poems, *A Map to the Next World*, Joy Harjo notes memories about “her people.” “I try to remember the beautiful sense of the pattern that was revealed before that first breath when the struggle in this colonized world threatens to destroy the gifts that my people carry into the world” (18). Harjo also mentions “her nation” and accepts the effects of other Indigenous and non-Indigenous contacts. “Though I am not Navajo I am related to many Navajos and two of my granddaughters and grandson are Navajo. I have been as influenced by Navajo thought as I have by European thought, though I am a Mvskoke” (22).

Non-Indigenous people are uniformly categorized as “the enemy.” “Now I worry about how any of us are going to make it/ Through the bloodstream to the ceremony/ For returning from the enemy” (41).

Harjo narrates their childhood identity dilemma.

Once in kindergarten we were coloring on huge sheets of newsprint. I loved the smell of the paper and crayons and could reverie on pure smell alone, disappear into a meditative groove as I created. I loved art, and remember coloring a circle of people, all joined together, a design of sorts. I always filled in the skin with orange. I knew I was not white (though I am light-skinned) nor was I full-blooded Indian, but nonetheless I was aware of the difference. (43)

Inspired by the poet Seamus Heaney, academic James Taylor Carson notices that “adversarial categories like ‘Indian’ and ‘white’ sustain a particular and exclusive view of the past and obscure other creative ways of posing and pondering questions about contact and colonization” (924). Thus, Carson notes what Heaney proposes: “[A] new historiographical language to wend our way out of the Columbian binary so that other possible pasts can rise to the horizon and lead us to new questions and new ways of thinking about our shared pasts” (qtd. Heaney in Carson 924).⁶²

Readers are looking for “a loophole, an escape route from what John Montague has called ‘the partitioned intellect,’ away into some unpartitioned linguistic country, a region where one’s language would not be a simple badge of ethnicity or a matter of cultural preference or official imposition, but an entry into further language” (qtd. Montague in Heaney xxv).⁶³

Tempted to theorize in language binaries, we argue there is no common denominator in attributing names to Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people in the explored sample of Indigenous Literatures. Nevertheless, polarization is evident.

⁶² See Heaney, Seamus, translator. *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2000, p. xxiv-xxv.

⁶³ See Montague, John. “The Unpartitioned Intellect: Dante, Savonarola, and an Old Sign.” *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1986, pp. 5–9. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/25512659. Accessed 2 Sept. 2023.

“All dreams spin out from the same web.”

(qtd. Hopi in Native American Proverbs, par. 39)

2.2. THE HYBRIDITY OF INDIGENOUS EXPERIENCE: AN EXISTENTIAL DIALOGUE BETWEEN “THE SELF” AND “THE OTHER” TOWARD “ANOTHERNESS”

History, perceived in Western understanding, or the past from the Indigenous perspective,⁶⁴ is told by historians and storytellers.

The writer Thomas King talks about the author’s titling doubts. The author’s initial idea was to name the collection of stories *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious History of Native People in North America* (x). After a discussion with a life companion and fellow educator, Helene Hoy, King replaced the word “history” with “account” because “history” is “too grand a word” (x). In the main, King sided with the poet Ezra Pound about rejecting the chronological alignment of past events. For them, the past is cognized “by ripples and spirals eddying out from us and from our own time” (qtd. Pound in King, *Inconvenient Indian* xi).⁶⁵

In the interview with Daniel David for *Special to the Globe and Mail* in July 2012, King added, “I decided not to call it a history because it’s not a proper history,’ (...) ‘I’m calling it a narrative history. I know what a history looks like, with footnotes and all. This is more of a narrative history. I think I say in the book that it’s more of an adult conversation that I’ve been having with myself for most of my life” (par. 9).

Arnold Krupat, one of the leading critics of North American Indigenous literature, underlines that “the history of America most of us know is not the only history of America” (Turn to the Native 124). Aware of the division into “us” and “them”⁶⁶ (Ethnocriticism 5), occupied with socio-political and socio-cultural ambiguities, Krupat raises the question of who the Indians are. The critic studies racial and cultural essentialism, multiculturalism, and identity by re-examining themselves as a white man (Turn to the Native 88-130). In the autobiographical essay, “A Nice Jewish Boy among the Indians,” Krupat questions whether being a poor Jew (94) predestined one’s academic career. The writer also feels the pain of illiteracy in the character of their Russian grandmother, admitting to becoming “a leftist colonizer” (126) while researching “Indian literature.” Namely, “Krupat’s family, like their later Native American friends, inherited a history of genocide, but the oral culture” (Carr 333). As Carr concludes, it was because of the life “malcontent” that Krupat “dispossessed and deracinated Indians” (333).

Despite recognizing Krupat’s good intentions (In the Service of Empire 251), the activist Ward Churchill questions the usefulness of Krupat’s book, detecting “anti-Indian bias” (251) in *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture*, a collection of five essays, which is for Churchill “littered from start to finish with semi polemical distortions” (252). Churchill calls Krupat “a settler culture ‘translator’ and ‘teacher’” (252), objecting to the need for more context regarding colonialism.

Therefore, Churchill quotes the expert economist, Martin Carnoy. The first prerequisite of colonization is poverty, essentially needed by the colonizer to constitute the role of enslavers and the fertile ground for destroying “any culture and history that the

⁶⁴ The term “past” will be favoured here as per the Indigenous perception of time as a circular concept. See 3.1. Indigenous Geospatial and Temporal Ontology.

⁶⁵ See Pound, Ezra. *Guide to Kulchur*. New Directions, 1970, p. 60.

⁶⁶ See 2.1. Social Substance and Anthropological Essence of Indigenous Identity.

“All dreams spin out from the same web.”

(qtd. Hopi in Native American Proverbs, par. 39)

colonized brings to the relationship” (qtd. Carnoy in Churchill, *Service of Empire* 252).⁶⁷ Colonizers believe in the legitimacy of power exercises, expecting the enslaved to accept their fatefully subordinate position. Moreover, colonization is a production of the colonized, assigned roles, and the colonizers, the position of power, i.e., the military and economic metropolis (Churchill 252).

In spite of differences, both critics are interested in the consequences of historically colonial influence on literature. As Krupat points out, colonial oppression has not ended (Turn to the Native 30-55), and humanity is suffering (68).

What preoccupies us is the literary expression of the definition of the self in relation to the other. Some assumptions and recommendations will be introduced here while arguing about the past of Indigenous Peoples.

Assumption One⁶⁸: The Past Is in the Eyes of the Beholder

If readers of historical appearances and listeners of voices about the past want a fuller insight into past events, the question of who teaches history lessons opens up. “I myself do not understand it sufficiently, but I may be more acutely aware of it by virtue of my experience than are most” (Momaday, *Man Made of Words* 50).

Assumption Two: The Silence is Wordy

Some narratives have undoubtedly been lost and purged. Moreover, not speaking about the past is also a matter of chronicle.

In this sense silence too is powerful. It is the dimension in which ordinary and extraordinary events take their proper places. In the Indian world, a word is spoken or a song is sung not against, but within the silence. In the telling of a story, there are silences in which words are anticipated or held on to, heard to echo in the still depths of the imagination. In the oral tradition, silence is the sanctuary of sound. Words are wholly alive in the hold of silence; they are sacred. (16)

Assumption three: The Past Is Based on Facts

The true story of the past is determined by sufficient and verifiable evidence, i.e., diverging facts from opinions. Beyond that, the story embarks on fiction, i.e., literature. So, (...) in consideration of those conversations and the respect that I have for history, I’ve salted my narrative with those things we call facts, even though we should know by now that facts will not save us.

Truth be known, I prefer fiction. I dislike the way facts try to thrust themselves upon me. I’d rather, make up my own world. Fictions are less unruly than histories. (King, *Inconvenient Indian* xi)

Recommendation one: Locating the Past

While learning about the conceptualization of the past, “(...) [we] want an unpredictable history like the course of our mortal lives; one susceptible to surprises and accidents, to fortune and misfortune, a history woven of events that happened in such a way that they may not have happened” (qtd. O’Gorman in Montiel 81).

Recommendation two: Locating the Past in Indigenous Literatures

⁶⁷ See Carnoy, Martin. *Education as Cultural Imperialism*. David McKay, 1974, p. 61.

⁶⁸ The idea about the sub-chapter’s design in presenting assumptions and localizing the answers was found in the psychological analysis: Harms, Louise. “Part 1 - A Conceptual Overview, Chapter 1 - A Multidimensional Approach: An Overview of Inner and Outer Worlds.” *Understanding Human Development: A [M]ultidimensional [A]pproach*. Oxford UP, 2010, pp. 6-24.

“All dreams spin out from the same web.”

(qtd. Hopi in Native American Proverbs, par. 39)

The most puzzling enigma that enchants us is that identity is assigned in society since an individual gets it from the authority exercising power. The following scenario involves Indigenous Peoples, who were the first inhabitants of North America. In contrast, settlers came second.⁶⁹ However, those who came later, superior in power, perceived themselves as the first and had supreme authority to imprint the real first as the second, while self-declaring the real second for the first. The verdict is that those proclaimed second, although genuinely the first, are seen and instituted as the other in that provoked cultural conflict.

In the essay on cultural identity, “Culture’s In-Between,” the critic Homi Bhabha presents cultural hybridity as a general colonization product and a creation of cultural authority (53-61). Therefore, political and cultural dominance opens the so-called third space, a location in between where cultural identity, determined by the influences of race, class, gender, age, nation, and place, resides. All social differences affect the appearance of mutations and cultural hybrids that move in the range between the self and the other.

Colonization, in conditions of social antagonism, perceptible social inequalities, and cultural exchange, yielded cultural hybrids, as Homi Bhabha calls them (58). The revolutionary theory of cultural hybrids overcame a post-structuralist view of the existence of immutable identities and “pure” cultures. Therefore, cultural isolation of autochthonous cultures cannot be justified, while multiculturalism characterizes a primary social condition transcending marginality. Bhabha undoubtedly establishes the social imperative of the existence of minority literatures, showing concern about social authority.

Bhabha also advocates accepting the existence of cultures in the interspace between individuals and other cultural phenomena, where identity creation occurs, so that minority discourse arises through pluralism of choice and cultural diversity (53-61).

“Who are we and who we want to be?” is an eternal question asked in a conversation between a personal self and one’s concept of culture, as the philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin proposes. Like Bhabha, Bakhtin theorizes that identity is attributed to dividing the line between an I-for-myself (how a person feels about oneself) and an I-for-the-other (how other social subjects see that individual) (Grodén et al. 34-35).⁷⁰ As a result, outsideness⁷¹ prevails as an authentic and needful mirror-image of the self.

Modern “theories of otherness,” mainly resulting from structuralist and post-structuralist perceptions of identity, will be considered in the identity analysis. These theories agree with the perception of identity as an effect of power⁷² and cultural frontier.⁷³ To better understand identity, historicity will be based on the diversity criterion.

Etymologically speaking, identity originates from the Latin “identitas/idem,” the same, i.e., sameness versus otherness, as the linguist Ranko Bugarski explains. For Bugarski, identity is a complex construct of sameness reflecting on how individuals and groups are perceived by themselves and others in continuity (12-13). Identity has many layers of identification, like ethnicity, nationality, language, culture, territory, age, gender, profession, education, etc. (14).

⁶⁹ See James Taylor Carson’s points in 2. Semantic Sideways in Contextualizing Indigenous Identity.

⁷⁰ The contributing editors of *Contemporary, Literary & Cultural Theory: The Johns Hopkins Guide* are Michael Grodén, Martin Kreiswirth, and Imre Szeman.

⁷¹ It is a Bakhtinian term.

⁷² See 1. Identifying Postcolonial Paradigms of Postmodern Indigenous Writings – Epistemological Achievements.

⁷³ See 4. The Cultural Conflict between the First Inhabitants of Turtle Island and the Settlers.

“All dreams spin out from the same web.”

(qtd. Hopi in Native American Proverbs, par. 39)

The way we view Indigenous Peoples in the realm of identity is explained in the acronym INDIGENOUS.

Iipseity

Name

Distinctiveness

Idiosyncrasy

Guise

Existence

Nature

Oneness

Uniqueness

Selfhood

In the study of Indigenous Peoples, ipseity stands for the core of individual identity, oneself, where everything begins and ends.

Since it represents any concept, the name is an integral quality of identity. The consequences are ruinous when the name is misused or abused in the evaluation.

The quality of something being distinctive from everything and anything else is called distinctiveness.

Idiosyncrasy adds to the unicity of Indigenous identity, which has been historically disregarded.

Guise refers here to false appearances, i.e., a superficial impression of sameness because of a lack of understanding of differences, e.g., reinforcing stereotypes.

Existence is a crucial concept of being despite challenges. Therefore, a continued being matters.

Nature is a fundamental phenomenon of Indigenous identity in its primordial state, i.e., untouched by intruders.

In an Indigenous manner, oneness refers to the harmony of wholeness in the cultural response.

Uniqueness is understood here as anotherness, unlike otherness. Although not standardized, the term “anotherness” was found at Dictionary.com/Theaurus.com. Similarly, the scholar David Barnhill distinguishes “Anotherness” from “Otherness” through social and ecological dimensions. We second the perspective of defining “Anotherness” as a subject of visible changeableness and distinctiveness with a voice. A case in point: “[w]hile Other is mere object, Another retains the status as a subject with its own integrity” (par. 16). Barnhill further points out the social aspect of otherness, i.e., “Native Americans as team logo” (par. 4). The lack of difference perceiving is evident in the notion that “Native Americans [i.e., Other are] not seen as human beings” (par. 5). Barnhill also criticizes the simplistic explanation of Indigenous “unchanging” seemingly justifying that “Native Americans had no history or development” (par. 8). Thus, Barnhill contradicts that statement because Another “is capable of change” (par. 20) reflecting in “historical changes” (par. 8). In addition, “[w]hile there is similarity and continuity, Another retains its own distinctiveness” (par. 18). What is more, “Another has its own voice which is given as an opportunity to be heard” (par. 23). Therefore, Another promotes positivity by stimulating acceptance of “those who are different of their Otherness” (par. 14).

“All dreams spin out from the same web.”

(qtd. Hopi in Native American Proverbs, par. 39)

The term was attributed to Patrick D. Murphy’s prominent ecocriticism. Murphy proposes “a dialogical, rather than alienational,⁷⁴ orientation to difference, to otherness” (315). “‘Anotherness’ proceeds from a non-hierarchical sense of difference, recognizing that we are not ever only existing as an ‘I’ in the world but also always existing as ‘another’ for others” (316).

Lastly, selfhood is a cyclic return to the beginning in a sacred hoop because it semantically resembles ipseity, and the end is a new beginning.

⁷⁴Murphy coined the adjective based on “Bakhtin’s dialogics.”

“When all the trees have been cut down,
When all the animals have been hunted,
When all the waters are polluted,
When all the air is unsafe to breathe,
Only then will you discover you cannot eat money(…)”

(Cree Prophecy, par. 1)

3. COLONIZATION, ALIAS CULTIVATION

With the establishment of the New World, colonizing processes intensified. Although they brought marked well-being to the Indigenous population in some areas of life, such as modernization, they corrupted and destroyed many others.

“The place that Columbus brought into being, however, was neither blank nor empty, nor particularly new,” as Carson explains (923). “The geographical and conceptual space in which European colonizers found themselves was not an empty wilderness, but a thickly populated world of ancient and complex cultural traditions” (Runtić and Knežević 238). The Western design was to make inhabitants an invisible minority (Harlan 119).

Colonizers were puzzled by the Indigenous “harmonious relationship with the earth” (Zimmerman 7) and how “Native North Americans were well adapted to their environment and felt one with the landscape around them” (7).

“From the beginning of English settlement in America, there had been a dual image of the North American Indians. There had always been both an admiration for the supposed simple life as well as hatred for ‘savage’ violence” (Horsman 103). “The Puritans at first had high hopes of saving souls in North America” (103) regarding Indigenous acculturation. However, their position was utterly ethnocentric, as they believed the Indigenous Peoples of North America “would readily give up their way of life and gladly accept the God” and the Western ideology forced upon them (103).

The Western public was inconsistently open to the mysterious Indigenous spirituality they conceptually experienced and superficially understood. The most significant flaw was the perception of the North American inhabitants, whose peculiarities were abstracted to the general category implied in a single term, “Indians.” “Indian peoples were perceived not as they were but as they had to be, from a European point of view” (Dorris 102). Moreover, the caption was geographically inaccurate, since the unfamiliar territory was not India. Misunderstanding prolonged. “In the centuries since Columbus got lost in 1492, a plethora of European social philosophers have attempted to ‘place’ Indians within the context of a Western intellectual tradition,” Dorris continues (100).

By imposing Western standards, the role of Indigenous Peoples in the newly installed social system was reduced to the status of marginalized communities. “It was commonly agreed, then, that the Indian must be taught to think in the white man’s way” (D.W. Adams 225). Colonial institutions were so efficient and omnipresent that they were meant to cancel genuine ethnic uniqueness and abolish Indigenous identity.

Hence, for the first time, Indigenous Peoples were trapped in a hostile environment of Western prejudices and misjudgement. The newcomers did not expect the Indigenous survival imperative, supplied only by scarce natural resources and harsh living conditions, to have trained the Indigenous inborn vitality to excel in the “desire to survive as a People” (234).

The inevitable cultural conflict was abetted by subalterns’ naive notions about imperious intruders. For example, Indigenous Peoples initially called the guns medicine iron, unaware of the danger they bring (Nozedar 283). “The tools and weapons carried by

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the colonists also resulted in names: the Sioux had ‘big knife,’ ‘iron maker,’ and ‘long knife,’ a term that was used generally by Indians of the East and was probably in reference to swords.” (Nozedar 321)

Later, the hosts’ naivety inspired the colonists to continue the mission. Imperialistic appetite grew, so “the architects of the New World”⁷⁵ subordinated those who were not killed, cancelled the Indigenous languages and culture, exposed the Indigenous Peoples to diseases, kidnapped children, sterilized women, caused hunger, introduced poverty, and harmed nature. Those changes were called Christianization, assimilation, and acculturation, aiming to wipe out the continent for the white settlers.

Many European explorers and colonists benefitted from this Native American custom that was common among many peoples. The Law of Hospitality wasn’t actually a law, but a practice whereby outsiders were treated with utmost courtesy, as though they were members of the family. Food was shared and strangers welcomed to stay as long as they wished. Any tribal member who didn’t follow this code was frowned upon, as though he or she had committed a felony. (Nozedar 258-259)

Skin colour became crucial because the skin of North America’s first inhabitants was perceived as “red.” The historian Nancy Shoemaker discusses the phenomenon of Indigenous Peoples’ skin colour. According to the analyst, “red” was not initially derogatory because the error occurred owing to the language barrier. Namely, in colonization, the actors were differentiated into white colonizers, enslaved black people, and red natives. Shoemaker remarks that for the colonizers, it represented the following: “The white path meant a peaceful relation between towns. The red or ‘bloody’ path meant the war” (632). “It was from the use of red as a conventional iconic reference to North American Indians, both by Native Americans and by representatives of the Colonial European powers, that the word redskin emerged.” The term was adopted into English through French, i.e., “peaux rouges” (Goddard 4).

During failed negotiations, the term “Red Indians quickly became standard usage in south-eastern Indian diplomacy” (Shoemaker 628), referring to hostile threats. In a broader sense, “white” alluded to peace, and “red” denoted war. However, much needed to be recovered in translating the dialogue with the colonists. Specifically, Indigenous Peoples talked about bringing people who desire peace, i.e., “white,” and those who opt for war, i.e., “red,” together. However, Europeans understood that the Indigenous nations had talked about the skin of the negotiators. Thus, colonizers recognized themselves as having paler skin and, therefore, white.

“As large number of Native Americans encountered white settlers, the number of names for these visitors increased. The one generic term was ‘pale face,’ but other names abounded, and were generally a description of some aspect of the white man, including the ships he travelled in, the clothes, or the goods that he brought.

⁷⁵ The term was coined by John F. McManus, who titled the book *The Insiders: The Architects of the New World Order*, published by the John Birch Society in 2004.

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The colour of the skin, of course, provided a range of names. For the Arapaho, the incomers were ‘yellow hide’ or ‘white skin.’ The Iroquois, too, used the term ‘white hide,’ and the Wyandot used the lyrical ‘morning light people.’ Other aspects of the white men’s appearance inspired names, too. For the Miami, he was ‘hairy chest’; for the Kiowa, ‘hairy mouths,’ probably describing their beards and moustaches.” (Nozedar 321)

In addition, some Indigenous Peoples refer to the colour red in their creation stories. For example, the Houma people believed the crawfish to be the originator (634). Finally, although hierarchy is not imminent to Indigenous Peoples, the Cherokee positioned themselves in a relationship with the settlers as their “younger brothers.” That action consequently initiated age ranking systems in the order of “old” English colonizers, ranked first, then Indians second, and lastly, black people. That was the beginning of the New World and its legacy of how colours other than white became undesirable while instituting the race ranking system.

European invaders denied or annulled Indigenous accomplishments achieved before colonizers’ arrival on American soil by conducting “the greatest destruction of lives in human history” (Mann 105). Not only did the colonizers intrude on Indigenous life in its political, economic, demographic, religious, and ecological spheres, but they also obtruded on Indigenous culture. Colonialism and its chronological sequence, neo-colonialism, are systematic attempts to subordinate a supposedly inferior race, ethnicity, gender, language, and every other minority group forced to yield in front of the ruling usurper.

Those consequences still exist in political, economic, ideological, social, cultural, and linguistic practices. The score of that venue, known as a five-century⁷⁶ American Holocaust, “the worst human holocaust the world had ever witnessed,” (Stannard 146), resulted in more than one hundred million people killed (Churchill, Little Matter of Genocide 1), emptying 95% of the continent, as Stannard argues (x). The syntagm is attributed to David. E. Stannard. However, the phrase was later alternated to “Indigenous holocaust” “because it was Indigenous people who were almost wiped out, and they did not call themselves Americans” (D. M. Smith 13, footnote 3).

The volume of tragedy is that “[t]he destruction of the Indians of the Americas was, far and away, the most massive act of genocide in the history of the world” (Stannard x). According to the UN terminology, “[i]n the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a) Killing members of the group;
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” (Genocide, par. 4)

⁷⁶ We refer to the period from 1492, when Columbo arrived in Guanahani, nowadays the Bahamas, until the 1996 termination of the residential school era in Canada.

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Nonetheless, the silent oppression has never ended.⁷⁷ Therefore, Indigenous Peoples continued telling their stories to narrate their experiences and vocalize their experiences, challenges, and hopes.

⁷⁷ See Krupat, *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture* 30-55.

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(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

3.1. INDIGENOUS GEOSPATIAL AND TEMPORAL ONTOLOGY

The sub-chapter examines the ontology of the Indigenous being regarding spatial and temporal domains. Identity is a multifaceted phenomenon, so the concept of identity will be considered in a specific social context, i.e., time and place.

Editors Anze and Lambek note that “our memories are shaped in part by the narrative forms and conventions of our time, place and position”(xvii). In addition, “the conventional categorization of objects between endurants and perdurants might differ from Indigenous conceptualizations” (Reid and Sieber, *Indigenous Conceptualizations of Time and the Geoweb* 1). The critics continue that “[I]ndigenous ontologies are often described as relational ontologies; where relationships between beings and entities are ontologically fundamental, dynamic and practical, as well as being in opposition to delimiting universal categories to describe the world” (qtd. Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2006; Ingold 2006; Suchet-Pearson et al. 2013 in Reid and Sieber 3).⁷⁸ As per scholar Ingvar Johansson, “enduring particulars: E1. persist; E2. necessarily lack proper temporal parts; [and] E3. are necessarily wholly present in each time interval; at which they exist” (546). Conversely, “perduring particulars: P1. Persist; P2. necessarily have proper temporal parts; [and] P3. are necessarily not wholly present in each time interval they exist” (546).

However, the enduring/perduran classification is inapplicable to Indigenous worldviews because Indigenous geospatial and temporal ontology is significantly more complex than the dichotomy of referencing points. If the enduring entity is understood as the natural lastingness, whereas the perduran referent means happening at a specific time, both are off the subject regarding the Indigenous world. Above all, as Reid and Sieber emphasize, “place and time are deeply linked to abstract concepts of spirituality, sacredness, wisdom, morality, and well being” (qtd. Basso in Reid and Sieber, *Indigenous Conceptualizations of Time and the Geoweb* 3).⁷⁹ The authors support their claims by citing a few examples from the Indigenous world. Among them, the Cree nation conceptualizes their worldviews based on temporality, i.e., “where natural cycles like seasonality or changes to the environment are both a cause and a consequence of the movements and the behaviors of humans and animals” (qtd. Preston in Reid and Sieber, *Indigenous Conceptualizations of Time and the Geoweb* 3).⁸⁰ Other relevant points examining the oneness of the Cree community in Quebec refer to the following:

⁷⁸ See Howitt, Richard and Sandra Suchet-Pearson. “Rethinking the Building Blocks: Ontological Pluralism and the Idea of ‘Management.’” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, vol. 88, no. 3, 2006, pp. 323–335, www.jstor.org/stable/3878377. Accessed 10 Oct. 2023.

See Ingold, Tim. “Rethinking the Animate, Re-animating Thought.” *Ethnos*, vol. 71, no. 1, 2006, pp. 9–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141840600603111>. Accessed 10 Oct. 2023.

See Suchet-Pearson, Sundie, Sarah Wright, Kate Lloyd and Laklak Burarrwanga. “Caring as Country: Towards an Ontology of Co-becoming in Natural Resource Management.” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 2013, vol. 54, no. 2, 185–197, <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12018>. Accessed 10 Oct. 2023.

⁷⁹ See Basso, Keith H. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*. U of New Mexico P. 1996.

⁸⁰ See Preston, Richard. J. *Cree Narrative: Expressing the Personal Meanings of Events*. 2nd ed. McGill-Queen’s Press, 2002.

“In the circle, we are all equal. There is no one in front of you and there’s nobody behind you. No one is above you, no one is below you. The circle is sacred because it’s designed to create unity.”

(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

The first is the lack of radical separation between humans and other animals, and the second is the lack of distinction between animate and inanimate beings. These two aspects of Cree worldviews are, furthermore, not as distinct as this account has described them. In fact, the cosmos of the Cree is a whole and as such, the seasons, the effects of the seasons on the land, water and plants, and the consequences for human and animal movement and behaviours, all are of a piece and are parts of the cosmological phenomenon of being Cree. (Eades 39)

The crucial reason is that the enduring/perdurable ontological model is designed for linear time, which contradicts Indigenous beliefs. In another article titled “Comparing Geospatial Ontologies with Indigenous Conceptualization of Time,” Reid and Sieber name four grounds for avoiding conventional ontologies. Those are: 1. Time is not linear; 2. Nothing is completely fixed in time; 3. Time has agency, and 4. Time is not temporal but social (248). Later, the scholar Sammy Blackhead joins Reid and Sieber, so they all formulate notions essential to ontological research:

1. Time can be a repeating cycle instead of a line; 2. The past and the future have agency, which contrasts with the positioning in the present; 3. Geographic entities are dynamic processes rather than fixed physical objects; 4. Time is inseparable from a place rather than merely a fourth dimension added to a three dimensional space model. (Reid et al., *Visions in Geospatial Ontologies* 2335)

The traditional teacher, Lee Maracle, adds that “recovering from this condition [atrophied understanding of ourselves] will take time and place” (*Memory Serves* 117).

3.1.1. THE PAST IS ALWAYS

Indigenous Peoples perceive time differently from white people. For example, they use a calendar stick “notched or marked in such a way that it would act as a reminder of prominent events in the history of the tribe” (Nozedar 74) by putting “notches along a stick of wood, or knots made in a length of rope” (480). Lakota and Kiowa people, for instance, paint the hides to note the passing of time. The symbolic number four appeared in those ceremonies. Those nations count years, i.e., “winters” or snowfalls, resembling the plant cycle, i.e., “budding, blooming, leafing, and fruiting” (480). Days, i.e., “sleeps” or nights, are also measured as four-part segments, i.e., “the rising of the sun, noon, the setting of the sun, and midnight” (480). Other nations use “moons,” i.e., months, usually counting thirteen or some preferred twelve moons throughout the year.

It is very important how time is seen. The Pueblo people and the indigenous people of the Americas see time as round, not as a long linear string. If time is round, if time is an ocean, then something that happened 500 years ago may be quite immediate and real, whereas something inconsequential that happened an hour ago could be far away. Think of time as an ocean always moving. (Silko interview, par. 8)

The sacred number four appears in Silko’s *Ceremony*, when Betonie blesses Tayo during a four-day journey: “Following my footprints/ walk home/ following my footprints/ Come home, happily/ return belonging to your home/ return to long life and happiness again/ return to long life and happiness” (*Ceremony* 143).

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In comprehending the concept of time from an Indigenous perspective, Maracle explains that notions that the “[t]ime is linear to the Western world and attached to it are assumptions of time as a progressive transformer” (Memory Serves 121). Thus, the author objects to the linear progress of humankind.⁸¹ Maracle mentions that two millennia ago, the employed intellectual capacities were engaged in full, unlike nowadays. The reason might be that only some changes are for the better (122). Maracle perceives time dually. “In one sense, time is irrelevant. It matters not a whit how long or short the distance between the beginning and the end of a journey is. It matters not a whit what the obstacle to re-connecting with this journey is. Whether or not we are free to take charge of the destiny of our nation, as citizens we are still responsible for it” (119). However, “[o]n the other hand, time is critical. Humans require time and space to contemplate, to analyze, to foreshadow, to predict, and to make decisions” (119). Maracle proposes oral (public) knowledge without mentioning the source, avoiding losing the particulars (115). “Sometimes to go forward, we need to return to the beginning” (120) because “disconnection from original pathways led to breaks in continuum” (120). Maracle further underlines that time is “a critical illusion” (121), inaccessible to Indigenous Peoples (122).

Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* stands out among books of exquisite narrative complexity regarding time structure. The novel is an enigmatic web of space and time because “[s]pace is not linear, but spherical and multidimensional and time is cyclical rather than sequential” (Cousineau 21). In the dissertation “The Spiderweb: A Time Structure in Leslie Silko’s *Ceremony*,” the scholar Patricia Claire Brown sees the novel’s intricateness. Brown notes that the unity of time is achieved through “the merging of horizontal, vertical, and circular concepts of time. Horizontal and vertical time are both linear. However, horizontal time is the historical time of the European-American world; it is external. Vertical time is metaphysical; it is usually thought of as internal” (2).

Per the Indigenous concept, conveying the circularity of time means avoiding a linear, chronological narrative. Paula Gunn Allen explains that

[t]he circular concept requires all ‘points’ that make up the sphere of being to have a significant identity and function, while the linear model assumes that some ‘points’ are more significant than others. In the one, significance is a necessary factor of being in itself, whereas, in the other, significance is a function of placement on an absolute scale that is fixed in time and space. (Sacred Hoop 59)

The dominant technique for Indigenous time representation is the subversion of the Western convention of perceiving time and documenting events. Thus, Silko resorts to shifting between moments of importance in narration. Uniquely, narrating significant events as “historical records” (Nozedar 545-546) is cherished rather than “keep[ing] a tally of how many winters,” e.g., Tayo, the protagonist, “had lived through to determine how” (480) many years passed. So, approaching the novel from the perspective of linear chronology leads to confusion. Instead, the reader is guided through multiple points of view that offer tribal mythology, tradition, and World War II experiences.

The novel is told through “the thoughts of Spider Woman” (P. C. Brown 1), the omniscient narrator, in the past voice, which enables the overlapping of events. “The ancient spinner, Spider Woman, guides the weaving of the story, a mashing of poetry and prose, to

⁸¹ In Canada, a gender-neutral alternative is a non-standardized “peoplekind.”

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(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

unite the primitive idea of circularity, of man’s oneness with nature, with the linear world imposed upon it by dominant culture of the white man” (2). For that matter,

[t]he spider web is a particularly suggestive metaphor for considering texts in general and Silko’s novel in particular. As a structure whose design is already inscribed before its becoming, yet which can only come into existence in time, the web figures forth the divided and paradoxical experience of reading: the text as something that is already there behind us, yet still before us as something to be created. (20)

Silko skillfully plays with time, enchanting the reader to drop the expectation of being guided by the time imperative. Instead, the reader becomes uninterested in the dates but focuses on happenings. In this sense, narrating relies on memory, unlike the calendar. As a rule, Silko does not mention the time, but vaguely uses time markers and adverbs of time, spotlighting the thematic development of intertwining clues. Marked by the war ordeal, “the division of time between present and past becomes irrelevant when we examine the conditions of today. The dismemberment of Indigenous people remains a constant, and our future is governed by this condition” (Maracle, *Memory Serves* 123).

Silko’s characters, war veterans Emo and Tayo, live through the post-war traumas of the white people’s world. Emo’s inclination towards racial purity blinds them into hatred of mixed blood, leading to excessive drinking, committing multiple murders, and eventually being banished from the Laguna Pueblo community. Thus, the identity is broken because the disconnectedness from the land is irreparable. Conversely, Tayo, a mixed blood of troublesome, parentless childhood, educated among white people, finds some life purpose in the military.

Still, each experience comes at a price, manifested through the desire to belong somewhere. The circular journey away from home sickens Tayo. The PTSD⁸² flashbacks navigate the protagonist toward being cured only upon reconnecting with the land, e.g., the national heritage. Tayo is healed as the confused identity is repaired, and the character becomes the epitome of the modern world upon changing and evolving through sharing experiences with the elders.

Silko, interviewed by Thomas Irmer, explains, “We get out of balance and out of harmony with our natural surroundings and also we can get out of harmony with one another. And then it is quite difficult and painful but necessary to make a kind of ceremony to find our way back” (par. 7).

3.1.2. HERE IS EVERYWHERE

The Indigenous authors explain the Indigenous conceptualization of land. For Maracle, “freedom is inextricably bound and attached to the concept of space, and is realized or not realized depending upon the access of restriction placed on individuals and their communities within the space they are entitled to occupy and utilize” (*Memory Serves* 117). “Space contains access to the means to be” (123) and “is spiritual in the sense that it is there to establish relationship between ourselves and other beings” (121). Unfortunately, as the author continues, through “slicing and dicing of the nations” (118), the confinement of

⁸² Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

“In the circle, we are all equal. There is no one in front of you and there’s nobody behind you. No one is above you, no one is below you. The circle is sacred because it’s designed to create unity.”

(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

Indigenous Peoples was legalized under the excuse that the Indigenous population “had to be saved from themselves” (118).

The ceding of land was generally organized by treaty, entailing that Native Americans gave up their ancestral lands in return for the protection and help of the white settlers. However, time and again the promises made in exchange for the lands were rarely kept, and in addition the area of land was frequently reduced in accord with the needs of the settlers and with little, if any, regard to the plight of the original dwellers on that land. Often, Native Americans were forced to give up lands against their will; this frequently led to the outbreak of wars. (Nozedar 256)

Despite the attempts to destroy ancient Indigenous traditions and place borderlines, Christianization and intrusive educational crusades did not induce the Indigenous Peoples to abandon their cultural values. The perspectives of territory, formulation of place, space, and border constitute omens of indigenoussness. The sovereignty of place anchors the identity counteraction furnishing expression, enduringly aimed at ascertaining the existence of resistance culture. So, contrary to expectations, reserve/reservation and allotment policies based on Western ideology are endowed with Indigenous identity and integrity.

Arnold Krupat, intrigued by ethnocriticism, recognizes a critical view of multiculturalism, cognitive ethics, and cosmopolitanism. Ethnocriticism is presented through text analysis and oral traditions among cultures. In this regard, Krupat examines borders, “[e]thnocritical discourse regards border and boundary crossings, with their openness to and recognition of the inevitability of interactive relations, as perhaps the best means to some broadly descriptive account of the way things ‘really’ work in the material and historical world” (26). Krupat also defines a frontier as a “shifting space in which two cultures encounter one another” (Ethnocriticism 5). For the critic, “frontiers, borders, boundaries” (37) are of actual existence, outreaching the dwelling in the figures of speech, so that Western linearity contradict Indigenous circularity (38). That is why Owens suggests looking on the other side of the frontier, i.e., the Indigenous perspective (Mapping the Mixedblood 26).

The critic Paula Gunn Allen in *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* highlights that:

[w]e are the land. (...) that is the fundamental idea that permeates American Indian life; the land (Mother) and the people (mothers) are the same. (...) ‘We are of the soil and the soil is of us.’ The earth is the source and the being of the people, and we are equally the being of the earth. The land is not really the place, separate from ourselves, where we act out the drama of our isolate destinies; the witchery makes us believe that false idea. The earth is not a mere source of survival, distant from the creatures it nurtures and from the spirit that breathes in us, nor is it to be considered an inert resource on which we draw in order to keep our ideological self-functioning, whether we perceive that self in sociological or personal terms. We must not conceive of the earth as an ever-dead other that supplies us with a sense of ego identity by virtue of our contrast to its perceived nonbeing. (119)

As Allen emphasizes, Indigenous beings are the land, and the literary researcher Annie L. Booth adds that Indigenous Peoples cherish the reciprocal relationship with the land (329). Lee Maracle agrees because “[t]he land is alive, it owns itself” (Memory Serves

"In the circle, we are all equal. There is no one in front of you and there's nobody behind you. No one is above you, no one is below you. The circle is sacred because it's designed to create unity."

(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

120). The perception that "the land has a life of its own" (qtd. Nelson in Engel 106) is crucial.⁸³

Nelson, in "Place, Vision, and Identity in Native American Literatures," analyzes the work of three prominent Indigenous authors: Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, *The House Made of Dawn* by Scott N. Momaday, and *The Death of Jim Loney* by James Welch. Nelson examines the journeys of the protagonists in those books. Despite differences in their paths, all characters show similarities in how they cope with life plights, as "[t]he cure for the disease of alienation in their cases depends on this willingness and ability to enter into identity with the landscape, the place where the event of their lives happens to have taken and to be taking place" (7). For Nelson, "the protagonists of these and other Native American novels also move into identity with whatever tribal traditions--encoded in stories and ceremony--happen to have come about in these places" (7). So, the land heals from the "disease of alienation" (7) since the characters restore spiritual estrangement through a physical connection to the place of their belonging. The critic sides with Silko, who points out that the land tells stories and "the stories grow out of this land as much as we see ourselves having emerged from the land there" (qtd. Silko in A. Wright 24).

The elusive identity cannot be reduced to the position of an individual in the cultural tradition and environment. It is an event rather than a spatial determinant. In doing so, the inseparability of the identity notion from the concept of land is evident. The place must not be understood materialistically, but within the vision of identity. The sovereignty of place and identity anchor the criteria for the counteraction of the Indigenous voice in resistance literature.

In geographical terms, as the political geographer Tim Cresswell teaches, the place differs from space because it has a meaning, a name, or some life attachment (10), like for the Indigenous being. Landscapes are also related to places. However, people live in places but look at natural or urban landscapes (11). In the case of Indigenous Peoples, landscapes are integrated into the essential quality of life. Cresswell also acknowledges the metaphysical dimension of the place. In other words, "place is also a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world" (11). The author elaborates on "the connections between place, identity and power" (14). These key components influence Indigenous Literatures.

Michel Foucault finds place and space enigmatic. In the interview with Paul Rabinow, titled "Space Knowledge and Power," Foucault pointed out that "[s]pace is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (par. 68). The philosopher also linked place and freedom: "If one were to find a place, and perhaps there are some, where liberty is effectively exercised, one would find that this is not owing to the order of objects, but, once again, owing to the practice of liberty" (Foucault, interview par. 36). The idea of free space and borrowed place is typical for the Indigenous Peoples of North America.

Martin Heidegger was also intrigued by concepts of place and space for in-depth analysis in the article "Art and Space." The place is of greater importance than the space, as "place always opens a region in which it gathers the things in their belonging together" (6) and "is not located in a pre-given space" (6). Heidegger's view aligns with the Indigenous

⁸³ See Nelson p. 10.

“In the circle, we are all equal. There is no one in front of you and there’s nobody behind you. No one is above you, no one is below you. The circle is sacred because it’s designed to create unity.”

(qtd. Lakota in Reubenwoolley, par. 1)

in that belonging to the place is not understood as occupancy given or taken by some authority.

Supposedly, on one occasion in British Columbia, when some government officials claimed the land over representatives of the Indigenous Peoples, after being astonished by the newcomers’ arrogance, one of the elders asked the Westerners: “If this is your land, where are your stories” (Chamberlain 1)?

In *A Map to the Next World*, Joy Harjo depicts home: “All of us lived in the back of somewhere in the city where we were defining what it meant to be Indian in a system of massive colonization” (14).

Sherman Alexie also confesses: “I always felt like a stranger. I was half Indian in one place and half white in the other. It was like being Indian was my job, but it was only a part-time job. And it didn’t pay well at all” (Absolutely True Diary 118). In other words, “when Junior is in Reardan (the little white town), he is ‘half-Indian,’ and when he is in Wellpinit (his home reservation). He is ‘half-white’” (Alexie, Absolutely True Diary Discussion guide).

Indigenous roots in the landscape are presented in Linda Hogan’s *Solar Storms*. The novel is an identity-seeking story. Angela Jensen, known as Angel, growing up in foster homes, learns about the world of pain and danger after being abused by their biological parent. The novel starts with the prologue, where Logan personifies the place: “[t]he house is crying” (11), and it collapses in the fire. Similarly, events that happen in life are like storms. However, nature eternalizes harmony, which must be perpetuated through self-examination and an outward journey. Thus, the protagonist sets out on an odyssey from their birthplace, the up-north town of Adam’s Rib, to Fat-Eater’s land. Throughout the novel, the writer idolizes the land, as it “had its own will” (123) and because the “land refused to be shaped by the makers of maps” (123).

Angel’s connection to the landscape is multidimensional. Adam’s Rib is a reminder of Angel’s childhood trauma caused by their parent, Hannah Wing. At the same time, it is a haven warmed up by the love and care of other prominent figures in the family. Angel’s great-great-grandparent, Dora Rouge, hopes to complete the life circle on Fat Island. Others who shape Angel’s coming-to-age are Agnes Iron, the grandparent and Bush, their grandparent’s first spouse. Another place of interest is the Se Nay River, where Dora Rouge negotiates safe passing. Angel’s connection to water is mysterious yet essential. Urged to believe in the supernatural and respect the natural world, Angel identifies with water for “going back to itself” (55) and finding the inner self.

“Take only memories, leave nothing but footprints.”

(Chief Seattle Quotes, par. 4)

3.2. LIFEBLOOD OF INDIGENOUS IDENTITY

All Native American peoples had their stories about how the world and the universe began. Accounts vary, but many of these stories have elements that describe historical aspects of the people themselves (...)" (Nozedar 123).

Editors Paul Anze and Michael Lambek in *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* explore memory, which

serves as both a phenomenological ground of identity (as when we know implicitly who we are and the circumstances that have made us so) and the means of explicit identity construction (as when we search our memories in order to understand ourselves or when we offer particular stories about ourselves in order to make a certain kind of impression). (xvi)

Telling stories predefined sociological background in Indigenous literal advancement. “Storytelling is a ritual act of re-creation and generation. It is a way of establishing historical and metaphorical connections between individuals and their universe” (Allen, *Studies in American Indian Literature* 141). Creativity refers to transferring thoughts, dreams, and wishes into stories and folktales, simultaneously certifying that ideas design a reality. Moreover, stories link the past to the present by modelling the actual moment to treasure traditional values. Finally, tale-telling customs empower a fragile sense of belonging to a particular community. Thus, for Indigenous Peoples, to survive means to tell stories.

3.2.1. CULTURAL MEMORY

In the dichotomy between the “narrating self” and “the narrated self” (Anze and Lambek xviii), cultural conflict resides, which applies to Indigenous Peoples. Trapped in social conflict, people only get closer to their inner self/selves through storytelling while mediating between abstractions and experiences. They define their identity, revive “repressed memories,”⁸⁴ and eventually get healed (xi-xxxiii).

At the same time, Anze mentions observations of the psychotherapist Renee Frederickson, who notes that invoking memories through discovering and overcoming discontinuities and differences, i.e., dealing with one’s past, is therapeutic (8).⁸⁵ When trauma is experienced, and memories come to life, a person lives for the first time. The past of North American first inhabitants is understood here according to the pattern of psychoanalysis.

Still, dangers lurk in grasping memory as a narrative because “we are at once author and reader of our stories, acts which are continuous unless preempted” (xix). Moreover, Anze and Lambek prove that memories are social constructs. In other words, “memories are never simply records of the past, but are interpretative reconstructions that bear the

⁸⁴ The syntagma is attributed to Renée Frederickson.

⁸⁵ See Fredrickson, Renée. *Repressed Memories: A Journey to Recovery from Sexual Abuse*. Fireside/Parkside Books, 1992, p. 24.

“Take only memories, leave nothing but footprints.”

(Chief Seattle Quotes, par. 4)

imprint of local narrative conventions, cultural assumptions, discursive formations and practices, and social on texts of recall and commemoration” (vii).

The editors add that “memory is widely called upon today to legitimize identity (...) to construct it or reconstruct it (...)” (xv), which is crucial for Indigenous Peoples. “Identity is not composed of a fixed set of memories but lies in the dialectical, ceaseless activity of remembering and forgetting, assimilating and discarding” (xxix).

Anze further explores the line of thought of the philosopher Paul Ricœur, who points out that knowledge of identity has a hidden narrative structure (6).⁸⁶ Our lives unfold through the intertwining of past and present as we recognize ourselves as different from other characters. As per the editor, Ricœur implies the existence of a fragmented identity (7); therefore, memory is crucial in defining a new narrative identity as a cultural idiom. They observe that Ricœur distinguishes between two aspects of personal identity: the one based on immutable attributes, timelessness, and similarity, i.e., sameness (11)⁸⁷ and the other, i.e., selfhood, “an ethnical project” that is “open to change in an ongoing dialogue between experience and memory” (qtd. Ricœur in Anze 11).⁸⁸

The scholar Suzi Adams notices that “although Ricœur presented cultural memory as belonging to the self – and thus not to collective memory,” other “pathways to problematiz[ing] this understanding” open up (S. Adams 120).

For Indigenous Peoples, it means analyzing the complex notion of identity. In other words, Indigenous identity is decoded through co-constructing answers to the “who”⁸⁹ question. Identity is explored in dialectic of selfhood (*ipse*) dynamic, unlike sameness (*idem*) stasis, so that both dimensions constitute self-identity, which differs from the complex otherness (*alterity*) (Ricœur 3). The need for identifiers⁹⁰ is evident as perceived over time in a dynamic process among dialogue partners. Lastly, as Henry Venema, the philosophy connoisseur, concludes, “our stories are incomplete narrative renditions of condensed series of events, of significant moments, and pivotal meanings in relation with others” (Venema 239).

3.2.2. MNEMONICS

The scholar Milman Parry identifies mnemonic devices through the Homeric formula. Parry’s student Albert B. Lord develops “oral-formulaic theory”⁹¹ for memorizing labelled in the oral tradition “[u]ne expression qui est régulièrement employée, dans les mêmes conditions métriques, pour exprimer une certaine idée essentielle” (“an expression which is regularly employed, under the same metrical conditions, to express a certain essential idea” 16). Those tools, like rhythm and repetition, are mental techniques necessary for meticulously transmitting the collective memory.

⁸⁶ See Ricœur, Paul. *Oneself as Another*. U of Chicago P, 1992, p. 140-141.

⁸⁷ See Ricœur 121.

⁸⁸ See Ricœur 163-168.

⁸⁹ See Introductory Notes.

⁹⁰ See “layers of identification” in 2.2. The Hybridity of Indigenous Experience: An Existential Dialogue between “the Self” and “the Other” toward “Aotherness.”

⁹¹ Parry and Lord explored the Yugoslavian epic oral tradition, getting toward formulating the theory.

"Take only memories, leave nothing but footprints."

(Chief Seattle Quotes, par. 4)

Neal McLeod, the author and filmmaker, stresses that the extensive collective experience emerges through "lived," i.e., individual stories (39). Recording information about events, experiences, fears, and wishes is intuitive. Oral conveying facilitates acknowledging artistic orature. The result is an outright tradition. For McLeod, storytelling is a cohesive device that links events (37). "The weaving of these stories into the present is an essential aspect of Cree memory in that it is an ongoing process between the present and the past, and also between the individual and the collective" (38).

Memory must be observed in the analysis of its components: metacognition, also known as "knowing about knowing," and metamemory, understood as knowledge in the form of "knowing how to know" (A. Brown title). Both components are characteristics of oral-style societies, as memory is prone to evaporating. Thus, practice sessions and repetitions are requisite. The ingredient of awareness refers to our cognitive system, though it is an integral part of our memory system, requiring intentional rehearsals. The inability to read and write implies remembering the passage quickly. Conversely, retrieving memories without direct dependency on mnemonic tools represents the highest achievement of writing as a more durable package.

According to Lee Maracle, the traditional teacher, "memory is significant, we are who we are by what we remember and what we do not" (Maracle, *My Home as I Remember* i) because "in our memory is housed our history; we are an oral people: history, law, politics, sociology, the self, and our relationship to the world are all contained in our memory" (i).

“It does not require many words to speak the truth.”

(Chief Joseph, par. 1)

4. THE CULTURAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF TURTLE ISLAND AND THE SETTLERS

Parallel and opposite processes characterize the modern age. They started with ethnic differentiation, localization, and global connection to glocalization. The latter phenomena derive from the former. Social life is contextually and ideologically stratified and limited to different cultural spaces (Filipović 74). Modern societies are multicultural, facing demands that the cultural peculiarities of minorities, i.e., Indigenous Peoples, such as linguistic behaviour, be formally recognized. The essential features of globalization are homogenization (Arnason 224) and interdependence perceived in social relations (Robertson 38).

Some of the theorists' concerns regarding identity are temporality, individuality, and historicity. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (1) look at cultural identity, race, and ethnicity from a deconstruction point of view. They begin the discussion with a purposeful question: “Who needs identity?” According to them, identity, understood as a process, is determined by history and culture (1). The inevitable questions are: “When does one's identity get lost?” and “How does it happen?”, as well as, “How is it restored?”

In personal re-examination, identity is the recognition of self in the continuity of wholeness and permanence of existence despite temptations. An individual is a social being determined by complex social relations. As stated by Frederic Jameson in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative Mapping of Socially Symbolic Act*, “personal identity is itself the effect of certain temporal unification of past and future with one's present” (qtd. in Paunović 232).⁹² Similarly, Linda Hutcheon in *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* interprets that “the dialogue of past and present, of old and new, gives formal expression to a belief in change within continuity” (qtd. in Paunović 234).⁹³ “The obscurity and hermeticism of modernism are abandoned for a direct engagement of the viewer in the processes of signification through re-contextualized social and historical references” (Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism* 32), which can be applied to this study.

Two theories prevail in identity analysis, i.e., the identity theory and the social identity theory. In both, the self is reflexive (Stets and Burke 224). Identity is designed through the identification process in the first, and identity is shaped by self-categorization in the second (224).

In the *Discourse on Metaphysics*, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz applies mathematical rules to claim that no two things are alike. If they were, it would be one substance (308). The precondition of identity is the awareness of existence other than ours. Therefore, otherness is a guarantee of the self. So, it seems paradoxical that the appearance of diversity confirms the sameness.

When creating identity, the way the individual experiences themselves regarding other(s) is crucial. The distinction from the other(s) determines one's place in the community. The self has several identifications with others, who possess similar characteristics. All those influence the choice of the community to which the self belongs. Thus, the self is entangled in a network of various identities. In other words, identity is exposed through group membership, i.e., in a nation.

⁹² See Jameson, Frederic. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative Mapping of Socially Symbolic Act*. Cornell UP, 1981, pp. 26-27.

⁹³ See Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. Routledge, 1988, p. 32.

"It does not require many words to speak the truth."

(Chief Joseph, par. 1)

Life is a scene where social actors play roles, i.e., exercise role-based identities and multiple belongings. According to Ljubiša Rajić, the notion of identity presupposes the search for "akter društvenih događaja" ("an actor of social events;" *Preduslovi rasprave o identitetu. Identitet kao osnova tranzicije. "Identity Discussions Prerequisites. Identity as the Basis of Transition."*; 11). The premise implies the syllogism that identity is formed only in society. Rajić explains how a person is defined:

za stanovnike Vračara, ja sam Starograđanin, za Nišljije Beograđanin, za Vojvođane Srbijanac, za Makedonce Srbin, za većinu nekadašnjih stranaca sam bio samo Jugosloven, za Skandinavce sam Balkanac ili Južnoevropljanin, za Azijce Evropljanin, za crnce belac, za budiste hrišćanin, za birokrate iz EU stanovnik zapadnog Balkana ili jugoistočne Evrope, i tako unedogled. I ne samo da lako mogu da skliznem iz jedne kategorije u drugu, već svaka opštija kategorija, uvršćuje u sebe sve veći broj užih kategorija, jer, recimo, jedan Vračarac, sem što je stanovnik beogradske opštine Vračar, može biti i bilo šta drugo.

("for the occupants of Vračar, I am a localite of Stari grad, for Niš townies I am a Belgrader, for Vojvodina inhabitants I am a Serbian, for Macedonians I am a Serb, for most of the former foreigners I was only a Yugoslav, for Scandinavians I am a Balkaner or Southern European, for Asians I am a European, for blacks I am a white man, for Buddhists I am a Christian, for bureaucrats from the EU, I am a resident of the Western Balkans or Southeastern Europe, and so on indefinitely. And not only can I easily slip from one category to another, but each more general category includes an increasing number of narrower categories, because, for example, a Vračar local, apart from being a dweller of the Belgrade municipality of Vračar, can be anything else."; Rajić 14)

According to Sayers, empirical research on identity begins with Hegel and Marx, who profess that identities are created through social interactions. The author further elaborates.

Both Marx and Hegel reject the idea that the individual is an atomic entity. (...) Marx's theory develops from Hegel's account of "civil society" and uses a framework of historical development similar to Hegel's. However, Marx uses the concept of alienation to criticize the liberal, communitarian and Hegelian conceptions of modern society and to envisage a form of individuality and community that lies beyond them. (84)

How individuals experience themselves in relation to others is essential to creating identity. The criterion of identity is also crucial in defining collective and national identity. Group identity implies the existence of at least one common feature toward sameness among community members. Culture is never nationally and racially uniform or neutral. Therefore, cultural identity is a social amalgam of compositely fused, individually inherited, and communally gained experiences dissolved in the whirlpool of historical events.

Academic Ljubiša Rajić attests that "in modern times, identity is recognized as an individual, as a project of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing personal identity in a globalized world" (265) because it is "a non-homogeneous and dynamic phenomenon, susceptible to changes in time and space" (266).

Similarly, academician Zoran Paunović observes that "history creates our identity, literature tries to define and explain it" (234) and continues that "in any history, no matter whether it is global or individual, everything seems to be happening by chance. That is what

“It does not require many words to speak the truth.”

(Chief Joseph, par. 1)

makes it so elusive, which is why it is so difficult to discern real causes of the events within it” (235).

Historically, every social system, from primitive to modern, totalitarian, or democratic, has significantly determined the apparent modifications of identity. As a result, identity is traditionally variable, manifesting in critical events, disturbances of social balance, endangerment, and change. Although endowed with certain preconditions for recognizing property, the self is not received entirely by birth. Instead, elements of the self are redefined, as making the change is an essence of identity.

The shift from monoethnic to multi-ethnic is desired in modern multicultural societies. However, on the way to achieving “psychosocial virtue,” a social actor experiences an “identity crisis,” argues Erik Erikson (730), who identifies the concept of identity as a psychosocial phenomenon. Four identifiers define the psycho element. Firstly, identity has conscious and unconscious dimensions. Secondly, it is constantly threatened by the “dynamism of conflict” (732). Thirdly, since identity develops over time, it will lead to the most definite crisis after being “given somatic, cognitive, and social preconditions” (732). Lastly, identity, defined by one’s past, determines one’s future. In its social quality, identity is exposed to community influences. Finally, the historical aspect of identity puts personal history in a broader context. All those determinants dwell in complex interrelationships.

Detecting an identity crisis ranges from its silent appearance to its apparent indicators. Identity crisis implies negativity and conflict, followed by identity confusion. Erikson notices those causes of identity conflicts. In the colonizing contact between the Indigenous Peoples of Canada and the United States, we pinpoint all three conflict types, fear, anxiety, and dread (733), that defined colonizers’ ruling ideology and initiated Indigenous crises. Conflict can be reacted to differently: assertively, passively, or aggressively. After a period of confusion, Indigenous Peoples tried resistance, but only literature offered them salvation.⁹⁴

The imagery of the cultural frontier separates identity from non-identity. For Owens, “[i]t is the zone of trickster, a shimmering, always changing zone of multifaceted contact within which every utterance is challenged and interrogated, all referents put into question” (Mapping the Mixedblood 26). When theorizing on North American Indigenous Literatures, Krupat also sees the frontier as a social scene and a culturally defined space where identities are expressed. The prerequisite for cultural identities is nurturing cultural differences instead of contradictions. While respecting the opinion that languages in society are always pluralistic constructs (qtd. Bakhtin in Krupat, *Ethnocriticism* 18),⁹⁵ Arnold Krupat promotes transculturalization by accepting heterogeneity as a social and cultural norm. That place of cultural contact and possible coexistence is Owens’ frontier.

Further on, in *The Turn to the Native: Studies in Criticism and Culture*, Krupat explains that the colonial context and the dichotomy of actors, i.e., colonizers and the colonized (ix), are critical for understanding the oppositions. In this division of roles, the colonizer must believe in the legitimacy of the exercised power, and the colonized are expected to accept their fatefully subordinate position. The necessity of cultural autonomy for enslaved people

⁹⁴ See 5. Literature as the Resultant of Cultural Survival.

⁹⁵ See Bakhtin, Mikhail. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, edited by Michael Holquist, translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. U of Toronto P, 1981, p. 263.

“It does not require many words to speak the truth.”

(Chief Joseph, par. 1)

is undeniable. Hence, a literary reflection of identity is a precise definition of the self in relation to others.

What will prevail - cultural recovery or the collapse of culture - depends on many circumstances. According to Simon During, identity is a much more complex concept than it first seems. Every identity assembly in the multitude of identities that one has is a compromise reached at the expense of individuality. During debates, identity is external, partial, and collective, crucial in determining an individual's social position. The author perceives most humanity as victims of imperialism (114) and advocates perceiving identity independently of harmful, universal, Eurocentric interpretations (114-126). As a result, imperialism subjugates racial, ethnic, immigrant, linguistic, and minority groups.

Concerning that, Alasdair MacIntyre, in the critique of moral philosophy, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, MacIntyre delves into eighteenth/nineteenth Literature (181),⁹⁶ noticing that the thought of virtue is inherently different since there is no unique understanding (182). Still, it is possible to formulate such a notion (191) once the common ground in all views is found (186). Moreover, the critic points out that some practices are evil (199). Nevertheless, stories are a means of moral education in heroic societies (121).⁹⁷ Through a story, the visibility of the self is less hazy, and the nation's identity is shaped by responsible and fact-based historiography, traced in a story, i.e., literature.

Thus, we deduce that the story is never ethically neutral, and histories are not only experienced but also told. To conclude, the cultural conflict that occurred after the contact of Indigenous Peoples with the pale-faced⁹⁸ invaders determined the destiny of all parties involved.

⁹⁶ by Benjamin Franklin and Jane Austen

⁹⁷ Homer, Aristotle, and Sophocles' pieces of work, the New Testament, and Medieval Literature

⁹⁸ See 3. Colonization Alias Cultivation.

“Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The Earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it...”

(Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé par. 1)

4.1. CROSS-CULTURAL PERCEPTION OF GENDER: RETHINKING INDIGENOUS GENDER ROLES

This sub-chapter problematizes the unique gender concept of Indigenous Peoples of North America against the ruling Western cultural paradigm. The gender-sensitive issue regarding authentic Indigenous comprehension is subtle. In this learning, the arguments will be detected in the milieu of Indigenous Literatures acclimated to the traditional medium for proclaiming Indigenous beliefs about gender identity and gender roles.

The study searches for social commentary on two questions: “How was a traditional unit gender-structured in the pre-European contact era?”, and “What social transformations did the Indigenous gender traditions undergo during the colonial period?” The inquiry also traces the identity of the two-spirit character in the emblematic short story “Coyote Learns a New Trick” by Beth Brant.

Our goal is to explore Indigenous gender identity as told by Indigenous voices from the perspective of a non-Indigenous researcher. Qualitative methods will be used in implementation research through narrative and descriptive approaches. In addition, epistemologies other than gender mainstreaming will be taken into consideration. This study tackles the gender issue of culturally diverse Indigenous Peoples of North America in comparison with the Western archetype to decode gender performances.

4.1.1. THE PRE-CONTACT ERA⁹⁹

“Three millennia or so before the present time, Paleo-Indian culture was gradually evolving” (Wertz 6). Among numerous theories about the first inhabitants of North America, one prevails. “In the early twentieth century, chance discoveries combined with rapidly advancing scientific techniques indicated that humans followed other animals who travelled from northeast Asia, today’s Siberia, on to the American continent during the Pleistocene epoch” (6).

Around 50,000-8,000 years ago, during the great Ice Age – which actually saw a series of advances and retreats in the polar glaciers – the land mass of Beringia appeared and then disappeared in several cycles. It is often referred to as a bridge between Asia and Alaska” (Wertz 6). (...) A unified theory was developed that Paleo-Indians crossed Beringia from their previous homes in Siberia in search for big game – the food source that preceded them. They followed the ice-free path down the east face of the Rocky Mountains and settled in North America (6),

the Turtle Island, as Haudenosaunee called the North American continent. “The name is a reminder of the myth,¹⁰⁰ and of the time when native peoples occupied the land before the

⁹⁹ (3,000 BC–1492)

¹⁰⁰ Adele Nozedar refers to the creation myth about the Sky Woman. See 3.2. Lifeblood of Indigenous Identity.

“Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The Earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it...”

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coming of the Europeans” (Nozedar 513).

(...) at that time the waters of the Bering Strait were frozen over, forming a land bridge. These people eventually spread south throughout the Americas to the southern part of Argentina, following the herds of mammoths and giant buffalo. When these animals became extinct, their former hunters had to survive by killing smaller game animals and wild plants, and eventually learned farming. (160)

In the pre-colonial period, “Indigenous constitutional orders are not based on the subjugation and domination of women or other genders” but “are recounted with great reverence in the oral tradition” (Ladner 70).

The Native nations of North America lived in different regions and had different lifestyles, but they shared important beliefs. They understood and respected the land, water, plants, and animals in their territories. They never hunted, fished or gathered more than they needed. They lived in harmony with nature and offered thanks for its gifts to them. The wisdom of the nations has been passed down from one generation to the next. It has been told in stories, songs, dances and art for thousands of years. (Kalman 30)

Indigenous Peoples honoured the natural balance of differences beyond the heteronormative gender system and celebrated unisexual and intersexual examples in nature. Thus, the close spiritual connection to nature and animals was reflected in the gender of the first inhabitants of the North American land.

In the kingdoms of Plantae and Animalia, examples of more than two-gendered species, which have more than a single male or female morph or gender, are present. For instance, plants like flowers are mainly hermaphrodites. Moreover, some animals that live in North America, like the tree lizard and the side-blotched lizard, do not adhere to gender roles. Beyond that, “The co-existence of males, females and hermaphrodites, a rare mating system known as trioecy, has been considered as an evolutionarily transient state” (Kanzaki et al. 1).¹⁰¹ Therefore, gender differences among Indigenous Peoples were axiomatically welcomed and cherished.

In the pre-Columbian era, Indigenous gender roles were precisely defined within nations. Since the term “Indigenous Peoples of North America” directs attention to distinctive communities, gender roles were shaped in ethnic and cultural groups. Indigenous Peoples showed a genuine affinity toward gender diversity.

Responsibilities, based on gender roles, were ascribed to the adult band members, which they learned in early childhood. “Each family member had an important role in the home and in the community” (Kalman 31). Gender roles reflect labour division and authority distinctions defined by responsibilities in workload. The survival of society depended on men and women in egalitarian communities, such as the Cree nations. Women were responsible for household chores, farming duties, and childrearing. At the same time, men held political power and played a significant role in ceremonies, hunting, and fishing.

¹⁰¹ The contributing authors of the “Description of [T]wo [T]hree-[G]endered [N]ematode [S]pecies in the [N]ew [G]enus *Auanema* (Rhabditina) [T]hat [A]re [M]odels for[R]eproductive [M]ode [E]volution” are Natsumi Kanzaki, Karin Kiontke, Ryusei Tanaka, Yuuri Hirooka, Anna Schwarz, Thomas Müller-Reichert, Jyotiska Chaudhuri & Andre Pires da Silva.

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Haudenosaunee women, for example, had a strong presence in family and management roles, often being selected as Clan Mothers who are the heads of clans (Haudenosaunee Guide 4).¹⁰² Indigenous nations adjusted their activities depending on the prospects of peace or war, harsh winters, summer droughts, or wet transitional seasons. For instance, women’s daily chores in summer were more demanding due to the intense wood collecting and cultivating of crops. Specific work roles were contrasted within nomadic tribes that inhabited the western Great Lakes region.

Unlike many Southwest and Eastern Great Lakes nations, the Navajo were seminomadic, living “near water on the edge of the Plains” (Kalman 14). For all of them, the community’s prosperity was a goal of supreme importance.

4.1.2. THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Upon their arrival, European colonialists imposed their dominant patriarchal cultural heritage, religious beliefs, and gender constructs. As a result, the harmonious equilibrium of living in serenity with nature, which existed before contact with the settlers, was irretrievably disturbed. The Indigenous world of natural beauty collided with the unknown cosmos of dogmatic colonial definitions.

White colonizers were educated to understand only binary cultural manifestations, lacking knowledge and empathy, reducing Indigenous gender variety to heteronomous binary oppositions. The writer, Mary Wollstonecraft, notices “the lack of understanding” of sex differences” among Westerners (52). “Indigenous conceptions of gender have generally been misunderstood by outsiders” (Ladner 70). Alice B. Kehoe also points out that “these false images prevailed during the early colonial period and continue to dominate, as Europeans were incapable of seeing Indian societies (...) for what they truly were” (qtd. Kehoe in Ladner 70).¹⁰³ “The notion that there are two and only two genders is one of the most basic ideas,” as O’Flaherty and Fisher remind us (209).

Conversely, supposedly “ignorant” Indigenous Peoples identified a diversity of sexual assortments: male, female, two-spirit female, two-spirit male, and transgender (Brayboy, par. 2). Although an Indigenous community seemed rudimentary and undeveloped, the complexity of Indigenous gender-specifics astonished Westerners, especially regarding women’s roles. Understanding the Indigenous gender concept calls for gender understanding to question the relations of oversimplified rigid binaries of male/female sex, masculine/feminine gender, man/woman, and heterosexual/other.

Thus, newcomers reacted with amazement, dismay, disgust, and often violence (Roscoe 4). Instead of greeting the distinctiveness, Christian colonizers evinced brutality. What is natural in Indigenous performance was often characterized as sexually deviant, eccentric, or abnormal otherness for the Eurocentric taste of sexual suitability. “Penalized and punished” Indigenous Peoples “learned that the most certain way to survive was to

¹⁰² The writer Wilma Mankiller was the principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. See Mankiller & Wallis ix-xxvi.

¹⁰³ See Kehoe, Alice B. “The Shackles of Tradition.” *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, edited by Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. UP of America, 1983, pp. 53-77.

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take these teachings underground, out of sight of the colonizers” (Wilson 2), through literal voices.

Moreover, “there is also no doubt that the sexist policies and attitudes of both state and church have infiltrated Indigenous communities, such that sexism (in all of its physical, policy and doctrinal manifestations) and patriarchy have taken root in Indian country” (qtd. Smith; Green in Ladner 65).¹⁰⁴

Ladner underlines the devastating effect of *The Indian Act* on Indigenous communities that “resulted in the internalisation of colonialism by Indigenous people, engendering an inharmonious plurality of cultural identities and understandings of gender” (65). The critic sides with Joanne Barker that *The Indian Act* “has ‘maligned and devalued’ women (and other genders) while male privilege has been ‘normalized and legitimized’” (qtd. in Ladner 66).¹⁰⁵

“There were two crucial distinctions, which allowed Europeans of the Renaissance and Reformation period to divide the human race into superior and inferior categories. One was between Christian and heathen and the other between ‘civil’ and ‘savage’” (Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race* 10). For Ward Churchill, colonization was an ideological project to cancel the Indigenous uniqueness, we add, gender freedom. “‘If people suddenly lose their prime symbol,’ the basis of their culture, their lives lose meaning. They become disoriented, with no hope. Social disorganization often follows such a loss; they are often unable to ensure their own survival” (105).

The colonizers were judgmental toward accepting Indigenous gender distinctions, even though nature offers a plurality of intersex assortments for education. Comprehending gender complexity outbalances its biological detection of gender options assigned to a person at birth. Gender spreads beyond the standard concept of one’s visible anatomy, which has to match the person’s inner acknowledgement of self. If there is a contradiction between the assigned gender and the internal sense of self, an identity crisis occurs.

Gender practices among Indigenous Peoples are flexible and diverse. In Indigenous communities, “people who were different in terms of gender identity or sexuality were respected, integrated and sometimes revered” (Roscoe 4). The author Brayboy cites the activist Russell Means: “In my culture we have people who dress half-man, half-woman. Winkte, we call them in our language. If you are Winkte, that is an honourable term and you are a special human being and among my nation and all Plain people, we consider you a teacher of our children and are proud of what and who you are” (Brayboy, par. 13).¹⁰⁶

Consequently, the two-spirit people were welcomed and considered beneficial to the

¹⁰⁴ See Smith, Andrea. “Not an Indian Tradition: The Sexual Colonization of Native Peoples.” *Hypatia*, vol. 18, no. 2, Indiana UP, 2003, pp. 70-85, muse.jhu.edu/article/44199/pdf. Accessed 2 Sept. 2023.

See Green, Joyce, editor, “Taking More Account of Indigenous Feminism: An Introduction.” *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, 2nd ed. 2007, pp. 1-20.

¹⁰⁵ See Barker, Joanne Barker. “Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights 34 in Native Women’s Activism.” *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2006, pp. 127-161, [JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40338720](https://www.jstor.org/stable/40338720). Accessed 2 Sept. 2023.

¹⁰⁶ The excerpt is from Russell Means’ speech in July 1980 at Black Hill International Survival Gathering, in the Black Hills of South Dakota: “[A] Tribute to Russel[l] Means – His Speech 1980 Black Hill [G]athering.” *Akashma Online News*. 22 Oct. 2012, par. 88, akashmanews.com/2012/10/22/tribute-to-russel-means-his-speech-1980-black-hill-gathering/. Accessed 3 Sept. 2023.

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Indigenous community. Along these lines, even though the gender diversity of Indigenous Peoples was pointedly observed, wrongly interpreted, and overly underrated by self-proclaimed Western patronage, innate gender beauty did not disappear. “If issues of gender are to be anything but an afterthought, gender considerations must be addressed before these other matters are dealt with. The need to address considerations of gender is absolute” (Ladner 62).

4.1.3. GENDER IDENTITY

“The social universe was nowhere more at odds with that of Europe and Anglo-America than in its gender roles” (Roscoe 4). Concerning gender identity, whatever road is taken, it is always a journey towards self.

Some people question their gender identity and the gender evidence of others by trying to identify the gender nuances according to the known or less-known instructions. They must decide whether to consent to the simple binary concept throughout the inquiry. Others, like Indigenous Peoples, follow less travelled roads beyond the socially safe gender categorizations. They accept themselves and everybody else as they are without the need to review anyone’s gender prescriptions. Indigenous Peoples take a non-binary stance, rejecting the simplicity of the gender binary. They accede to the diversity of genders instead.

However, Western theories of sex and gender and settlers’ gender policies during colonization scaled down Indigenous experiences to the rank of others and tried to silence the Indigenous voice. Therefore, the Indigenous gender experience is narrated in stories and retold to “pass on the ontological core of native being” (Vizenor and Lee 165).

This study examines the context-specific Indigenous phenomenon of the two-spirit people by challenging patriarchal and colonial gender representations.

The Navajo refer to Two Spirits as *Nádleehí* (one who transformed), among the Lakota is *Winkté* (indicative of male who has a compulsion to behave as a female), *Niizh Manidoowag* (two spirit) in Ojibwe, *Hemaneh* (half man, half woman) in Cheyenne (...) In the Iroquois Cherokee language, there is no way to translate the term, but Cherokee do have gender variance terms for ‘women who feel like men’ and vice versa. (Brayboy, par. 2)

The creation of the term “two-spirit” is attributed to Elder Myra Laramee, who proposed its use during the Third Annual Inter-[T]ribal Native American, First Nations, Gay and Lesbian American Conference, held in Winnipeg in 1990 (Two Spirit Community, par. 1).

The umbrella term is an English construction and refers to Indigenous queer identities. Since many Indigenous languages are verb-centred, describing gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons is terminologically challenging (Two Spirit Community, par. 2). Verb-centred languages, like Apache, Cree, Dene, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca, base morphology on verbs with few other parts of speech, so that phrases are centred upon the verb and adapted to the verb, unlike English with its abundance of nouns (Verb-based Languages, pars. 1-5).

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Moreover, gender-distinct pronouns are not to be found in the Cree language (Wilson 2), which is “‘gendered’ on the basis of whether or not something is animate (that is, whether or not it has a spiritual purpose and energy)” (2).

Two-spirit people are of both female and male characteristics that determine their identity primarily through spirituality, reflecting in the physical, psychological, and social dimensions. However, Western observations do not encompass the inclusive definition of Indigenous illustrations, incorporating traditional spiritualism. Thus, Indigenous authors insist on using the term two-spirit denomination. Thereby, genderly¹⁰⁷ adorned Indigenous writing aims to re-politicize colonial gender misconceptions and deconstruct Western sexual prejudices of bipolar oppositions.

According to the Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in Relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, completed on 26 March 2007 (O’Flaherty and Fisher 207), gender identity refers

to each person’s deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned by birth, including personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms. (Yogyakarta Principles 8)

Twenty-nine principles were listed. In 2017, principles from thirty to thirty-eight were adjoined, as were Additional State Obligations. The introduced formulation of gender expression is “each person’s presentation of the person’s gender through physical appearance – including dress, hairstyles, accessories, cosmetics – and mannerisms, speech, behavioural patterns, names and personal references, and noting further that gender expression may or may not conform to a person’s gender identity.” (Yogyakarta Principles [P]lus 10 6)

Ladner notices that (re)gendering society is possible (72). Over time, gender terminology has also changed. For example, in 2021 in Canada, sex was replaced by sex at birth (Age, Sex at Birth and Gender Reference Guide, par. 6). In Table 1 - Concepts [R]elated to [S]ex at [B]irth, [G]ender and [C]isgender, [T]ransgender and [N]on-[B]inary are presented in the Statistics Canada 2021 report.

The cisgender “category includes persons who have reported that their sex at birth is the same as their current gender” (Classification of [C]isgender and [T]ransgender, par. 1), whereas transgender “category includes persons whose assigned sex at birth was reported as female and whose current gender was reported as other than female; or persons whose sex assigned at birth was reported male and whose current gender was reported as other than male. It also includes persons who were reported as being unsure of their gender or persons who were reported as both male and female, bi-gender, or neither male nor female” (par. 2).

Canadian Institutes of Health Research underlines different meanings of sex and gender established in official Canadian terminology.¹⁰⁸ Sex refers to “biological attributes of

¹⁰⁷ Although yet to be standardized, the term is used by scholars. See Swanson, A. Elizabeth. “Genderly Speaking.” *Nurse Author & Editor*, vol. 9, no. 2, Spring 1999, pp. 1-4, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-4910.1999.tb00417.x>. Accessed 2 Sept. 2023.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 12. Infographic - Sex vs. Gender (What is [G]ender? What is [S]ex?, pars. 1-2).

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humans and animals, including physical features, chromosomes, gene expression, hormones and anatomy” (What is [G]ender? What is [S]ex?, par. 1). “Gender refers to the socially-constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men and gender-diverse people” (par. 2).

In short, “sex is biology, gender is sociology” (qtd. Stoller in Bullough 232).¹⁰⁹ People were born with a specific sex, while gender is what they become, as Bullough explains Stoller’s view (232). Biological gender roles are presented in the social context, so cultural sexuality identified by gender norms (masculinity and femininity) is a psychological condition unlike physical dimensions (male and female).

Understanding gender is a project that requires instituting and decolonizing gender systems. Therefore, the pundit in gender studies, Tadashi Dozono, reminds us that “how we have been taught to see the world is not natural and universal, and that we could actually imagine ourselves outside of those terms we are accustomed to” (427) in mainstream society.

In linguistics, when prompting the gender entry, the Oxford English Dictionary offers definitions of the natural gender and the grammatical gender. The natural gender is qualified as “the gender corresponding to the sex of a noun’s referent, esp. as opposed to the noun’s grammatical gender; the grammatical classification of words on the basis of the sex (or sexlessness) of their referents” (gender). The grammatical gender is identified as “the kind of gender (found in the great majority of Indo-European and Semitic languages) which is not determined by the real or attributed sex; opposed to natural gender” (Oxford, gender). “English is regarded as possessing natural gender in that certain pronouns expressing natural contrasts in gender are selected to refer to nouns according to the meaning of the nouns, the contrasts being either between masculine (e.g. *he, his*, etc.) and feminine (e.g. *she, her*, etc.) or between personal (e.g. the abovementioned masculine and feminine pronouns and *who, whoever*, etc.) and non-personal (e.g. *it, its, which*, etc.). In recent times nouns incorporating gender suffixes (esp. those indicating females and formed on generic nouns, such as *authoress, poetess*, etc.) have become much restricted in use” (Oxford, gender).

Other terms related to gender are gender roles and gender identity. Gender roles are based on gender identity and are performed personally and culturally. They were defined by the sexologist John Money, who presented the differences between biological characteristics and later gender identity.

In 1955, he adopted an old term, gender – long used in linguistic discourse to designate whether nouns are feminine, masculine, or neuter – to serve as an umbrella concept to distinguish femininity or womanliness and masculinity and manliness from biological sex. In a sense, by adopting a new term to describe a variety of phenomena, Money opened a whole new field of research. He continued to expand the use of the concept by developing such terms as gender identity, defined as the total perception of the individual about his or her own gender (...). (qtd. in Bullough 232)¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ See Stoller, Robert. *Sex and Gender*. Science House, 1968.

¹¹⁰ See Money, John, John L. Hampson, and Joan G. Hampson. “Hermaphroditism: Recommendations [C]oncerning [A]ssignment of [S]ex, [C]hange of [S]ex, and [P]sychological [M]anagement.” *Bulletin of the Johns*

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Bullough notes Stoller’s division of gender roles as “being behavioral and socially prescribed as well as socially and historically stereotyped” and gender identity as “being interpsychic.” In the later work, *Presentations of Gender*, Stoller concludes that sex and gender are not necessarily linked since it is most likely that postnatal experience modifies and sometimes even overpowers the existing biological tendencies (Stoller 6).

In *Sexual Politics*, the feminist writer Kate Millett introduces the division of sex and gender into literary criticism and feminist theory (Clough 473). “Millett’s intention [is] to make literary criticism an analysis of patriarchy, (...) while at the same time moving the reader from a view of the sexual as natural to a view of it as socially constructed and therefore political” (Clough 474). Nevertheless, the gender issue overcomes literary confines and seeks resolution within anthropology and gender studies. As Millet points out about gender roles,

[a]s patriarchy enforces a temperamental imbalance of personality traits between the sexes, its educational institutions, segregated or co-educational, accept a cultural programming toward the generally operative division between ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ subject matter, assigning the humanities and certain social sciences (at least in their lower or marginal branches) to the female-and science and technology, the professions, business and engineering to the male. Of course the balance of employment, prestige and reward at present lie with the latter. (42)

In “notes toward a theory of patriarchy” (24), gender roles are always set on the grounds of political implications. The state of government and the power-structured relationships in the collectivity reflect the interactions between members of a society divided into categories of race, class, caste, and sex to maintain the system.

We argue that, despite sex being biologically determined, Indigenous gender seems natural. Indigenous communities, like the Blackfoot nations, were only partly patrilineal, unlike Haudenosaunee, i.e., Six Nations. “Some tribes base membership solely on the mother’s side of the family, some on the father’s. Each tribe sets its rules” (Harlan 120). “The Iroquois line was, and is, matrilineal. The ‘Mothers of the Clan’ had the authority to remove an ineffective chief, and the sister of that deposed chief had responsibility for naming the successor” (Nozedar 224). Moreover, matrilineal and patrilineal kinship respect women for being life-givers, as depicted in myths and creation stories.¹¹¹

Besides, some Indigenous nations, like Inuit, are bilineal, whereas Hawaiian clans are of ambilineal descent. According to the Open Education Sociology Dictionary, “bilineal” traces “an individual descent through the father’s male line and the mother’s female line.” In other words, “children are related to their father’s father (paternal grandfather) and their mother’s mother (maternal grandmother) but not to their father’s mother (paternal grandmother) or mother’s father (maternal grandfather)” (bilineal). On the other hand, ambilineal descent refers to “[t]racing an individual’s descent either through the father or mother as chosen by the individual, [while] the decision between tracing decent through the father’s line or mother’s line is often determined based on status or inheritance” (Sociology Dictionary, ambilineal).

Hopkins Hospital, vol. 97, no. 4, 1955, pp. 284-300, <https://doi.org/10.1177/070674376000500214>. Accessed 6 Sept. 2023.

¹¹¹ See 3.2. Lifeblood of Indigenous Identity.

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Even though the statistics cannot be considered precise or finished due to the lack of data, alternative and multiple genders in Indigenous communities of North America have been documented in more than 155 nations, as stated in the lesson plan in Instructional Resources for California Educators, Students, & Families (Native Americans, Gender Roles, and Two-Spirit People, par. 13).

4.1.4. A TRICKSTER LEARNS A NEW TRICK

“Throughout the colonial history of the Americas, aggressive assimilation policies have attempted to displace our own understandings, practices and teachings around sexuality, gender and positive relationships and replace them with those of Judeo Christianity” (qtd. Cannon; Driskill et al.; Willson, Two-Spirit Identity in Wilson, *Our coming in Stories* 1).¹¹²

The two-spirit scholar Alex Wilson states that “the nature of the cosmos is to be in balance and that when balance is disturbed, it must and will return” (Wilson 1). For Wilson, the two-spirit people restore balance in Indigenous communities, i.e., “[a]s a self-identifier, two-spirit acknowledges and affirms our identity as Indigenous peoples, our connection to the land, and values in our traditional cultures that recognize and accept gender and sexual diversity” (2). Wilson emphasizes that accepting diversity starts with the language (2), i.e., a story.

A representative of the modern Indigenous letter, Beth Brant, questions the obscure sexuality in the social experiment. The example of an unsilenced Indigenous voice, which decolonizes and redefines hegemonic colonial interpretations of gender identity, is apparent in Brant’s wondrous short story “Coyote Learns a New Trick.” The construct of a two-spirit character is presented as a reimagined modern figure of a Coyote trickster (Thornton 4). By attributing two-spirit qualities to a natural Indigenous trademark, Brant proclaims gender specialty as an innate condition. The author discovers sexual delusions and advocates deconstructing simplified gender definitions, eliminating unnatural gender restrictions. A reader familiar with Indigenous heritage expects some mystery. Brant grants that.

The protagonist, who plays a sexual game, is the parent of a litter of puppies. Coyote has an idea of foreplay, but not the target. The Turtle characterizes Coyote as “too weird to even bother with” (Brant 32). A conceited, ultimately feminine Fox is the perfect prey. Assuming that Fox is attracted to males, the seducer plans to entrap Fox’s unambiguous femininity. Thus, a seemingly female Coyote dresses “like a very dapper male of style” (32). The playful protagonist confidently turns into a male to seduce a desired female.

¹¹² See Cannon, Martin. “The Regulation of First Nations Sexuality.” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1998, pp. 1-18.

See Driskill, Owo-Li, Chris Finley, Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, editors, *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical [I]nterventions in [T]heory, [P]olitics, and [L]iterature*, U of Arizona P, 2011.

See Wilson, Alex. “Two-[S]pirit Identity: Active [R]esistance to [M]ultiple [O]ppressions. *Directions: Research and Policy on Eliminating Racism*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2009, pp. 44-45, issuu.com/crrf-fcrf/docs/directions_vol_5_no_1. Accessed 3 Sept. 2023.

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The author uses clothing illustrations as a gender-challenging device to alter preconceptions of defining gender by the outfit. The reader is always aware of the feminine Fox, who is expected to make a manoeuvre and fall for Coyote. Fox consciously accepts the Coyote's passion, ready to enter the love affair. However, Coyote's disguise in male clothing does not fool Fox, who is mesmerized, but not tricked. The attraction is genuine. Therefore, Fox accepts the love play by telling the potential lover to remove the "'ridiculous stuffing'" (34) from the pants so they "'can get down to serious business'" (34). Thereby, the author demonstrates that the trickster can be tricked. On the one hand, Coyote's feminine creativity in pretending to be a male is irresistible to Fox, whereas, on the other hand, Fox's female perspicacity is alluring to Coyote.

Brant presents sexual identities by linking quasi-subversive elements with clothing descriptions. The author's accomplishment denies gender bias against the use of literary pseudo-subversion. Brant reveals gender misconceptions about what the wardrobe and prevalent heteronomous expectations represent. For Coyote, male clothes are a trick instrument for seduction. For Fox, male clothes are a means of feminine disguise. Nonetheless, Brant is the one who is playing the game with the reader. It was never clearly stated that Coyote's clothing was genuinely male. Instead, the writer presents them as male-like, the way to be associated with males, e.g., a strong smell of sweat, cowboy boots, a fedora hat, cufflinks, a chain on the belt, and swollen underpants. However, cufflinks are ornamented with a stone, adding a feminine touch. Thus, nothing is what it seems.

The story unfolds. Fox is a female expected to be attracted to males, not trapped by the revelation that Coyote is not a male. The discovery of the seducer's genuine being does not surprise Fox. On the contrary, following erotic instincts, Fox continues to be enchanted by Coyote's female face. The reader learns that Fox is a lesbian who feels for Coyote's female side. A possible Fox's rejection of Coyote does not happen upon finding out that Coyote is not a male, as the writer announces homosexual attraction. However, Coyote enjoys playing a male role and masculinity representations, reaching the point of self-realization to uncover the best trick ever (Brant 35) that they are non-binary. "Brant's Coyote links contemporary butch/femme relations with traditional narrative forms, remembering yet transforming" (Prince-Hughes 20). Coyote is caught by the discovery that their sexuality does not negate their gender identity. The trick that Coyote learns is that a two-spirit can be desired for their authentic self and not be determined by a prescribed gender or defined by their assigned sex at birth.

Thus, there is no (self)-deception. Revelation does not interrupt world harmony. Instead, it shines with love. The plot paradox is the absence of subversion, except for the reader, who learns that Coyote acknowledges their two-spirit identity. All along, Brant redesigns the expected image of a trickster by attributing the two-spirit identity, i.e., they, to assumingly "him" of seemingly dominant "her." The reader ends up being open-minded because there is no "wrong" gender (Thornton 3).

Brant's artistic skills are evident in meshing the defined gender with the desired moral of the story. Still, the protagonist keeps the trickster's traditional wittiness as being prone to playing tricks, making a fuss, and not being punished for diversion. Beyond the Eurocentric binary limits, gender diversification is liberated from the judgmental mainstream critical lenses and social definitions. Through revitalizing the representation of Indigenous sexuality, Brant creates composite and timeless characters within a gender

“Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The Earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it...”

(Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé par. 1)

framework. Coyote is not the only one who “learns a new trick;” everybody does as love for all beings prevails.

“Indigenous and Western perspectives of the Indigenous gender concept differ in their initial ideas. By following examples from nature, North American Indigenous Peoples embrace gender diversity as a universal creation of divine totality” (Glišić Dunović, *Deconstructing Indigenous Feminism* 110). Indigenous ethnic organizations pristinely welcome differences as a blessing. Initial preconceptions about gender roles have shown that cultural imperialism deepens conceptual conflicts in ethnographic reality. However, Indigenous communities are based on natural balance and diversity. Therefore, gender variance is accepted without reassessment and understood as a blessing.

During colonization, the settlers’ perception of gender relations in Indigenous communities showed that Western susceptibility to gender was an attempt to reduce gender variety to simplified normative polarities. Any inherent behaviour beyond the expected gender binary opposition is characterized as “otherness” of unacceptable abnormality. However, despite that, and because of it, Indigenous stories have been told to confirm the existence of Indigenous gender identity in all varieties.

“My own story has meaning only as long as it is a part of the overall story of my people. For above all else, I am a Cherokee woman.”

(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

4.2. DECONSTRUCTING INDIGENOUS FEMINISM IN CANADA: A VIEW FROM THE OTHER SIDE (Glišić Dunović 107-118)¹¹³

The sub-chapter takes on the key concepts of Indigenous feminism and the phenomenon of female marginal other seen in the fiction and non-fiction works of distinguished Indigenous authors in postmodern, racial, and women studies. The authors recounted their intimate memories and personal impressions of being a woman under the social constraints of racism, sexism, and ethnic oppression.

Contemporary Indigenous women and their female public voice are examined through conventional postmodern notions of archetypal femininity, motherhood, and red womanhood stereotypes. Indigenous understanding of the postmodern experience of cultural hybridity as fragmented and fluid female identity is presented regarding the perception of Indigenous gender roles. Indigenous feminism promoted the mythological prefiguration of Indigenous women’s part and the reconceptualization of the liberation pursuit through articulating feminist speech.

Throughout their past, Indigenous women have been fighting with multiple opponents: male colonizers, Indigenous men, white women, and the passive stance of other Indigenous women. Hence, forming an alliance of Indigenous women’s collectives is an Indigenous feminist imperative.

Indigenous women found themselves disoriented in a new preternatural synergic world of oppositions, hierarchy, patriarchy, ethnic nationalism, sexism, globalism, and consumerism. Still, they validated their cultural experience by articulating community and personal voices in the literary outlet. Correlating harmony of an Indigenous being, vocalized in the orature and literature, implies constructing and reconstructing the Indigenous feminine essence of identity. From historical and social perspectives, a fundamental constituent of Indigenous women’s being is found in resistance literature.

4.2.1. POSTMODERNIST FEMINIST FRAME

Cultural hybridity attains a new meaning to the North American historical experience. When white settlers conquered the New World, they wrongly named it, thinking it was the subcontinent they had headed to. Colonizers also disregarded differences among nations, using one common denominator for all the people they encountered. To the newcomers, the scene they had seen seemed primitive since Indigenous Peoples were mainly illiterate.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ The shorter and non-adapted version of the sub-chapter was published in Glišić Dunović, Marija. “Deconstructing Indigenous Feminism: A View from the Other Side.” *Central European Journal of Canadian Studies*. European Association for Canadian Studies, vol. 10-11, Sept. 2017, pp. 107-118, digilib.phil.muni.cz/flysystem/fedora/pdf/138479.pdf. Accessed 10 Oct. 2023.

¹¹⁴ See Introductory Notes.

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(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

However, the colonists failed to see a national framework for sustaining traditional matrilineal symbols of the Indigenous Peoples’ descent, often passed through the mother. In other words, Indigenous women dominated the household, unlike the European patriarchal world of male supremacy. “Although Indigenous women do not share a single culture, they do have a common colonial experience. Imposing patriarchy has transformed Indigenous communities by diminishing Indigenous women’s power, status, and material circumstances” (Huhndorf and Suzack 4). Despite the white feminist belief that a social system where women had any power never existed (Allen, *Sacred Hoop* 213), Indigenous women were treated equally before colonization. Beverley Jacobs, a former president of the Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) and activist, indicates that in pre-colonial times

[w]omen were respected for their spiritual and mental strength and men were respected for their spiritual and physical strength. Women were given the responsibility of bearing children and were given the strength and power to carry that responsibility through. Men had always respected that spiritual and mental strength and women respected the men’s physical strength. There was always a balance between men and women as each had their responsibilities as a man and as a woman. (35)

Conversely, the colonizers aimed to “civilize” the “brute” to their European model. As a result, the settlement brought a European system of values that ruined the Indigenous social structure.

Indigenous or “Indian feminism” is related to mainstream white feminism. Therefore, Indigenous women have been positioning themselves toward the dominant culture (Allen, *Sacred Hoop* 213-214), and we add white feminism. However, it is not the dominance of any kind that Indigenous women have been fighting for, but to resolve the identity issue. Seeing it differently, if mainstream, predominantly white feminisms exist despite the racial and political obstacles, the point is: why is Indigenous feminist articulation being questioned? To put it differently, “Are mainstream and Indigenous feminisms complementary or contradictory trends?”

Feminist Kate Millett defines feminism as “a system of political, economic, and social equality between the sexes” while sexual revolution is inevitable (74). Cultural theorist Linda Hutcheon, in the essay “Circling Downspout of Empire: Post-Colonialism and Postmodernism,” questions a broad sense of multiple marginalities in Canada: “It is almost a truism to say that Canada as a nation has never felt central, culturally or politically” (Hutcheon 154). We identify quadruple layered marginalization of Indigenous women, such as Canadian marginality toward dominance of the British Empire or, recently, America, Indigenous marginality within a society dominated by white people, Indigenous women’s submissive position regarding white women, and the resistless role of Indigenous women within the community in their relations with the Indigenous men. While writing about the Canadian colonial experience, Hutcheon adopts Keith’s¹¹⁵ term psychological effect of the colonial past (154). The conclusion depends on the stance in the dialogue with the history.

In political terminology, Canada was established as a colony. If Canadian postcolonial culture is frivolously defined because of cultural imperialism in the Third

¹¹⁵ See Keith, William John. *Canadian Literature in English*. Longman, 1985, p. 3.

“My own story has meaning only as long as it is a part of the overall story of my people. For above all else, I am a Cherokee woman.”

(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

World, then cultural attainment was differently positioned for the white people and Indigenous Peoples, who were conquered by the English language. What is postmodern for the First World might seem postcolonial from the Third World perspective (152).

The prominent literary theorist Edward Said claims in *Orientalism* that “[a]ny system of ideas that can remain unchanged as teachable wisdom (in academies, books, congresses, universities, foreign-service institutes) from the period of Ernest Renan¹¹⁶ in the late 1840s until the present in the United States must be something more formidable than a mere collection of lies” (14).

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said observes that the traditional concept of identity has been changed, if not destroyed. “Yet in a world tied together as never before by the exigencies of electronic communication, trade, travel, environmental and regional conflicts that can expand with tremendous speed, the assertion of identity is by no means a mere ceremonial matter” (37). Said continues that identity intermingles with sexuality, gender, and ethnicity.

Dominant culture’s position, unlike dominated others, is a matter of legitimacy and power. Challenged by heritage, the culture enters a period of uncertainty and forceful universal domination of the center. The consequence is the overflow of consumerism and impersonality.

In the early nineteenth century milieu, a plurality of feminisms occurred. Lee Maracle debates the situation of Indigenous women in the frame of North American feminism and proposes the approach of “decolonization in the feminine” (*I Am a Woman* xii).¹¹⁷

4.2.2. ETHNIC FEMINIST THRUST

Indigenous feminism is a terrain of contradictions. Undeniably, Indigenous female identity was axiomatically implied before contact with white people. However, in the conversation with Kathleen O’Grady, titled “Theorizing Feminism and Postmodernity,” Linda Hutcheon not only considers feminism as a postmodernist appearance but also a cause of it. “My sense has always been that there were certain important social movements in the 1960s (and before) that made the postmodern possible: the women’s movement (though, of course, the movement existed much earlier, but this wave of it in the 1960s was crucial) and, in North America, the civil rights movement” (par. 9). Hutcheon recognizes and examines feminism not as a single ideology but as a variety of feminisms (par. 9) and movements with their naturalistic and historiographical differences.

However, the literary critic uses a postmodernist tool of predetermined and static identity to develop gender and racial theoretic contemplation on the “[v]ariety of political positions possible within the term of gender, (...) [seeing] feminist discussions as ‘complexified’ questions of identity and difference” (par. 9). Hutcheon reviews overlapping relations between postcolonialism, which professes a specific political agenda, and politically

¹¹⁶ Ernest Renan is known for criticizing Edward Said’s ideas (Dagon 2). “Renan’s name is often synonymous with the European oppressor during the colonial era. Said also critiques Renan’s association with philology” (2-3).

¹¹⁷ The phrase, mentioned in the preface of *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*, was meant to be Maracle’s new book title.

“My own story has meaning only as long as it is a part of the overall story of my people. For above all else, I am a Cherokee woman.”

(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

ambivalent postmodernism, regarding their significant formal, thematic, and strategic differences. Feminism helps to foreground those differences (par. 13).

Hutcheon distinguishes between the period before and after independence by spotlighting the differences between colonialism and postcolonialism and pointing out that colonial influence directly or indirectly affects most of the world. “Framed geographically and historically between two major Anglophone empires (past and present), Canada has experienced an odd amalgam of British and American influences and both have played their roles in shaping our intellectual heritage,” Hutcheon continues (par. 13).

We challenge various perspectives on social and cultural marginality. The viewpoint, often defined as “non-Indian/non-Indigenous,” differs from the Indigenous perspective, i.e., a non-white point of view, “with ‘Indian’ becoming a signifier of racial difference rather than of a given racial group” (Hoy 53). Normative feminist definitions do not distinguish between white women and women of colour. However, since the 1990s, Indigenous feminism has implied gender struggle as a critical practice for cultural identity, political autonomy, and decolonization. As Maracle states in the interview with Jennifer Kelly, “Coming out of the House: A Conversation with Lee Maracle,” colonialism has never been finished. It might have been coated in so-called postcolonialism, but it is still present in its classical detection (Kelly 83), making the descriptor “post” questionable. In *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*, Maracle debates the Indigenous women’s role in Canada.

‘We are part of a global movement of women in the world, struggling for emancipation (137). I represent the future of the women in North America, just as any other woman does (...) Who can understand the pain of this land better than a Native woman? (...) The road to freedom is paved with the intimate knowledge of the oppressed.’ (139)

Maracle’s book is critically evaluated as “too beautiful to be political” (qtd. in Kelly 82). In the horrific story, Maracle’s tragic heroine, Rusty, is captured by the dread of life beyond oppression. Therefore, the author’s mission is the “empowerment work through writing and counseling” (qtd. in Kelly 73) to liberate the social and historical tension that “locked” Indigenous Peoples in the apathy of the segregation era. Maracle suggests Indigenous Peoples make a starting point, vivify an existing human connection with the white outer world, and follow a trickster’s path. However, Maracle comments on the need for constant spiritual growth and transformations within the Indigenous community (74), where “daughters of the nation”¹¹⁸ are seen as reformers.

Indigenous feminism, understood as an organization and a process, gathers men and women willing to speak publicly about Indigenous gender issues. The first ghost feminists are confronting is the skepticism of Indigenous women toward feminism as the attainment of the dominant white culture (Allen, *Sacred Hoop* 224). The feminist postulate is to erase all the differences, proclaiming universal support for the oppressed. However, for women of colour, the issue has a tenuous aura.

¹¹⁸ The term “daughters of a nation” is attributed to Lena Hart, Kianna Alexander, Alyssa Cole, and Piper Huguley. See Hart, Lena et al. *Daughters of a Nation: A Black Suffragette Historical Romance Anthology*. Maroon Ash Publishing, 2016, title.

"My own story has meaning only as long as it is a part of the overall story of my people. For above all else, I am a Cherokee woman."

(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

Maracle observes the role of men in feminism and especially the prospect for change: "Men aren't very good in the realm of anti-sexism. Their intentions might be there, but they haven't done much anti-sexist work" (qtd. in Kelly 83).

Other limitations of Indigenous feminism traditionally justify clan sexism, whether inherited or adopted, by promoting gendered ways of colonial oppression. Sexism is integrated into colonial and postcolonial racism. As such, it must be observed in the interplay of influences. Unfortunately, Maracle argues that "Native women are very likely to be abused sexually and physically in their lives" (qtd. in Kelly 87). Therefore, "to deal with the violence outside the home as well as inside the home" is a must (qtd. Maracle in Kelly 87).

I have not found a Native man whose sexism extends to a white woman in quite the same way that it operates in our communities. If we're sitting at the table and there's one white woman and four Native women and one Native man, very often the exchange will take place between the Native man and the white woman and there will be silence from the four Native women. That's how racism operates at the table of sexism. Now, when you have life inside the home then sexism is operative, it becomes operative on a personal level. Outside the home, the racism is operative. It just depends on where he's standing. I don't think those two things are separate phenomena in our communities (Kelly 80),

Maracle points out.

Following Hutcheon's idea, the anthropologist Renya K. Ramirez proposes using "multiple feminisms rather than a singular feminism" (304). The critic relies on the activist Haunani-Kay Trask, who claims that "feminism relates only to gender issues" (qtd. in Ramirez 304) and is therefore "too white, too American" (304).¹¹⁹ Ramirez further underlines that feminist scholars "foreground the foundational concepts that are specific to indigenous peoples' experience in the creation of Native feminist thought" (306).

Among significant additions to theorizing gender from the feminist Indigenous women's perspective, the studies *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* and *Off the Reservation: Reflections on Boundary-Busting, Border-crossing Loose Cannons*, written by Paula Gunn Allen, mark off.

According to Allen, the North American Indigenous experience is determined by traditional, ethnic, cultural, and historical circumstances. The dissonance between national and established feminism(s) is reflected in implied methods and expected goals. Allen tracks the hurdles in the monolithic designation of identity. Cultures and identities are in constant flow. Female identity as a syncretic concept is prone to the interflow of socio-historical, political, economic, and ethnic currents, which define the Indigenous women's subject. Thus, Allen proposes the value of the ethnic feminist method. Feminism, in all its modifications, is the product of the dominant society, uninterested in reassessing patriarchal institutions (Sacred Hoop 213).

Since the feminist focus is on gender issues, while the racial struggle is considered somewhat complete, the scholar Gloria Anzaldúa promotes hybrid mestizaje identity:

At the confluence of, two or more generic streams, with chromosomes, constantly 'crossing over,' this mixture of races, rather than resulting in an inferior being,

¹¹⁹ See Trask, Haunani-Kay. "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism." *Signs*, vol. 21, no. 4, 1996, pp. 906–16. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/3175028. Accessed 8 Sept. 2023.

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provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool. From this racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollination, an 'alien' consciousness is presently in the making - a new mestizaje consciousness, una consciencia de mujer. ("a woman's conscience.") It is a consciousness of the Borderlands. (77)

Both Allen and Anzaldúa are aware of their mixed origins. "Yet however mixed in ancestry, heritage, and culture, we are all, all of us Indians, and have been 'off the reservation' at all times" (Off the Reservation 6).

'Off the reservation' is an expression current in military and political circles. It designates someone who doesn't conform to the limits and boundaries of officialdom, who is unpredictable and thus uncontrollable. Such individuals are seen as threats to the power structure. They are anomalies: mavericks, renegades, queers. Seen in its historical context, designating someone 'off the reservation' is particularly apt. Originally the term meant a particular kind of 'outlaw,' a Native person who crossed the territorial border, called a reserve or reservation, set by the United States or a state government. In those days 'the reservation' signified a limited space, a camp, to which Native people of various nations were confined. Those who crossed the set border were deemed renegades. They were usually hunted down, and most often, summarily shot, (6)

as Allen summarizes and adds

[t]his body of work, literature that rides the borders of a variety of literary, cultural, and ideological realms, has not been adequately addressed by either mainstream feminist scholarship or the preponderance of 'ethnic' or 'minority' scholarship. However, in the past decade a new field of study has emerged that resists definition by other critics, that seems determined to define itself. This new field raises questions that mainstream feminist and 'ethnic' or 'minority' approaches fail to address and simultaneously begins to open before us new possibilities for inquiry. (165)

The predominant themes of Indigenous feminist writing are colonialism, sexism, and racism in North America. For example, Maracle's tone is harsher than other female Indigenous voices: "Some women accuse me of being angry and bitterly resentful about the life that this society handed me. You miss the point. I write about racism to free my mind" (I Am a Woman 138).

Conversely, the acclaimed Indigenous author Maria Campbell says, "I am not bitter. I have passed that stage. I only want to say: This is what it was like, this is what it is still like" (9). For Maracle, the ethnic revolution never happened in Canada. "Tolerance isn't the movement" (qtd. in Kelly 85), as Indigenous Peoples do not hope for white people's understanding but for their acceptance. Maracle uses the metaphor of "mountains of racism, sexism, and nationalist oppression," desiring that all white people and Indigenous Peoples start climbing those mountains to rule out discrimination (87).

Unlike Maracle, who talks to Indigenous women, Campbell dedicates the autobiography and a personal narrative *Half-breed*¹²⁰ to non-Indigenous Peoples: "I write this for all of you, to tell you what it is like to be a Half-breed woman in our country. I want

¹²⁰ In contemporary understanding, the term "half-breed" is considered derogatory, thereby, should be replaced by mixed-blood.

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to tell you about joys and sorrows, the oppressing poverty, the frustrations and the dreams” (2).

If the world is a cruel place for full-blood Indigenous Peoples,¹²¹ it is hellish for the Métis and the mixed-blood people because multi-ethnic individuals are put at the lowest on the scale of human marginality judging by the blood quantum, i.e., the amount of “Indian” blood.

In broader terms, Métis people¹²² are of mixed Indigenous and European origin, while, in a narrower sense, the word refers to mixed Indigenous and French ancestry. “If the Indians are the Undesirable Other, the Métis are the Despised Other in Canada” (Lal 130). “The two groups didn’t live side by side as they never got along, so the two sections were known as Indian and Halfbreed town” (Campbell 111). Métis are neither white nor “Indians,” seemingly undesired in any non-Métis community. They occupy minimal space in history and territory because of the interaction between white people and “Indians.” Mixed-blood people “Awp-pee-tow-koosons: half people¹²³” (Campbell 25 footnote) fit nowhere and are accepted by no one.

The quest for Métis female identity toward self-definition is a dangerous path of self-denial and rejection of society through staggering into prostitution, alcohol, and drugs. Campbell does not tell a life story to entertain because mixed-blood women have no friends. Thus, Campbell’s story is an “unmelodramatic but poignant presentation” (Lal 131). Campbell remembers how white people never visited them (13). In Campbell’s reminiscence, the only light was the character of great-grandparent Cheechum, the incarnation of hope and purity and a landmark in Campbell’s wanderings. “There’s nobody I’d rather be like than you” (175), Campbell confessed to Cheechum. The worst among Campbell’s adolescent memories were those scenes of violation by the mixed-blood men, since white people were not nearly as brutal as non-white men. “So he stripped the clothes from her back and beat her so cruelly she was scared for life” (10). To find salvation and peace, Campbell, skeptical about Christianity, rejects the church and looks deeper within the self.

4.2.3. FEMINIST READING OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN’S WRITING

Most contemporary Indigenous female writers share a reliance on oral sources, inspiring stories of women’s ancestors in the family and community to whom the voice is given. In addition, their fiction often contains autobiographical elements. Thus, they combine the Indigenous oratory with the standard Western-standard story.

In the chapter monograph “Oratory: Coming to Theory” of the book *Memory Serves*, Maracle clarifies that oratory is “theory presented through the story – the language of people” (166). Moving toward defining the literary tradition of new realities from marginal

¹²¹ See 2.1. Social Substance and Anthropological Essence of Indigenous Identity for details about blood quantum, a colonialist construct that measures Indianness. The measurement serves the purpose of enrollment requirements to claim membership in the nation.

¹²² Métis are Indigenous Peoples officially recognized as a nation by the *Canadian Constitution Act* of 1982, Part II Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada (2) (par. 2).

¹²³ “Awp-pee-tow-koosons” means “half people” in the Cree language.

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(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

to emergent implies that Indigenous Literatures are “composite composition” (Krupat, *For Those Who Come After* 31) for their discursive, syntactic, and semantic features. The awakening of a nation is articulated through orature and literature. As Maracle claims, “I come from a speaking culture. I come from a culture that says words are sacred, and I have an obligation to my community as a woman” (qtd. in Kelly 87).

For Indigenous authors, writing becomes a way to generate memory and identity. Through remembrance, female writers connect with their ancestors’ homeland as a part of their cultural heritage and a link to contemporary society.

Indigenous feminist authors¹²⁴ write mainly in English, imposed on them by colonialism and not in the languages of their national ancestry. That is why the external, white, non-Indigenous reader will probably read Indigenous feminist texts. However, the author’s skin colour does not mobilize the literary audience.

However, identity is a mystical category, and for its preservation, in the interview with O’Grady, Hutcheon suggests an implication of parody:

It seems that, as Canadians, women are often in the position of defining themselves against a dominant culture or discourse. One way to do that, away with great subversive potential, is to speak the language of the dominant (which allows you to be heard), but then to subvert it through ironic strategies of exaggeration, understatement, or literalization. Parody is the mode that allows you to mimic that speech, but to do so through re-contextualizing it and therefore without subscribing to its implied ideals and values. (par. 17)

Changing the position of the (female) other, viewed by literary historian Simon During, is postmodernly¹²⁵ improbable.

We can, rather brutally, characterize postmodern thought (a phrase which is useful rather than happy) as that thought which refuses to turn the Other into the Same. Thus, it provides a theoretical space for what postmodernity denies: otherness. Postmodern thought also recognizes, however, that the other can never speak for itself as the other. (114)

The literary critic Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak also targets the topic. Spivak elaborates on the endurance of binary oppositions’ existence in feminism, expressed as epistemological violence toward the Third World authors, i.e., “people outside the First World” (88). The minority writers’ reach is not accessible to the women who are overtly subjugated (66-78). In the resistance discourse, the other is able and must be allowed to speak “to produce difference by differing,” as Spivak sides with Jonathan Culler (91)¹²⁶ because academic thinking always serves Western economic goals. Imperial rhetoric about the other is formulated as a white people’s colonial discourse talking to a white interlocutor and is less critical than hegemonic. It resembles feminist writing when it complies with patriarchal academic conventions (73-94).

The colonial project has been justified as a search for knowledge, presenting it like any other expendable commodity. It was planted to be harvested to sustain Western ideology (94). Above all, only Western writers benefit from it, while non-Western writers’

¹²⁴ The term author is used instead of archaic and gender-styled authoress. The perception is that the latter implies and, therefore, cancels the possibility that there are feminist non-female authors.

¹²⁵ The lexical entry is not yet standardized. Here, it means postmodernism-wise.

¹²⁶ See Culler, Jonathan. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. Cornell UP, 1982, p. 48.

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(Mankiller & Wallis 15)

needs are disregarded. The Western subject ostensibly scrutinizes a non-Western object. While the non-Western object is opposed and uncalled for, the plot is reduced only to the Western agent's performance. Spivak concludes that the subaltern cannot speak in the role-play where the West directs the show (105). However, as Bhabha claims, not only does the articulation content matter, but also the place from which it is verbalized (*DissemiNation* 312).

As Hutcheon sees it, postmodernism challenges the dominant discourses and often deconstructs but rarely reconstructs them, since political agendas "go beyond the postmodern limits of deconstructing existing orthodoxies into the realms of social and political action" (*Circling the Downspout of Empire* 150).

Cultural hybridity has a distinctive meaning in the context of North American historical experience. Thus, Indigenous feminism is a unique phenomenon shaped by colonial knowledge and rendered throughout postmodernist male constructions. It is linked to the violation of Indigenous women's human rights. The energetic currents of feminism alongside mainstream feminism engaged on the issues of national identity and decolonization require the border-crossing of disciplinary discussions and founding political, social, Indigenous, and feminist contexts.

"There are no truths, Coyote," I says. "Only stories."
"Okay, says Coyote. "Tell me a story."

(King, Green Grass 326)

5. LITERATURE AS A RESULTANT OF CULTURAL SURVIVAL

In the research of Indigenous Literatures, inevitably linked to American literature(s), two approaches distinguish "literary criticism as practiced by Native Americans" and "critical approaches to Native American literatures" (Nelson, Place, Vision, and Identity 1).

Sacvan Bercovitch mentions "literatures" in the plural form, i.e., "a term grounded in the persistence in the United States of different traditions, different kinds of aesthetics, even different notions of the literary" (xiii). The editor also points out that "[t]he study of American literary history now defines itself in the plural, as a multivocal, multifaceted scholarly, critical, and pedagogic enterprise" (xiv).

However, although "[o]ur *History* [the book] is fundamentally pluralist – a federated histories of American literatures – but it is a pluralism divided against itself" (xiv). In other words, the danger appears in "turning literary analysis into a critique of (even attacks on) pluralism itself" (xiv).

Heterogeneity caused by demographic change, e.g., colonial conquests, ethnic tensions, racial conflicts, and the constant struggle to defend freedom, individualism, and immigration, as *The Cambridge History of American Literature* states, characterizes American literary history. According to Bercovitch, literature is the primary form of communication and America¹²⁷

(...) is a declaration of community, a people constituted and sustained by verbal fiat, a set of universal principles, a strategy of social cohesion, a summons to social protest, a prophecy, a dream, an aesthetic ideal, a trope of the modern (progress, opportunity, the new), a semiotics of inclusion (melting pot, patchwork quilt, nation of nations), and a semiotics of exclusion, (...) (xv)

Bercovitch explores "the historicity of the text and the textuality of history" (xv), focusing on identity, alienation from nature and loneliness, discrimination, urbanization, and racial violence. That also applies to Indigenous Literatures. Since white male views dominate American Literature(s), the absence of female and minority voices is noticeable. Fortunately, the official American literary canon is visibly expanding and enriching (xiii-xvii).

The controversy over the questionable emergence of North American Indigenous Literatures is due to the lack of a coherent Indigenous Literary Theory. While reviewing Native American literary theory, scholar James Mackay explores questions that researchers try to answer. Those are "well-known problems of identity, authenticity, and authority" (675).

Currently the deepest division in Native American studies is that between a loose grouping of 'nationalist,' 'separatist' or 'tribalcentric' critics, who are concerned with researching the historical foundations of (and furthering) autonomous Native American intellectual traditions, and another group often described as 'cosmopolitan,' 'hybridist' or 'postcolonial,' who are more concerned with investigating the complex interrelationships between European and Native thought over the 500-year colonial period, often encapsulated in the figure of the mixedblood. (676)

Opposite relations are the beginning and end of Indigenous literary analysis.

¹²⁷ Bercovitch refers here to the United States of America.

"There are no truths, Coyote," I says. "Only stories."
"Okay, says Coyote. "Tell me a story."

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The scholar Marija Krivokapić Knežević¹²⁸ underlines that "[d]evelopment of Native American literary theory has taken numerous paths" (Development of Native American Literary Theory 1). The author accentuates the inadequacy of the "theory" as a linguistic concept inapplicable to "specific historical, political, and literary reality" (1) of North American Indigenous Peoples. Krivokapić Knežević traces hurdles in establishing Indigenous literary theory toward "uvrštanju starosjedilačke književnosti u književni kanon Sjeverne Amerike" ("the inclusion of Indigenous Literature in the literary canon of North America;" 2).

The major obstacle is in the prevalent thinking in opposition (Krupat, *The Voice in the Margin* 3, 6-7, 97, 137). Krivokapić Knežević sides with Krupat's analysis, remarking that researchers "bježe od teorije" ("run away from theory;" qtd. in Krivokapić Knežević 2).¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ Discussing theoretical framing refers to the authenticity of Indigenous Literature. Among crucial moments in "kreiranj[u] nove nativne epistemologije" ("creating new native epistemology;" 3) Krivokapić Knežević identifies that in the twentieth century "još uvek se traga[lo] za književnim suverenitetom" ("literary sovereignty was still sought;" 3).

Krivokapić Knežević continues that the revolutionary moment occurred when Elvira Pulitano published *Toward a Native American Critical Theory*. It was an attempt "to begin the task of unifying Native American critical theory" (Mackay 676). Another critical point was examined then, i.e., whether Pulitano's voice is relevant for being of non-Indigenous origin (Pulitano 1).

Nevertheless, Krivokapić Knežević and Pulitano remind us that hybridity is the essence of Indigenous culture, highlighting that pre-colonial cultural purity is unrealistic in modern times because overall interconnectedness has been materialized. Moreover, the critical argument for both authors is that "ne postoje autentične kulture ni nezavisne teorije" ("there are no authentic cultures nor independent theories;" Krivokapić Knežević 3).

Radojka Vukčević points out in the article "New Ideas in Canadian Literature" that indigenous authors like Lee Maracle "resist the theories of postcolonial critics and collaborators" (qtd. Redekop in Vukčević 17).¹³¹ Vukčević also agrees with Ric Knowles that new indigenous voices in drama¹³² "emerge from a contemporary lived experience that is at once a hybrid, contemporary, and newly politicized. They go beyond revisionist content to the development of resistant new dramaturgical forms, and they make few attempts at a conciliatory interculturalism" (qtd. Knowles in Vukčević, *New Ideas in Canadian Literature* 7).¹³³

The search for the ideal, unique constitutive element of the first North American Indigenous literary theory also rises. That refers to the authorship of Indigenous literary criticism. In other words, is non-Indigenous thought pertinent to Indigenous Literatures (Krivokapić Knežević 4)? The author emphasizes the importance of the medium of

¹²⁸ Marija Knežević

¹²⁹ See Krupat, Arnold. *For Those Who Come After" A Study of Narrative American Autobiography*. U of California P, 1985, p. xii-xiii.

¹³⁰ Krupat further points out "the resistance to theory tout court" (*Voice in the Margin* 6).

¹³¹ See Redekop, Magdalene. "Canadian Literary Criticism and the Idea of a National Literature." *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature*, edited by Eva-Marie Kroller. Cambridge UP, 2004, pp. 267-268.

¹³² a literary genre

¹³³ See Knowles, Ric. "Drama." *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature*, edited by Eva-Marie Kroller. Cambridge UP, 2004, p. 131.

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language, i.e., English vs. Indigenous languages (4), since Indigenous narratives lost much of their vitality in translation, leading to altered meanings.

Introducing the written word and English happened simultaneously. The danger for the Indigenous Peoples increased because children in residential schools were educated in English. In Lee Maracle's words, "our languages were forbidden in residential schools (...) [and] literature was not a subject taught in any residential school" (Memory Serves 125). Therefore, Indigenous languages on the verge of extinction jeopardized personal and collective Indigenous identity.

I lost my talk/
The talk you took away./
When I was a little girl/
At Shubenacadie school./
You snatched it away:/
I speak like you/
I think like you/
I create like you/
The scrambled ballad, about my word./
Two ways I talk/
Both ways I say,/ Your way is more powerful./
So gently I offer my hand and ask,/ Let me find my talk/
So I can teach you about me. (Joe 113)

Basil Johnson emphasizes the tragedy of losing the language,

[t]hey [native peoples] lose not only the ability to express the simplest of daily sentiments and needs but they can no longer understand the ideas, concepts, insights, attitudes, rituals, ceremonies, institutions brought into being by their ancestors; and having lost the power to understand, cannot sustain, enrich, or pass on their heritage. (Johnson 100)

That is why the scholar James Paul Gee keeps exploring how orality and literacy are integrated "within their social practices" (Social Linguistics and Literacies 76), never separated. Basil Johnson further urges the Government of Canada to publish "'Indian' books" (104) despite the lack of profitability to preserve "the nation's intellectual and literary heritage" (104).

For a long time, Indigenous thought was embodied in orality. The record was saved in the colonizer's language after translating or transcribing the narrators' words. These recorders rarely took a neutral attitude towards the process but changed the script directly, albeit unintentionally, despite contradicting the essence of non-translative Indigenous languages (Krivokapić Knežević 5).

For the philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, "language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions. It is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others" (Problem of Speech Genres 294). All this deepens the doubt in the originality of the created literary product. Gerald Vizenor, in *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*, in the article "A Postmodern Introduction," argues that "[N]ative American Indian histories and literatures, oral and written, are imagined from 'wisps of narratives.'"

The term, coined by Jean-François Lyotard, refers to "stories that one tells, that one hears, that one acts out; the people does not exist as a subject but as a mass of millions of insignificant and serious little stories that sometimes let themselves be collected together to constitute big stories and sometimes disperse into digressive elements" (qtd. in Vizenor, *Narrative Chance* 3).¹³⁴

Vizenor discusses that seeing "Native American Indian literatures" as "pleasurable misreadings" refers to "unstudied landscapes, wild and comic rather than tragic and representational, storied with narrative wisps and tribal discourse" (5). The critic

¹³⁴ See Lyotard, Jean-François. *Instructions Pâignes*. Galilee, 1977, p. 39.

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emphasizes that "tribal cultures (...) have been consumed in social monologues (5) [and] reduced (...) to "an 'objective' collection of consumable artifacts" (6). In the main, Vizenor recognizes the so-called "narrative dissidence" (6) in tribal narratives that should be perceived as "creative productions rather than social science monologies" (8).

The critic Basil Johnson, in the article "Is That All There Is? Tribal Literature" in *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature*, notes that "little has changed since" the 1970s (105) regarding representations of Indigenous Peoples in literature. Johnson concurs with George E. Tait, who says, "Indians remain 'The Unknown Peoples'" (106).¹³⁵

The writer underlines the interconnectedness between the language and literature: "[i]n my tribal language, all words have three levels of meaning; there is the surface meaning that everyone instantly understands. Beneath this meaning is a more fundamental meaning derived from the prefixes and their combinations with other terms. Underlying both is the philosophical meaning" (107). Johnson insists on acknowledging that oral stories "[bear] tribal perceptions, values and outlooks" (108).

The author exemplifies those ideas through the creation story. The world was created according to Kitchi-manitou's vision, The Great Mystery. In the cataclysmic flood, everything was destroyed except the "manitous, creatures and beings who dwell in the waters" (108). Sky-woman (Geezhigo-quaë), who lived in the heavens, got pregnant during the earth's doom and kept resting on the back of a giant turtle. Looking for land to descend to, Sky-woman asked the water creatures to bring "a particle of soil" (108) from the sea bottom. Muskrat was the bravest, diving deep and retrieving some earth, which Sky-woman used to create an island, i.e., "the world as we know it" (109).

Sky woman's twin children "begot the tribe called the Anishinaubaeg" (109). A new cycle began when the Anishinaubaeg "dreamed Nanabush into being" (109). The flood happened again, upon which Nanabush recreated the world from the seabed.

"Anishinaubae" (...) is what the members of the nation, now known as Chippewa in the United States or Ojibway in Canada, called themselves. It referred to a member of the tribe. It was given to the question, 'What are you?' But it was more than just a term of identification. It meant, 'I am a person of good intent, a person of worth' and it reflected what the people thought of themselves, and of human nature; that all humans are essentially, fundamentally good" (107).

In the article "One Generation from Extinction," Basil Johnson sees dying Indigenous languages as a "cause to lament" (99). The imminent danger is that Indigenous Peoples "will have lost their identity which no amount of reading can ever restore. Only language and literature can restore 'Indian-ness'" (Is That All There Is 110). That warns us about the peril of the status of "the so-called Native American fiction (if there is such a thing)" (qtd. Treuer in Krivokapić Knežević 12).¹³⁶

Conversely, Arnold Krupat is of the opinion that "there has been a sufficient amount of sophisticated writing about Native American literature in the last ten years or so to constitute a New Indigenous Criticism" (qtd. in Vizenor, Postmodern Introduction 10).¹³⁷

¹³⁵ See Tait, George E. *The Unknown People: Indians of North America*. Scholastic-TAB Publications Ltd., 1973, title.

¹³⁶ See Treuer, David. *Native American Fiction: A User's Manual*. Graywolf Press, 2006, p. 3.

¹³⁷ See Krupat, Arnold. *For Those Who Come After: A Study of Narrative American Autobiography*. U of California P, 1985, p. 4.

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As "histories read the past, or the past in historical present; [and] criticism reads the narrative" (qtd. in Vizenor 11), "a racial burden, [and] a postcolonial compensation" still exist (qtd. in Vizenor 10).

Nevertheless, the English language brought some good to the Indigenous world. Gerald Vizenor coined the term survivance from the basic Indigenous needs of survival and resistance (qtd. in Krivokapić Knežević 5).¹³⁸ Therefore, Krivokapić Knežević agrees with Owens that Indigenous identity is a "treasured invention" (qtd. in Krivokapić Knežević 5).¹³⁹ Krivokapić Knežević summarizes that a positive transition was detected with the appearances of Indigenous critics and authors, who have not yet established Indigenous literary theory but work on developing and defining Indigenous literary thought.

¹³⁸ See Vizenor, Gerald. *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*. U of Nebraska P, 1991, title.

¹³⁹ See Owens, Louis. *Other Destinies: Understanding the Native American Novel*. U of Oklahoma P, 1992, p. 4.

“This story deserves to be told; all stories do. Even the waves of the sea tell a story that deserves to be read. The stories that really need to be told are those that shake the very soul of you. I prepare to be shaken. This happened even if it didn’t.”

(Maracle, *Celia’s Song* 7)

5.1. UNTOLD STORIES: FROM ORALITY TO LITERACY¹⁴⁰ (Glišić Dunović, *Voice of Silence* 462-464; *Od pesme do priče* [“From Songs to Stories”] 303-314)

All pre-Columbus nations in North America were illiterate. However, as the linguist Walter Ong explains, the term “preliterate” is delicate, nevertheless valid (12). Namely, “preliterate” does include orality, i.e., “the primary modeling system” (12). Thus, preliterate cultures are distinguished by an oral conveyance of predominantly narrative style, despite the absence of written literature.

Before language representation in a written form like text or script, variations of pre-text were manifested as pictographic and ideographic. Words were clustered from ancient times and were not yet written until well into the nineteenth century. The diversity of Indigenous languages and dialects and the vacancy for one universally understood language led to the endurance of the oral era. At the same time, the absence of the common vernacular aggravated acculturation.

If literature is inherently considered a fundamental aspect of identity, ergo orature achieves the same goal as its rudiment. What has been verbalized by Indigenous voices in oral literary prehistory sounded thunder-like to the written history.¹⁴¹ By innately taking the forms of oral folklore, conveying cultural avowal across generations, Indigenous voices widened the path to the written letter by reinforcing orality and founding oral literature.

However, “[t]hinking of oral tradition or a heritage of oral performance, genres and styles as ‘oral literature’ is rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels” (Ong 12). The author vividly compares “oral literature” and “oral writing” since “text” is always an analogy to “writing” (13). Moreover, oral literature is still considered a mysterious dispute.

The scholar Vilmos Voigt, in the article “Three Forms or Three Kinds of Oral Literature,” explores the term “oral literature,” paying attention to distance “literature,” which encompasses poetry and prose, from “texts” in its narrow meaning (100). Voigt is particularly interested in learning when the oral literary form transitioned into the written word, which is a point of interest in the research of Indigenous Literatures. “The

¹⁴⁰ Ideas, which were developed in this sub-chapter and 5.2. Storytelling, originate from the following two presentations. The titles are mainly kept.

1. Glišić Dunović, Marija. “The Voice of Silence: A Study on Indigenous Literature.” *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference: English Language and Literature Studies - Embracing Edges*, ELLSEE, the University of Belgrade, 7-9 Dec. 2012, edited by Zoran Paunović et al., Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, 2014, pp. 457- 466.
2. Glišić Dunović, Marija. „Književnost severnoameričkih starosedelaca: od pesme do priče, iz spokoja u nemir. [“Native Peoples’ Literature: A Literary Path from Songs to Stories, from Serenity to Unrest.”] *Proceedings of the Third International Conference: Culture in the Mirror of Language and Literature*, Faculty of Foreign Languages, Alfa University, Belgrade, 24-25 May 2014, edited by Maja Ćuk et al. Apolo Graphic, 2015, pp. 303-314.

¹⁴¹ “History” in its Western essence contradicts Indigenous views about the past and the circularity of time.

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anthropologist Jack Goody” refers to “the interface between the written and the oral, as the form of social interaction” (qtd. in Voigt 101).¹⁴²

Voigt mentions “[t]he new trend of involving primitive oral forms into the theory of literature and folklore” (101). While understanding literature as a form of communication (101), Voigt notices “positive development” (101) and keeps investigating “oral forms” within oral literature(s), referring to the communication theory. The researcher focuses on the “addresser – addressee – coding – decoding – message” (102). Voigt also distinguishes the oral forms, i.e., “whether they are parts of everyday oral communication (a) – of oral communication in folklore (b) – or of professional oral communication (c)” (101). Voigt concludes that (a), (b), and (c) are not different oral forms; nevertheless, they are “three kinds of orality” (107).

Until the beginning of the seventeenth century, due to illiteracy, oral communication dominated among the Indigenous Peoples of North America. Orality is also expressed in folklore. In professional communication, orality has long dominated. “You don’t have anything/ If you don’t have the stories./ Their¹⁴³ evil is mighty/ but it can’t stand up to our stories./ So they try to destroy the stories/ let the stories be confused or forgotten./ They would like that/ They would be happy/ Because we would be defenseless then.” (Silko 2)

Following Voigt’s pattern, we analyze Indigenous orality. The addresser (sender) is everybody, i.e., a spokesperson of unique talents. Similarly, the addressee (receiver) is also everybody. Communication channels are various, e.g., speech, singing, mime, gesture, and dance. The setting is variable in a community, i.e., traditional and occasional. The message is content-based, i.e., related to social needs or educational purposes. Coding refers to the network, interplay, linguistic, paralinguistic, i.e., non-verbal, and kinetic codes. However, through writing, the oral “script” has been changed (Voigt 106).

Orality is endowed with Indigenous Peoples’ self-consciousness and integrity, endorsing them to persist in identity questing over thinking the world into being. Reclaiming the heritage and ascertaining belonging to the self define the identity and legacy of voice and silence synergy.

Thus, for Indigenous Peoples, moments of voluntary silence must not be confused with ignorance. Throughout the evolution of literacy, purposefully spoken words and deliberately quietened sounds did not appease the restless spirit of Indigenous Peoples since “[t]he right to speak must be fought for. The right to be heard relies on people who want to listen” (Wheeler 40).

¹⁴² See Goody, Jack. *The [I]nterface between the [W]ritten and the [O]ral: Studies in Literacy, the Family, Culture and the State*. Cambridge UP, 1987.

¹⁴³ Like many other Indigenous authors, Silko distinguishes “their” and “our,” as well as “they” and “we,” i.e., the non-Indigenous people and Indigenous Peoples. See 2.1. Social Substance and Anthropological Essence of Indigenous Identity.

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5.1.1. INDIGENOUS ORATURE

Orature and its myriad orality nuances towards the transition to literacy distinguish endemically non-literate cultures. Composed by linguist Pio Zirimu, the term “orature” prefaces the paradox while endeavouring to evade contradicting conceptions. Prerogative is given to the “oral” component, and “ture” retains the inferior element to be combined again within succeeding “literature.” The notion etymologically resembles the idea of comprising the root of the word and the suffix concurrently advocating persistence and effort to accentuate the particularity of the concept.

Codification of oral culture implies introducing intricate notions of storytelling, listening, story writing, and reading. Orature appeared in inherently non-literate cultures before the dawning of the written marks of words. This almost oxymoronic term is the oral transference of thoughts, mainly in the narrative.

The term ‘orature’ is chosen as a parallel term to that of ‘literature.’ ‘Orature’ indicates that body of knowledge usually termed ‘oral literature.’ The latter term is problematic, including as it does the term ‘literature,’ with its implications of reading books, and the term ‘oral,’ with implications of the spoken and heard. ‘Oral literature’ seems a debased version of a true, written, literature. The term ‘orature’ allows this body of knowledge its own validity. (Moses and Goldie 367)

As an oral counterpart to literature, orature plants fertile ground for the founding self. However, while focusing on being, external authorities interacted with the Indigenous Peoples.

Throughout their contacts, the national heritage in the traditional articulation and written contour underwent adjustments and moderations. Following orature’s consistency of utterance, unlike literature’s domain of inscription, it is more likely to imply the idea of hybrids like oral literature.

Nevertheless, both nonideal concepts ordain within their scopes: orature by claiming impressionability of the verbal expression and oral literature by announcing supplemental notions of written and printed ascendancy.

Indigenous oral narratives are divided into “two major types: sacred and secular” (Allen, *Studies in American Indian Literature* 48). Sacred stories are dedicated to ceremonies, anecdotes, allegories, fictional tales, and historical accounts. They are shaped in poetic form for memorization and grouped in cycles. Literature with oral imperatives resides in every language and is materialized in narrative, lyric, and epic formulations.

Throughout the oral and literary past, autobiographies have become the bond between the oral tradition and written literary design. The lack of alphabetic knowledge was overthrown by the appearance of autobiographies as the most natural narrative form. Superficially regarded as the simple contour of not necessarily written formulation, the narratives are crucial for the existence of Indigenous identity. The ultimate result is the ordinance in divergent domains: orature operates in performance while literature relies on literacy.

The scholar Pitika Ntuli sees orature as “more than the fusion of all art forms. It is the conception and reality of a total view of life. It is the capsule of feeling, thinking,

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imagination, taste, and hearing. It is the flow of a creative spirit” (215). In other words, Ntuli insists on Gestalt,¹⁴⁴ entirety and synthesis.

Orature’s supreme bequest is unification among Indigenous Peoples, nature, and language. The mission of orature and its elements: story, song, poetry, drama, and dance through the performative storyteller’s utterance is an investment into interpreting the universe.

5.1.2. INDIGENOUS ORALITY

Walter Jackson Ong defines orality as a verbal expression with no literacy coherence, which is a characteristic of Indigenous communities. Ong’s work on literacy launches the hostility between orality and literacy as an extricating alliance of primary orality, secondary orality, and residue orality articulations.

The negative denotation allows refining the definition of what one subtlety is not, unlike the traditional definition of what it is. Thus, primary orality differs from secondary orality, whereas residue orality mediates in between.

In the first place, Ong employs the terms “primary oral culture” and “secondary oral culture” before combining “oral culture” with “orality.” The sublimation of the duality of terms and persisting in obtaining the supremacy of the oral dimension is eternal. The scope of orality research relies on the tradition within the purview of historical modifications, which resembles oral tradition. Ong brings out the notion of “oral residue,” in other words, “residually oral culture,” subsequently introducing “residue orality.”

The linguist Ferdinand De Saussure, as Ong affirms, recognizes “writings as the basic form of language” (qtd. in Ong 5)¹⁴⁵ while giving supremacy to orality, which underpins all verbal communication. Ong mentions Finnegan’s point about “the term ‘literature,’ though devised primarily for works in writing, [that] has simply been extended to include related phenomena such as traditional oral narrative in cultures untouched by writing” (qtd. in Ong 11).¹⁴⁶ However, Winona Wheeler “critiques Walter Ong’s prominent work on literacy for perpetuating the age-old prejudice against oral societies” (qtd. in Granville Miller 91).¹⁴⁷

5.1.2.1. PRIMARY ORALITY

For Ong, primary orality denotes the modelling of thoughts and verbalization isolated from writing. The notability of principal orality opposes literate cultures. By default, it excludes

¹⁴⁴ wholeness

¹⁴⁵ See De Saussure, Ferdinand. *Course in General Linguistics*, translated by Wade Baskin, edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, in collaboration with Albert Reidlinger. Philosophical Library, 1959, pp. 23-24.

¹⁴⁶ See Finnegan, Ruth. *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* Cambridge UP, 1977, p. 16.

¹⁴⁷ See 5.2. Storytelling.

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and antedates all written forms. Primary orality is a typical feature of oral societies, i.e., the cultures without literacy (5).

The moment of uttering, an essential event in any society’s development, is even more notable for Indigenous Peoples for founding the course for nations’ (historical)¹⁴⁸ path. That has been an inherent predisposition to repetitive and oratorical expression. Primary orality must be well observed through “glasses” of mnemonics and other oral terms: oral history,¹⁴⁹ oral tradition,¹⁵⁰ and oral literature emphasizing storytelling.

When the storyteller’s thoughts are formulated, they describe and create reality to “write” experiences. An example is Silko’s protagonist, Tayo, who remembers the core values, verbalizing the findings in telling the story. Simultaneously, Silko redesigns Tayo’s reality by reconnecting the character’s national heritage while healing the community with the words “Thought Woman, the spider,/named things and/ as she named them/they appeared” (Silko, *Ceremony* 1).

5.1.2.2. SECONDARY ORALITY

Ong denotes secondary orality as “essentially a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print” (Ong 133). The author points out that the second orality is the antithesis of the primary orality.

A new orality also demonstrates the same hallmarks: latency, collectivity, and a focus on presence while evidencing the past (133). “Secondary orality is both remarkably like and remarkably unlike primary orality. Just as primary orality, secondary orality has generated a strong group sense, for listening to spoken words forms hearers into a group, a true audience, just as reading written or printed texts turns individuals in on themselves” (133). “Unlike members of a primary oral culture, who are turned outward because they have had little occasion to turn inward, we [members of a secondary culture] are turned outward because we have turned inward” (133).

Primary and secondary orality nurture spontaneity (134). Since “the analytic reflectiveness implemented by writing is unavailable” (134), primary orality relies on a spontaneous conveying of the message. In contrast, “secondary orality promotes spontaneity because through analytic reflection, we have decided that spontaneity is a good thing” (134). We add, learned about its benefits.

Moreover, secondary orality brought out a new memorization pattern, where the writing brings back the thought by positioning it as artistically reproductive, unlike recollective primary orality (139). The new status of memory is structural and not syntactical. Nevertheless, memory still plays a vital role in recording information, though less than before (117).

On the other hand, in primary orality, the thought is retrieved through a mnemonic process since words are assimilated into the talking point (36). Conversely, in secondary

¹⁴⁸ “Historical” does not correspond to Indigenous understanding. See 3.1. Indigenous Geospatial Ontology.

¹⁴⁹ “Oral history” is a Western term.

¹⁵⁰ “Oral tradition” seems particularly applicable to Indigenous semantics.

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orality, the concept is assigned to thought using modern electronic media (133-134). Still, a sense of group audience is what both have in common.

A trend toward transforming the Indigenous orality into a written form characterized the end of the nineteenth century. The emphasis was put on local storytellers in documented records. The chronicle appeared later in multiple variations as a written description of past events in the narrative, tale, and story. Writing is genuinely based on orality roots, although it insists on the storing principle of communication.

5.1.2.3. RESIDUE ORALITY

Distinguishing orality from literacy inevitably determines Indigenous identity. Lee Maracle promotes the definition of “oratory,” perceived as a natural “place of prayer” (Memory Serves 161). Telling stories is the “most persuasive and sensible way to present the accumulated thoughts and values of a people” (161).

The unique formulation of residue orality, as leftovers of oral expression after written voicing, is understood as an incomplete process. The transition from the preliterate period to times of literacy was a unique path. Previously purely oral, Indigenous communities experienced a verbal overflow into writing. Oral tradition was so deeply ingrained that it could not be altered instantly. Thus, the residuum of oral dominance complicated the full implementation of writing. On a positive note, it preserved the oral component.

Our surrogate derivative for residue orality in a semi-compound noun shape is “lit-oral.” A substitute for residue orality justifies its implementation with the following ideas: the contour of the new word appoints two significant components that are not wholly grown together. At the same time, by insisting on orality and literacy, the individuality of both constituents has been respected.

Thus, lit-oral is an incomplete coalescence of the attributes after the “literacy” breakthrough. It resembles “residue orality” for deducing a conclusion about residual oral character. Lit-oral indicates literacy progression despite orality occupancy by calling attention to the orality, which has not vanished yet, though it is not in its prime.

5.1.3. LITERACY

With the advancement of literacy, traditional oral communities underwent a fundamental metamorphosis into social systems. Anteriority of place and time condition was lost, and physical co-presence of speaker and listener was not demanded, as information could be shared anywhere, anytime, without a face-to-face encounter.

That crucial moment was a survival challenge for Indigenous Peoples. In other words, literacy had a dual meaning for Indigenous Peoples: to preserve their traditional languages while retaining their cultural identity and to obstruct linguistic and cultural assimilation.

“This story deserves to be told; all stories do. Even the waves of the sea tell a story that deserves to be read. The stories that really need to be told are those that shake the very soul of you. I prepare to be shaken. This happened even if it didn’t.”

(Maracle, Celia’s Song 7)

The first indubitably traditional trade document of the non-Indigenous people and Indigenous Peoples treaty, which attested to the indigenous literacy, was “The Two Row Wampum belt made of white and purple rows of beads” (Antone 2).

It is a multi-purpose belt woven of wampum - sacramental white and purple shell beads between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parties, Mohawk and Dutch colonists in 1612 (qtd. Lyons in Antone 2).¹⁵¹

Wampum beads are made of two different shells: the quahog and white welk shell. Quahog clam shells are purple or black in colour and represent war and suffering while welk shells are symbols of power, peace, goodness and friendship.

Shell beads are used because shells retain words spoken over it and pass these words on from generation to generation.

Beads are hand made by breaking the shell, drilling a hole, and grinding it into a tubular shape. It is a long and delicate process. (Wampum, pars. 5-7)

The eldest preserved wampum dates from 1682.¹⁵² Wampum belts are read by oral historians, aka storytellers (Wampum, par. 8) and are historical and literary testimonies.

The famed Hiawatha Belt¹⁵³

symbolizes the agreement between the 5 original Haudenosaunee nations and their promise to support each other in unity. The central symbol is a tree (representing the Onondaga Nation – where the Peacemaker planted the Tree of Peace and under which the leaders of the Five Nations buried their weapons). Four white squares from left to right represent the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, and Mohawk tribes. Lines extending from the tribes stand for a path which other nations may follow if they agree to live in peace and join the Confederacy. (Wampum, par. 9)

The Two-[R]ow Wampum (Kaswehnta) dates from the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴

The bead of white wampum symbolizes the purity of the agreement. The two rows of purple symbolizes the spirit of the Aboriginals and the spirit of the European people as they travel on the same river together each in their own vessel carrying their laws and customs and going their ways. The three beads of white wampum which were separating the two rows of purple wampum signified peace, friendship and respect. The two-row wampum belt signified the parallel and equal arrangement of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies. (Antone 2)

Literacy predestined not only cultural progress but determined the past as well. The interdependence between orality and historical context is reflected in literacy. In providing an unbiased view of orality and literacy, the following relations have to be investigated, e.g., orality in literacy, orality and/or literacy, literacy in orality and finally, literacy and/or orality.

¹⁵¹ See Lyons, Oren. *Looking Forward, Looking Back: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. vol. 1. Canada Communication Group, 1996, p. 637, data2.archives.ca/e/e448/e011188230-01.pdf. Accessed 3 Sept. 2023.

¹⁵² See Appendix 13. The Wampum. “The belt of wampum delivered by the Indians to William Penn at the ‘Great Treaty’ under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon in 1682. ‘Not Sworn to and never Broken.’ Presented by Granville John Penn ESQ of England. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1857” (The Belt of Wampum, par. 1).

¹⁵³ See Appendix 14. The Hiawatha Belt.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 15. The Two-[R]ow Wampum.

“This story deserves to be told; all stories do. Even the waves of the sea tell a story that deserves to be read. The stories that really need to be told are those that shake the very soul of you. I prepare to be shaken. This happened even if it didn’t.”

(Maracle, Celia’s Song 7)

The scholar James Paul Gee foresees continuity of diverse discourse practices through integration or detachment in identity change (Orality and Literacy 720). The literary critic Matei Calinescu defends Gee’s statement that “there is no gap between orality and literacy” (Calinescu 187).

[I]n many oral cultures, there are formal ritual-traditional uses of language that have many of the features of poetry (e.g., rhythm, repetition and syntactic parallelism), but which are also formal and detached (like much writing in our culture). Here, again, we see a case where we get features of both writing (detachment) and speech (in this case, poetry-like features). (Gee, *Social Linguistics and Literacies* 75)

In oral societies, truthfulness is measured by “the personal experience of the speaker” (Eigenbrod, *Oral in the Written* 90). Differently, literate societies never fully “conceive of an oral universe of communication or thought except as a variant of a literate universe” (Ong 2).

However, “only around 106 [languages] have ever been committed to writing to a degree sufficient to have produced literature, and most have never been written at all. Of the some 3,000 languages spoken that exist today only some 78 have a literature” (qtd. Edmondson in Ong 7).¹⁵⁵

Affected by antagonism between the oral and the written, orality and literacy do not exclude each other. Instead, one domain is included in the other. Thus, the two terms are not in complete contrast, but dissimilarity relations are pieces of the knowledge puzzle.

In the oral tradition, knowledge is recreated, maintained, and transmitted from elders to younger generations. The historical and traditional dichotomy of polarities is not a simple opposition, but the integration and continuance of written after oral through insisting on the diversity of predecessor and successor. The safest place for discourse analysis is to put aside all exclusiveness by rearranging social space and showing Indigenous Peoples’ lifestyles.

Suppose oral literature is defined as literature delivered orally, recognized as traditional literature, folklore or orature. In that case, the text is a legacy of literature, while the performance is an inheritance of oral literature.

Therefore, where the orature is powerful, literature is idle and vice versa, and when literacy progresses, orality regresses. The transition was made by turning from the phonetic and lexical language features in orature to semantic and discursive elements in literature. The script initiation reshapes the oral tradition into a new life since the text must be explored as the discursive context. The result of the historical entanglement of orality and literacy is a fusion of aural¹⁵⁶ within the reading, i.e., listening to the reading.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ See Edmondson, Munro E. *Lore: An Introduction to the Science of Folklore and Literature*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971, pp. 323, 332.

¹⁵⁶ “Aural¹⁵⁶” is defined as “the quality, condition, or degree of being aural” (Collins). In other words, it is hearing.

¹⁵⁷ See Peter Dickinson 319 for the interdependence between listening and writing.

Why We Dance

“To dance is to pray,
to pray is to heal,
to heal is to give,
to give is to live,
to live is to dance.”

(Moore, par. 10)

5.2. STORYTELLING

Telling stories is an essential means of Indigenous survival for “community members to present images of themselves on their own terms” (Womack 362). Through storytelling, the animism and anthropomorphism subtexts founded a connection between people, events, and places. As a result, Indigenous oral heritage includes transcendental nature poems, and creation stories. Primordial elements like the creator and the flood bear similarities to biblical themes, even though Indigenous contact with Christianity occurred much later.

The relationship between a tale-teller and the audience is not linear in their communal experience and resembles a mosaic with integral parts of narrative tradition. It mirrors the cultural dialogue that Lee Maracle sees in the complex interrelation between the listener and the story.

Most of our stories don’t have orthodox ‘conclusions’; that is left to the listeners, who we trust will draw useful lessons from the story – not necessarily the lessons we wish them to draw, but all conclusions are considered valid. The listeners are drawn into the dilemma and are expected at some point in their lives to actively work themselves out of it. (Maracle, *Sojourners Truth* 11-12)

Leslie Marmon Silko also claims that “a great deal of the story is believed to be inside the listeners; the storyteller’s role is to draw the story out of the listeners” (Pueblo Indian Perspective 50). Silko elaborates further on the reasoning for being a writer.

I suppose at the core of my writing is the attempt to identify what it is to be a half-breed or mixed blooded person, what it is to grow up neither white nor fully traditional Indian. It is for this reason that I hesitate to say that I am of Indian poets or Indian people or even Laguna people. I am only one human being, one Laguna woman. (Biographical Notes 197)

The process of telling stories implies creation, connection, and identification. Creativity refers to transferring thoughts, dreams, and wishes into the form of stories and folktales, simultaneously certifying that thoughts create reality. In other words, by telling stories, the past is connected to present times in memory, modelling the real moment. Thus, storytelling turnover times in Indigenous literal advancement predefined the future.

A fragile sense of belonging to a specific community is empowered by tale-telling customs. Storytelling is a pivotal breakthrough in the identity quest, and it warrants the longevity and lastingness of the community and cultural traditions. “In this process, there is something more than information being transmitted: there’s energy, there’s strength being transmitted from the storyteller to the listener and that is what’s important in teaching young people about their identity” (Cuthand 54).

Still, what telling stories needs is the objectivity of the reported knowledge. It would be hypocritical to assess the quality of Indigenous texts solely by Western theoretical

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standards (qtd. Napoleon in Granville Miller 87).¹⁵⁸ At the same time, establishing an essentially pure Indigenous discourse is unrealistic.

Thus, for the sake of this research, we assume that Indigenous Literatures as an undisputed literary phenomenon has been proven. According to Elvira Pulitano, living in subjugation for many centuries contributed to the foundation, i.e., the existence of the “highly hybridized nature of Native American theory” (7), which comes out of “inherentna hibridnost starosjedilačkih kutura” (“inherent hybridity of native cultures;” Krivokapić Knežević 3).

However, Pulitano raises suspicion about the authenticity¹⁵⁹ of the Indigenous literary voice and points out the hybridity of Indigenous Literatures, inclining more toward European and less resembling American Literature. Granville Miller adds that “[o]ral narratives¹⁶⁰ (...) depend on the practice of oral footnoting, or ‘who told us’” (95), which again spotlights the storytellers, literary critics, and historiographers.

5.2.1. ORAL TRADITION VS. ORAL HISTORY

Since traditional knowledge and beliefs were initially passed exclusively orally, without any trace of writing or recording, we perceive oral tradition as the corpus constituted of voices beaded into prose and verse narratives, orally transmitted. For Indigenous Peoples, “[o]ral traditions form the foundation of Aboriginal societies, connecting speaker and listener in communal experience and uniting past and present in memory” (Hulan and Eigenbrod 7).

Moreover, oral tradition, or “oracy was the traditional form of communication for the Aboriginal Peoples (...) therefore the cultural life histories were passed from one generation to the next generation through the storytelling, ceremony, songs and teachings, as well as rituals and sharing” (Absolon and Willet 8). Oral lore is a medium for keeping the past alive and enabling cultural survival through teaching practices. At the same time, it is an entertaining pastime of the non-literate era.

Similarly, the Serbian language reformer and philologist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, investigated oral traditions. As Karadžić stated in *Vuk's Notes*, “[j]ezik je hranitelj naroda. Dokle god živi jezik, dokle ga ljubimo i počitujemo, njim govorimo i pišemo, pročišćavamo, dotle živi i narod, može se među sobom razumijevati i umno sajedinjavati, ne prelijeva se u drugi, ne propada” in the meaning that language is a kind of soul feeder, and as long as the native speakers nourish it, the nation will live and resist the danger of being assimilated into the dominant culture (21). Karadžić draws attention to the significance of writing in “A

¹⁵⁸ See Napoleon, Val. “Delgamuukw: A Legal Straitjacket for Oral Histories” *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, vol 20, no. 2, 2005, pp. 123-155. *Project Muse*, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jls.2006.0025>. Accessed 5 Sept. 2023.

¹⁵⁹ Pulitano perceives authenticity as the opposite of hybridity (7).

¹⁶⁰ the author's term

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Preface: A Review of Serbian Primer” (“[ш]то су гођ људи на овоме свијету измислили, ништа се не може испоредити с писмом”) (“[w]hatever people have invented in this world, nothing can be compared to writing;” 1).

On the surface, oral history and oral tradition look alike, as ethnographer Stephen J. Augustine points out (3). Nevertheless, they differ in comparison to the sources of information. Oral history is based on eyewitness experiences, hearsay, or recollections of contemporaries, while oral tradition refers to the mouth-to-mouth transmission of lore older than a lifetime.

To reconcile this simplified division, anthropologist Bruce Granville Miller sees that “[o]ral [h]istory [is] on [t]rial”(title). Therefore, the author proposes the term “oral narrative” (67), which is more convenient for encompassing memorized and performed knowledge. In the chapter “The Social Life of Oral Narratives,” Granville Miller underlines that “[o]ral narratives are decontextualized and recontextualized” (81). Nevertheless, the relation between oral tradition and oral history seems undefined due to the nature of oral traditions, which “are not necessarily about the past nor are they necessarily narratives” (Vansina 13).

5.2.2. ORAL LITERATURE

Oral literature, in a broader sense, or folklore in its narrower definition, is an ambiguous term which does not imply any document written down, as its name suggests. The researcher William John Thoms first introduced folk literature or Folk-Lore, guided by the simplicity of life of the Indigenous Peoples and expectedly simplified literature (Emrich 355). Folklore refers to what people traditionally say (orality) or do (rituals, dancing, knitting, weaving, and basketry). Oral literature does not resemble a convention up to literature standards. Instead, it stands for oral discourse. The discursive formation is understood as Michel Foucault explained it from the natural history perspective.¹⁶¹

The cryptic meaning of oral literature masks oral text. However, the term [oral literature] insists on language implementation and creativity. Analogously to the enigmatic orature definition, the concept of oral literature is ambiguous. After being collected and published by folklorists and oral historians, oral material remains presented in oral literature. The subject matter incontestably dominates over habitat. Once the orature was scribed, although still remembered as oral literature in the written ambience, it inevitably lost its non-verbal aural qualities and liveliness of sounds, emphasis, pitch, and pattern.

In like manner, the author John Miles Foley suggests that from the start, the investigator into the literature imposes an external frame of reference, which forms or deforms the literary experience. In other words, “contexts that lie outside the received version or text are most certainly active, both for the performer or the writer and the

¹⁶¹ See 1. Identifying Paradigms of Postmodern Indigenous Writing: Epistemological Achievements.

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audience, and interpretation requires consideration of those engaged contexts” (276). The seizing of oral texts from the collector’s perspective opens the dilemma of using or abusing those findings. The written word slowed, if not stopped, oral progress. Inscription drained denouement from Indigenous oral storytelling, sterilizing interpretation by translation and transliteration.

Throughout the acculturation, much of the Indigenous oral traditions had been lost (Granville Miller 99). “In particular, they [communities] fail to have oral traditions about what seem to outsiders to be crucial events in the communities’ history, casting doubt on the existence of any oral materials” (Granville Miller 99-100). The Indigenous past was not documented in writings, considering oral societies with a past but without history.

Thus, Granville Miller mentions Winona Wheeler’s terminology of “Indigenous ‘oral tradition histories’” (91). “To Wheeler, Western history is trapped in the belief that non-Western people simply lack a historical consciousness” (91). Perceiving all writings as objective and rational is exaggerated (qtd. Wheeler in Granville Miller 91).¹⁶² “She [Winona Wheeler] argues that Western historiography is tied to an implicit cultural evolutionism in which literacy is the marker of civilization” (91). Writings as authors’ testimonies are always subjective because “[w]ords are always situated” (Foley 275).

Despite not being historical documents (qtd. Wheeler in Granville Miller 93), “oral tradition histories must be placed on an equal footing with historical documents” (93) since “[i]ndigenous oral tradition histories cannot be understood outside their own intellectual traditions and cultural contexts” (93). Above all, “[o]ral history traditions are heard stories” (93).

5.2.3. PERFORMANCE

The central point of orature is performance. Focusing on performing actions distinguishes orature from literature. Stories involve a storyteller, an elder who is a talented performer, and the enchanted audience as an active participant in the show. Unlike passive, two-dimensional static and idle text without immediate feedback, it is a three-dimensional relationship spiced with spontaneity and instant response. It is “replete with ceremonial magic” (Nozedar 384).

The context of the storytelling is defined in its temporal (a season and particular part of the day) and spatial dimensions. The Indigenous transferor strives to convey the ideas intact, although improvisation matters. Different variations appear each time the story is told. “Elders can’t discard any versions of a story. They would have to mention what others

¹⁶² See Wheeler, Winona. *Indigenous Oral Histories, An Academic Predicament*. Report prepared for plaintiffs in *Chief Victor Buffalo et al. v. Her Majesty et al.* 2001. (Case cited in the text as *Samson Indian Nation and band v. Canada.*)

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said” (qtd. McHalsie in Granville Miller 95).¹⁶³ The narrative is broadened and polished through multiple retellings as the story comes to life anew in each account. It continues to exist as a secondary orality.

The practice of reciting a performance is beautified with dance and singing, combining sound and motion. The pitch of the voice is changeable and adjusted to the anecdote. Toning down the voice or exalting is garnished by silent pauses, hushed tones, and rustles employed in exposing the imagery of the environment where Indigenous Peoples live. Stories are almost always corroborated by “oral footnoting,” citing the source as an elder (Wickwire 19).

Repetition is the most common literary device in pre-literate oral traditions. It concurrently acknowledged the same sense of metanarrative as the postmodern theorist Francois Lyotard designed it. If the metanarrative is comprehended as absolute, i.e., the only truth, then colonial, imperialistic, and capitalist influence is limited. “On voit sur ce cas qu’en légitimant le savoir par un métarécit, qui implique une philosophie de l’histoire, on est conduit à se questionner sur la validité des institutions qui régissent le lien social: elles aussi demandent à être légitimées. La justice se trouve ainsi référée au grand récit, au même titre que la vérité.” (“We see in this case that by legitimizing knowledge through a meta-narrative, which implies a philosophy of history, we are led to question the validity of the institutions that govern the social bond: they too require to be legitimized. Justice is thus referred to as the grand narrative, in the same way as truth;” Lyotard 7). That is why Julie Cajune emphasizes parallel history (title).

In essence, in Gerald Vizenor’s own words, “[y]ou can’t understand the world without telling stories” because “[t]here isn’t any center to the world but a story” (American Indian Writers Speak 156).

¹⁶³ See McHalsie, Albert (Naxaxalths’i, Sonny). “We Have to Take Care of Everything That Belongs to Us.” *Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish*, edited by Bruce Granville Miller. U of Nebraska P, 2007, pp. 82-130.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

May 2023

Hello, dear respondent!

Thank you for taking the time to fill out this survey. This questionnaire has been designed as integral to doctoral dissertation research on identity in Indigenous Literature(s). Participation is voluntary and anonymous. Thus, if you feel uncomfortable answering the question, please select the answer “DK” (don’t know) or “I prefer not to answer.” All questions marked with an asterisk (*) and highlighted in red are crucial for completing the survey.

Legend:

DK = don’t know

i.e., = that is

e.g., = for example

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

1. What is the place of your permanent residence? *

Please choose only one option.

1. Serbia
2. an ex-Yugoslavian republic, now an independent country
2. Canada
3. the USA
4. I prefer not to answer.
5. other (Please specify.)

2. What is your age? *

Please choose only one option.

1. under 18 years old
2. 18 - 24 years old
3. 25 - 34 years old
4. 35 - 44 years old
5. 45 - 54 years old
6. 55 - 64 years old
7. over 65 years old
8. DK
9. I prefer not to answer.

3. Do you self-identify as? *

Please choose only one option.

1. a woman
2. a man
3. a transgender person
4. a two-spirited person
5. DK
6. I prefer not to answer.
7. other (Please specify.)

4. What is your status? *

Please choose only one option.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

1. a primary/secondary/high-school student/a high-school graduate
2. a university/college student/I have an undergraduate degree.
3. a master’s degree student/I have a master’s degree.
4. a Ph.D. student/I have a Ph.D.
5. I am obtaining a professional licence/designation.
6. DK
7. I prefer not to answer.
8. other (Please specify.)

5. What is your ethnic or cultural origin? *

Please choose only one option.

1. Caucasian
2. Slavic
3. Yugoslavian
4. Serbian
5. DK
6. I prefer not to answer.
7. other (Please specify.)

Please choose the best response.

	I strongly agree.	I agree.	I somewhat agree.	I neither agree nor disagree.	I somewhat disagree.	I disagree.	I strongly disagree.	I prefer not to answer.
6. I understand who a person of colour is. *								
7. I understand who an Indigenous person, e.g., a Native American, an Indian American, or a member of a First Nations,								

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(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

Métis or Inuit community is. *								
8. I understand who a mixed-blood person, e.g., a dual heritage/mixed race descendant, e.g., a mestizo or Amerindian, is. *								

(Explanation: mestizo is a person of mixed ancestry, Hispanic and/or Indigenous and/or European.)

Please choose only one option.

	Yes, I have.	No, I have not.	DK	I prefer not to answer.
9. Have you ever met a person of colour? *				
10. Have you ever met an Indigenous person? *				
11. Have you ever read any books on Indigenous themes?				
12. Have you ever read any book written by Indigenous authors (regardless of the genre, i.e., action, adventure, fantasy, comic book graphic novel, historical fiction, literary fiction, science-fiction, biography, autobiography, thriller, romance, short story, women’s fiction, true crime, memoir, cookbook, poetry, essay, etc.)?				

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

Please choose the best response.

	They are celebrities .	They are famous people who claim to have Native American ancestry.	Nothing	DK	I prefer not to answer.
13. What do Angelina Jolie (actress), Jessica Alba (actress), Megan Fox (actress), Jessica Biel (actress), Cameron Diaz (actress), Billy Bob Thornton (actor), Johnny Depp (actor), Edward Norton (actor), Chuck Norris (actor), Jason Momoa (actor), Jimi Hendrix (musician), Elvis Presley (musician), Anthony Kiedis (musician - Red Hot Chili Peppers), Miley Cyrus (musician), Cher (musician), and Tori Amos (musician) have in common?					

14. Please choose only one option.

I am familiar with

1. Cartoon characters, like Hiawatha (created up to <i>The Song of Hiawatha</i> by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow), Pocahontas, Kocoum (<i>Pocahontas</i>), Tiger Lily (<i>Peter Pan</i>), Elisa Maza (<i>Gargoyles</i>), Apache Chief (<i>Super Friends</i>), etc.

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(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

2. Characters in movies and book-to-film adaptations, such as Chief Bromden (<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i>), Tonto (<i>Tonto and the Lonely Ranger</i>), Chingachgook (James Fenimore Cooper's five Leatherstocking Tales, e.g., <i>The Last of the Mohicans</i>) Winnetou (Karl May's books), Stands with a Fist (<i>Dances with Wolves</i>), Kicking Bird (<i>Dances with Wolves</i>), Wind in the Hair (<i>Dances with Wolves</i>), Commander Chakotay (<i>Star Track: Voyager</i>), etc.
3. The above-mentioned cartoon characters and characters in movies and book-film adaptations
4. DK
5. I prefer not to answer.

15. The most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population is: *

Please choose only one option.

	Explanations:
1. Indians	
2. American Indians	<i>recommended in the USA</i>
3. Native Americans	<i>recommended in the USA</i>
4. Native Peoples	
5. Native People	
6. Aboriginal People	
7. Aboriginal Peoples	
8. Indigenous People	
9. Indigenous Peoples	<i>recommended in Canada</i>
10. DK	
11. I prefer not to answer.	
12. other (Please specify.)	

16. The term “Indigenous Peoples” is: *

Please choose only one option.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

1. incorrect because “people” is the plural form of “a person.” Therefore, it should be “Indigenous People.”	
2. correct because the pluralized plural form “peoples” distinguishes and emphasizes differences between ethnic communities in geographical and cultural contexts.	<i>correct</i>
3. DK other	
4. I prefer not to answer.	
5. other (Please specify.)	

17. Please choose the best response. *

1. Indigenous Peoples are ethnic groups non-native to colonized places.	<i>incorrect</i> They are native to colonized places (Who Are Indigenous Peoples, par. 4).
2. The United Nations (UN) terminology prefers a modern understanding of self-identifying instead of defining ethnic groups by outsiders.	<i>correct</i> (UN Declaration 12-13)
3. The term “Indigenous Peoples” means “genius people.”	<i>incorrect</i>
4. Indigenous Peoples are not found in all inhabited continents.	<i>incorrect</i> They are found in all inhabited continents (About [I]ndigenous [P]eoples and [H]uman [R]ights, par. 2).
5. There are about 3,000 Indigenous nations in all climate zones.	<i>incorrect</i> There are about 5,000 Indigenous nations worldwide (Indigenous Peoples; Amnesty International, par. 1).
6. Indigenous Peoples live in more than 80 countries.	<i>incorrect</i> They are found in all inhabited continents (About [I]ndigenous [P]eoples and [H]uman [R]ights, par. 2).
7. The estimated range of the Indigenous population is about 1.5% of the world population, i.e., 119 million.	<i>incorrect</i> The estimated range of Indigenous population is about 6% of the world population, i.e., 476 million. They are found in all inhabited continents (About [I]ndigenous [P]eoples and [H]uman [R]ights, par. 2).

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

8. The Indigenous population is growing in Canada at the fastest rate, e.g., three times faster than the non-Indigenous.	<i>incorrect</i> The Indigenous population is growing four times faster (Projections of the Indigenous populations, par. 4)
9. DK	
10. I prefer not to answer.	

Please choose the best response.

18. When someone says, “You are such an Indian?/Kakav Indijanac!” what do you do? *	I do nothing.	I voice my concerns because that qualification is offensive.	I wish I were an Indian.	I have never heard that expression before.	DK	I prefer not to answer.
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Please choose the best response.

19. The American football team has changed its name for the better from “Redskins” to the Washington Commanders.	I strongly agree.	I agree.	I somewhat agree.	I neither agree nor disagree.	I somewhat disagree.	I disagree.	I strongly disagree.	I prefer not to answer.
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Please choose the best response for each of these statements:

	I strongly agree.	I agree.	I somewhat agree.	I neither agree nor disagree.	I somewhat disagree.	I disagree.	I strongly disagree.	I prefer not to answer.
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“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

20. Indigenous Peoples no longer inhabit tipis (teepees) and longhouses.								
21. Indigenous Peoples live only on reservations/reserves. *								
22. Indigenous Peoples take part in healing ceremonies, i.e., powwows. *								
23. Indigenous Peoples are eco-conscious. *								
24. Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.” *								
25. Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.” *								
26. Indigenous women are Indian princesses. *								
27. The International Day of the World’s Indigenous Peoples is on 9 August.								
28. Indigenous Peoples are in frail health and are more prone to diseases than								

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(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

other races/ethnicities . *								
29. Indigenous Peoples have addiction problems more often than other races/ethnicities . *								
30. Indigenous Peoples do not pay taxes in Canada and the USA. *								
31. Indigenous Peoples do not pay for college/university tuition. *								
32. Indigenous Peoples advocate the casino gaming industry. *								
33. Indigenous Peoples promote smoking. *								
34. Indigenous Peoples do magic tricks. *								
35. Indigenous Peoples have sold off the island of Manhattan for \$24 worth of beads.								
36. All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin,								

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

straight black hair, a so-called aquiline (hook-like/eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge), etc. *								
37. Indigenous Peoples wear moccasins, mukluks, buckskins, and beaded dresses. *								
38. The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red. *								
39. The term “squaw” is a racial epithet. *								
40. Indigenous women and girls are often abused, missing, and murdered. *								
41. I am aware of/I have witnessed the mistreatment of Indigenous Peoples. *								
42. Indigenous Peoples have experienced cultural genocide in residential schools. *								
43. The last residential school in Canada was closed in 1996. *								

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

44. The Head of the Catholic Church should have officially apologized to Indigenous Peoples for maltreatment sooner.								
45. For Indigenous Peoples, the land is a communal resource. Thus, they do not own it but borrow it from a Creator/Great Spirit. *								
46. Indigenous Peoples do not perceive time as a linear (past, present, and future) concept but as circular, e.g., death is a new beginning. *								

(Explanations: a tipi (teepee) is a cone-shaped tent made of animal skin. Iroquoian-speaking families used to live in longhouses.

The powwow is a healing ceremony that showcases Indigenous music, dance, regalia, food, and crafts.

Mukluks are winter boots made of hides (animal skins) and fur.

Buckskin is a clothing set that consists of riding leather pants and a jacket made of hides, often trimmed with fringes.

47. Please select all answers that apply.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

When someone mentions Indigenous Peoples, aka “Indians,” your thoughts are: *

1. Iroquois hairstyle	
2. the car Jeep Cherokee/Grand Cherokee	
3. a dream catcher	
4. the scalp	
5. smoke signals	
6. smoking a pipe	
7. wigwams	
8. warbonnets/headdresses	
9. traditional dance gatherings	
10. rituals	
11. spirituality	
12. knowledge of herbs	
13. unity with nature	
14. war	
15. peace	
16. unfairness	
17. shame	
18. someone positively strange	
19. someone negatively strange	
20. Manitou/a Great Spirit	
21. Christopher Columbus	
22. legends	
23. jokes	
24. Western movies	
25. books	
26. comics	
27. residential schools	
28. other (Please specify.)	
29. DK	
30. I prefer not to answer.	

Please choose the best response.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

(Crowfoot Blackfoot, par. 1)

	I strongly agree.	I agree.	I somewhat agree.	I neither agree nor disagree.	I somewhat disagree.	I disagree.	I strongly disagree.	I prefer not to answer.
48. I know enough about Indigenous Peoples. *								
49. I would like to read books about Indigenous Peoples.								

Please choose the best response.

	I strongly agree.	I agree.	I somewhat agree.	I neither agree nor disagree.	I somewhat disagree.	I disagree.	I strongly disagree.	I prefer not to answer.
50. I have learned something new about Indigenous Peoples in this survey. *								

Your participation in this study on Indigenous Peoples is appreciated.

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)



Voices on Indigenous Peoples

6.1. INDIGENOUS MATTERS

In an attempt to investigate the opinions of the Serbian public on indigeneity, stereotypes and misconceptions overtly present in popular culture have been surveyed. In addition, Serbian subjects' knowledge of the Indigenous past, native culture, art, habits, and lifestyle of Indigenous Peoples of North America, i.e., Canada and the USA, as well as representations of Indigenous Peoples in cinematography, music, and literature, have been explored.

The survey comprises fifty multiple-choice questions. For example, a matrix table has been adopted, i.e., a traditional seven-range Likert scale, adding the option “I prefer not to answer,” and forming an eight-option model. The reason is the sensitivity of the racial and national issues and the liberty of not having an opinion on the talking point or respecting the interviewee's choice of not sharing their thoughts. Multiple-choice questions have different answers. Namely, the answerers picked one solution or selected all applicable responses. If none of the offered choices had been applied, the interviewees could have formulated their answers in an open-field text entry (e.g., please specify).

The first five questions provided a general overview of the survey respondents according to their residence, age, gender, education, ethnic origin, and cultural heritage. Then, questions from six to fifty refer to the interviewees' experience with indigeneity, i.e., awareness of stereotypes and knowledge of Indigenous Peoples' culture, customs, and tradition. For instance, familiarity with expressions like “a racialized person,” “a person of colour,” “a two-spirited person,” “mixed-blood,” “mestizo,” “dual heritage,” “mixed race,” and “Amerindian” was tested. Similarly, interviewees were offered more or less respectful labels, such as “Indians,” Indigenous Peoples, Native Americans, American Indians, Aboriginal Peoples, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. Besides, learning whether respondents were acquainted with the pluralized form “peoples” in the name was one of the goals.

The inquiry led the interviewees through questions about celebrities who supposedly have Indigenous ancestry. Later, familiarity with characters in cartoons, movies, books, and book-to-film adaptations was tested. Demographic expertise regarding Indigenous data was also inspected. Whether survey takers met persons of colour and/or Indigenous origin was also observed.

One of the questions investigated the interviewees' behaviour when witnessing an offensive naming or treatment of an Indigenous person. The last question explored whether the interviewees found the poll educational. The survey was open to the public for one month, starting on 24 May 2023 and ending on 23 June 2023. After that, the results were wrapped up.

Upon completion and careful survey analysis, these are the findings. The predicted survey length was eleven minutes, 10% longer than the estimated time, i.e., ten minutes. The sample was aimed at 300 participants and counted 306 answerers. Namely, the number

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of distributed surveys is 622, of which 316 were bounced. Most incomplete surveys, i.e., 235, were dropped at the Welcome Note/Instructions. That signals the unease about the topic. Some challenging questions with more than ten unsuccessful attempts were Q1 – thirty-two, Q6 – twenty-four, Q7 – fourteen, and Q17 – eleven.

The explanations from the respondents who failed to complete the questionnaire can be summarized as follows: they confessed insufficient knowledge of Indigenous matters, apathy, and detachment from the terminology in English.

The interviewees were defined as Serbian citizens, dual citizenship holders if one national status is Serbian, Serbian residents, members of Serbian ethnicity, those who study (studied), work(ed) in Serbia, and those exposed to popular culture and literature sources.

The survey participants reside in Serbia (63.5%), Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, France, Germany, Brazil, Bulgaria, Austria, the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and the USA. One person preferred not to answer the question. In the main, talking about the place of residence yielded the expected transparent answers.

The interviewees were between under eighteen years old and over sixty-five years old. Interestingly, no answers were marked "Don't know" or "I prefer not to answer," which shows that respondents knew their age and comfortably discussed the talking point. Answerers were somewhat equally aligned age-wise, i.e., 26.1% were from forty-five to fifty-four years old, 21.6% were from thirty-five to forty-four years old, and 20.6% were from twenty-five to thirty-four years old.

The interviewees self-identified as women 59.7% and men 37.7%, whereas categories of transgender persons and two-spirited persons were marked below one percent. Among free-style responses, "a human being" and "a pansexual" were mentioned. One respondent preferred not to answer the question, but none responded with "Don't know." We conclude that the interviewees mainly felt comfortable with this identity question, since options "I prefer not to answer" and "other (Please specify.)" contributed to it.

The education level seemed more challenging. Namely, 1% of respondents opted for the "I prefer not to answer" response, while no interviewee chose the "Don't know" answer. However, among 2.6% of free-style reactions, university professors, "employed" persons, and "residents" were counted. However, being "a resident" refers to immigration status. The confusion might have arisen from the language barrier, i.e., unfamiliarity with the English lexis, despite interviewees' intentions to declare themselves as, we guess, "retired persons." In addition, being "employed" refers to an employment status, not the education level. The findings are that most survey takers have at least an undergraduate degree, 20.2%, with the majority having a Master's degree, 37.5%, and 24.4% either holding a Ph.D. or obtaining it.

Regarding their ethnic and cultural origin, no interviewee has chosen the "Don't know" response. Most interviewees declared themselves of Serbian ethnicity 79.5%, while Montenegrin (and also "Crnogorac"), Hungarian, Finno-Ugric, German, Bosnian, and duality of Serbian and Palestinian origins were mentioned. The "I prefer not to answer" option was also selected (1%). More than once, the interviewees have chosen three or even four answers as correct. We outline that, in general, respondents identified themselves regarding their ethnicities. Nostalgically, the "Yugoslavian" choice was preferred in 7.5% of answers.

Survey takers agreed, strongly agreed, and somewhat agreed about knowing who a person of colour is, e.g., 87.6%. Nevertheless, 90.8% of interviewees had met a person of

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colour. Moreover, 2.6% of interviewees did not know whether the meeting had happened, and 2.4% wanted to avoid discussing the topic.

Similarly, 89.5% of the interviewees thought they knew, at least to some degree, who an Indigenous person was, while 10.5% were unsure or uncomfortable talking about it. Conversely, 42.2% of the respondents had yet to meet an Indigenous person, 16.7% had no knowledge about it, and 2.6% did not find the question appealing.

Mixed-blooded, i.e., a dual heritage/mixed race concept, was fully or somewhat familiar to 68% of interviewees, while in contrast, 32% of the respondents were unfamiliar or uncomfortable with the notion.

Furthermore, the encouraging survey data reveal that 61.2% of interviewees had read book(s) on Indigenous themes, and 45.6% had read book(s) written by Indigenous authors. Regarding celebrities who claim to have Native American origins, the respondents were pretty undecided. In other words, 41.3% recognized famous people of Indigenous roots, while 41% were aware of the superstar’s status. The survey takers were more familiar with Indigenous roles, 44.2%, in movies and book-film adaptations than cartoon characters, 20.9%, even though some interviewees were knowledgeable about both categories, 22.6%.

Survey takers’ opinions were divided regarding naming the first inhabitants of North America. According to 28.3% of interviewees, the most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population is Native Americans (recommended in the USA). American Indians, another good naming option by USA standards, was chosen by 11.7% of respondents. Native Peoples got 24.1% of the votes, and Native People got 3.3%. No answerer selected Aboriginal Peoples, while under 1% of the interviewees chose Aboriginal People. Indigenous People and Indigenous Peoples seemed similarly appealing to the interviewees, with 5.5% and 6.8% of votes, respectively.

However, only the term Indigenous Peoples is endorsed in official Canadian terminology. The concern is that the inappropriate wording “Indians” received 6.8% of votes. Modern rhetoric advocates, under no circumstances, the epithet or “savage” that was put in the option “Other. Please specify.” The coined “Indigenous American” was also noted. It is worth mentioning that 9.4% of the interviewees did not know the answer, and 2% were not eager to talk about the subject.

The next question (Q16) explored whether the interviewees could fathom the logic behind the wording Indigenous Peoples, which more than half, 53.4% of them, guessed correctly. However, 30% of the answerers struggled with the question. An interviewee even confessed in the excessive explanation that they did not linguistically differentiate the terms.

Question 17 was particularly challenging and the most demanding of all. In other words, 51% of respondents did not know how to choose one correct answer or recognize seven false others about statistics, e.g., continents and countries populated by Indigenous Peoples, the number of Indigenous nations, the estimated range of Indigenous population worldwide, the growth of autochthonous people, and the proper use of specific terminology, e.g., “Indigenous Peoples” vs. “genius people.” On top of it, 8.2% of interviewees preferred not to answer the question. On a positive note, 23.2% of answerers responded well. We draw the conclusion that the survey takers were somewhat confused or insufficiently knowledgeable regarding Indigenous terminology and statistics.

When characterizing a person in a joke-like, yet offensive, manner for supposedly being an “Indian,” most respondents, i.e., 53.9%, declared they would not take any actions. Differently, 24.8% would voice their concerns. More than ten percent of interviewees, i.e.,

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10.5%, had never heard such a term, while others either did not know what they would have done in a similar situation or preferred not to discuss the topic. Interestingly, 4.6% of survey takers imagined themselves as "Indians."

Interviewees mainly supported, i.e., 42.2%, the new name of the American football team, Washington Commanders, instead of the "Redskins." Still, a significant number, i.e., 28.1.% neither agreed nor disagreed with the decision. In total, 8.2% were against renaming to some degree.

In the main, 51.3% of respondents knew that Indigenous Peoples no longer live in tepees and longhouses. Still, 15.2% of interviewees did not declare themselves. The statement that "Indigenous Peoples live only on reservations/reserves" seemed demanding in such a way that opinions were divided. Yet, only 13.7% of respondents strongly disagreed with the observation.

Moreover, 62% of the interviewees were familiar with the involvement of Indigenous Peoples in powwows; again, some preferred not to respond, i.e., 12.4%. A significant number of respondents, i.e., 70.6%, knew about the overall eco-conscious attitude of Indigenous Peoples. Stereotypes like "vanishing Indians," "noble savages," and "Indian princesses" were relatively known to survey takers. However, interviewees falsely thought the Indigenous population was disappearing, i.e., 62.7%. The worrying data show that fitting into the stereotypical opinion mode, 30.6% of respondents were of the opinion that Indigenous Peoples were "noble savages." In comparison, 10.5% of the survey takers did not want to discuss it, and 24.4% had no point of view. Similarly, the majority of answerers neither agreed nor disagreed about whether Indigenous women were like "Indian princesses." In favour of the claim, 27.1% spoke and against it, 24.5%.

Precisely 35.9% of respondents did not express themselves regarding International Indigenous Day. Still, 41.9% showed some familiarity with that notion.

Overall, the health concerns of Indigenous Peoples interested the interviewees, although 10.8% did not express their opinions, and 16% took no stance on the matter. The fame about "Indigenous addiction" left 13.4% of answerers without picking a side, even though interviewees mainly agreed with the stereotype, i.e., 53.9%.

Regarding the controversy of whether Indigenous Peoples are taxpayers, 33.7% of interviewees did not take the side, whereas 12.7% preferred not to choose the answer. However, respondents, i.e., 36.2%, mainly agreed with the statement that Indigenous Peoples do not pay taxes in Canada and the USA.

The question about tuition payment at Canadian and US colleges and universities was also not appealing, with aligned answers: 32.7% without a selected response and 13.4% choosing not to answer. However, 33.6% of responses were pro-choice.

Supposedly, Indigenous Peoples' advocating the casino gaming industry is known to 45.4% of survey takers, while 21.2% had no opinion and 13.7% did not speak about that.

In addition, 43.2% of respondents thought Indigenous Peoples promoted smoking, whereas 32.9% disagreed. Indigenous Peoples' practicing magic was of no interest to 29.4% of respondents. The rest mainly answered negatively, 36.5%.

The supposed sale of Manhattan Island for \$24 occurred, judging by the responses of 40.1% of interviewees, while 32.6% had no opinion about the founding myth.

According to 51.7% of respondents, Indigenous Peoples are identifiable by their physical appearances and by their traditional clothes, although 48.3% of interviewees expected Indigenous Peoples to wear them.

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Survey takers mainly believed that Indigenous Peoples' skin colour was red, i.e., 43.2%, which seemed consistent with the number of interviewees who claimed that they had not met an Indigenous person, i.e., 42.2% (Q 9). We deduce that the respondents did not know what the Indigenous Peoples looked like.

The racialized epithet "squaw" is inadequate, according to 53% of respondents. Besides, 17% had no opinion, and 19.9% opted for the "no answer" alternative. On a positive note, 63.1% of interviewees agreed that Indigenous women and girls were abused, and 58.5% were aware of the mistreatment of the Indigenous population.

What is more, 68.6% of respondents knew that Indigenous Peoples had experienced cultural genocide. Interviewees relatively knew the data about residential schools 44.2%. On the other hand, 35.9% of interviewees did not state their opinions.

The official apology by the Catholic Church for the maltreatment of Indigenous Peoples arrived late, judged by 72.8% of interviewees.

Indigenous relation to the land was recognized by 57.9% of survey takers. Still, 25.5% of answers were undecided. Likewise, the Indigenous perception of time was comprehensible to 63.4% of interviewees, although 12.6% did not find the question intriguing, and 21.6% had no voice.

Question 47 gave respondents the freedom to choose the opposites. The reasoning behind it is not categorizing and generalizing concepts nationwide, but providing options to voice opinions. Above all, the open-ended answer offered liberty for the wording of choice. Among those answers, "genocide" dominated as an association with Indigenous Peoples. Other mentioned notions were "courage," "freedom," "marginalization," "colonial," "free spirit," "hunting," "(a) typical costume," an extensive explanation for reasoning on the "woke side," etc. We aim to speak up and raise awareness about the broad mechanisms of social inequalities in the modern world. Among the listed takeaways that refer to the Indigenous world are Western movies, "a dream catcher" won, followed by "smoke signals," "wigwams," "smoking a pipe," "the scalp," "unity with nature," "residential schools," "warbonnets/headaddresses," "spirituality," "Manitou - a Great Spirit," "legends," "war," etc.

The encouraging point is that although 40.4% of the interviewees thought they knew enough about Indigenous Peoples of North America, 41.6% of respondents believed their knowledge needed to be upgraded. We see our missionary role partly accomplished, knowing that 82.5% of the test takers would like to read books about Indigenous Peoples. Yet, we are cautious while hoping that will happen. Upon summing up the answers to the final question, we were awarded that 84.3% of interviewees had learned something from the survey. Hopefully, some notions will intrigue the respondents as they research further.

Below is an analysis that examines which questions were good predictors of belief in stereotypes. The value in the "Yes" and "No" columns is the mean of each sample's response to the question in that row. The answers were scaled from 1 to -1, where 1 (one) represents "Strongly Agree" and -1 (minus one) stands for "Strongly Disagree." Bolded responses denote the sample with a lower belief in stereotypes. The following scaling was used to transform the answers into a numerical scale for statistical analysis.

Q10 ¹⁶⁴ Have you ever met an Indigenous person?	Yes (n=118)	No (n=129)	T-test
Q21 Indigenous peoples live only on reservations/ reserves.	-0.197	-0.017	t(245)=2.63, p < 0.01
Q24 Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.”	0.250	0.256	t(245)=0.12, p < 0.9
Q25 Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.”	-0.212	-0.083	t(245)=1.93, p < 0.06
Q26 Indigenous women are “Indian princesses.”	-0.114	-0.021	t(245)=1.57, p < 0.12
Q36 All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin, straight black hair, a so-called aquiline, hook-like/ eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge, etc.	-0.117	0.047	t(245)=2.43, p < 0.02
Q38 The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red.	-0.144	-0.064	t(245)=1.21, p < 0.23

Answers	Points
I strongly agree.	1
I agree.	0.5
I somewhat agree.	0.25
I neither agree nor disagree.	0
I somewhat disagree.	-0.25
I disagree.	-0.5
I strongly disagree.	-1
I prefer not to answer.	0

Three referencing questions were chosen: Q10, “Have you ever met an Indigenous person?” Q11 “Have you ever read any books on Indigenous themes?” and Q15 “What is the most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population?” The sample was divided into two: Questions 10 and 11 were based on the participants’ experience, whereas question 15 was based on the respondents’ knowledge.

Participants who have met an Indigenous person show a lower belief in stereotypes across all questions, especially in Q21, Q25, and Q36. Three questions, i.e., Q24, Q26, and Q38, have a high *p-value*¹⁶⁵, indicating low confidence in statistically notable results.

¹⁶⁴ “Q” stands for “question.”

¹⁶⁵ P-value is a null hypothesis, i.e., an assumption of no effect/no difference probability. In other words, it measures the likelihood of the observation happening by chance.

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Q11 Have you ever read any books on Indigenous themes?	Yes (n=186)	No (n=99)	T-test
Q21 Indigenous peoples live only on reservations/reserves.	0.013	-0.210	t(283)=3.59, p < 0.001
Q24 Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.”	0.309	0.167	t(283)=3.14, p < 0.001
Q25 Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.”	-0.046	-0.250	t(283)=3.41, p < 0.002
Q26 Indigenous women are “Indian princesses.”	-0.047	-0.091	t(283)=0.82, p < 0.4
Q36 All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin, straight black hair, a so-called aquiline, hook-like/eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge, etc.	0.048	-0.101	t(283)=2.37, p < 0.02
Q38 The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red.	0.007	-0.220	t(283)=3.58, p < 0.0003

Interestingly, the participants who had not read books on Indigenous themes believed less in stereotypes. Such a result might be because of the predominant exposure to mainstream literary sources. Only one question (Q26) had a statistically insignificant outcome.

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Q15 What is the most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population?	Yes (n=145)	No (n=125)	T-test
Q21 Indigenous peoples live only on reservations/reserves.	-0.121	0.026	t(268)=2.29, p < 0.02
Q24 Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.”	0.210	0.332	t(268)=2.81, p < 0.01
Q25 Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.”	-0.198	0.026	t(268)=3.62, p < 0.0004
Q26 Indigenous women are “Indian princesses.”	-0.134	0.074	t(268)=4.01, p < 0.0001
Q36 All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin, straight black hair, a so-called aquiline, hook-like/eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge, etc.	-0.121	0.134	t(268)=4.14, p < 0.0001
Q38 The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red.	-0.176	0.066	t(268)=4.002, p < 0.0001

The answerers who knew the most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population showed a lower belief in stereotypes and had the most statistically impactful results across all questions. Out of the three referencing questions, this one had the most decisive statistical significance, which is to be expected from a knowledge-based question, unlike the other empirical referencing questions.

The fourth potential referencing question, Q12: “Have you ever read any book written by Indigenous authors?” was included in the analysis as a controlling tool. The aim was to investigate stereotypical beliefs regarding similarities and differences among respondents who had read the book on Indigenous themes compared to books written by Indigenous authors.

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Q12 Have you ever read any book written by Indigenous authors?	Yes (n=139)	No (n=110)	T-test
Q21 Indigenous peoples live only on reservations/reserves.	-0.023	-0.030	t(247)=0.09, p < 0.9
Q24 Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.”	0.273	0.239	t(247)=0.76, p < 0.5
Q25 Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.”	-0.104	-0.080	t(247)=0.38, p < 0.7
Q26 Indigenous women are “Indian princesses.”	-0.049	-0.018	t(247)=0.52, p < 0.6
Q36 All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin, straight black hair, a so-called aquiline, hook-like/eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge, etc.	0.041	0.048	t(247)=0.1, p < 0.9
Q38 The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red.	-0.025	-0.075	t(247)=0.75, p < 0.5

In this case, owing to a high *p-value*, there is likely no statistical difference pertaining to samples. No significant discrepancies were made between those respondents who read the books written by Indigenous authors and interviewees who did not have such experiences. A possible explanation might be a lack of interest in Indigenous topics.

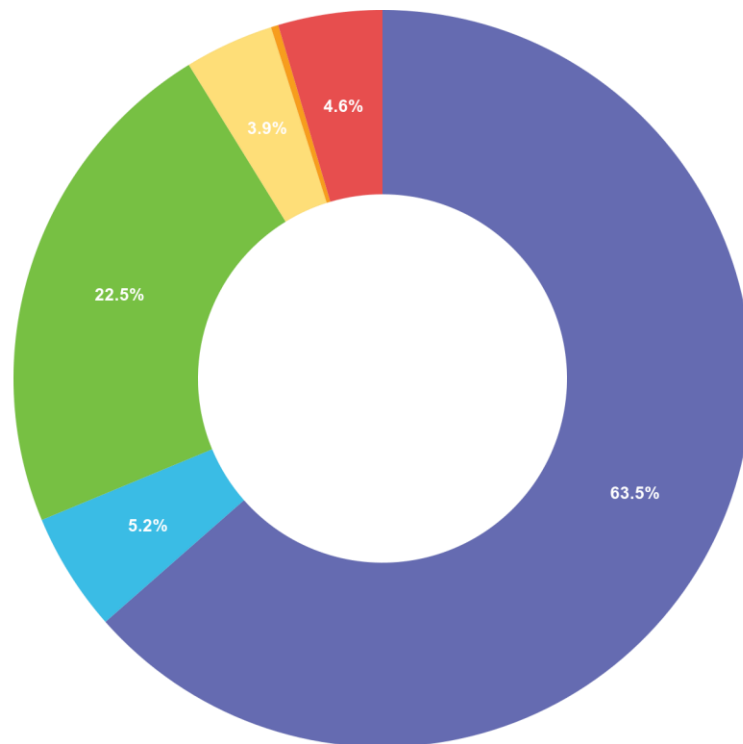
To conclude, statistically relevant results did confirm that respondents were biased concerning Indigenous matters.

These are the answers to the questions.

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q1: What is the place of your permanent residence? * **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



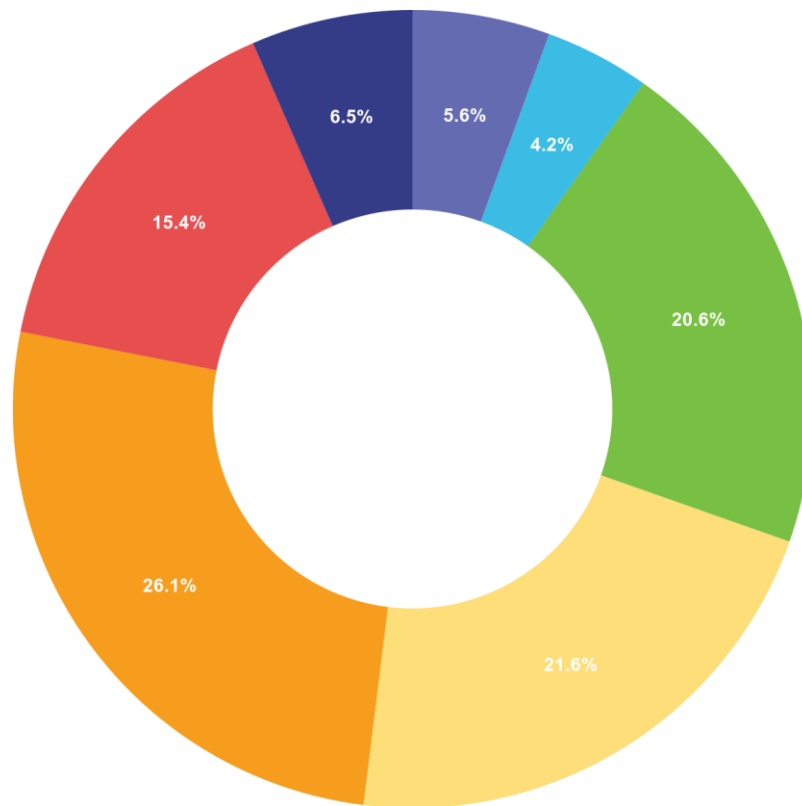
	Choice	Totals
•	Serbia	195
•	an ex-Yugoslavian republic, now an independent country	16
•	Canada	69
•	the USA	12
•	I prefer not to answer.	1
•	other (Please specify.)	14

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q2: What is your age? * Multiple Choice: Please choose only one option.



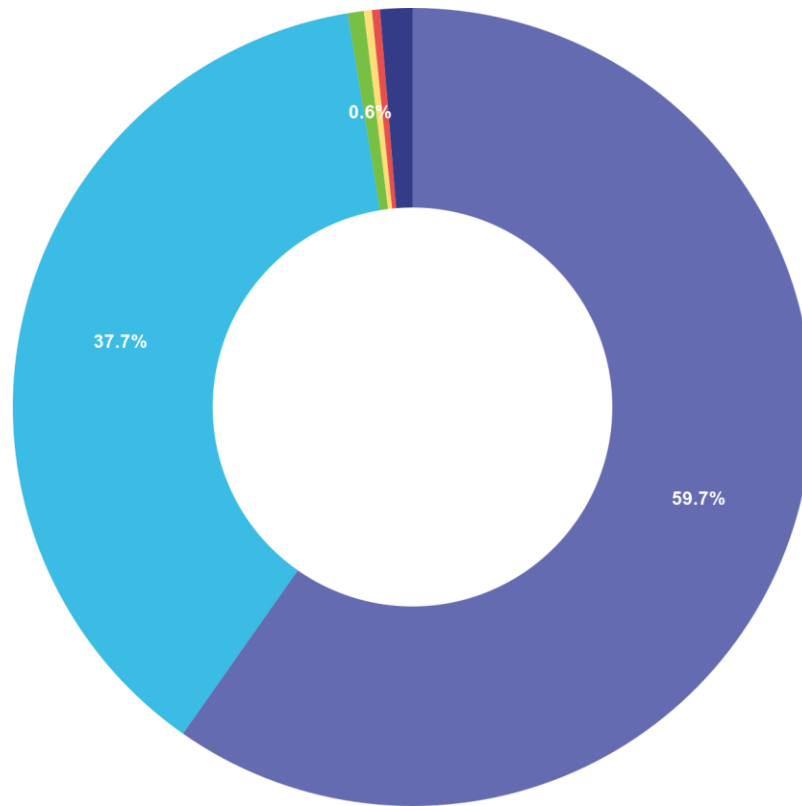
Choice	Totals
• under 18 years old	17
• 18 - 24 years old	13
• 25 - 34 years old	63
• 35 - 44 years old	66
• 45 - 54 years old	80
• 55 - 64 years old	47
• over 65 years old	20
• DK	0
• I prefer not to answer.	0

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q3: Do you self-identify as?* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



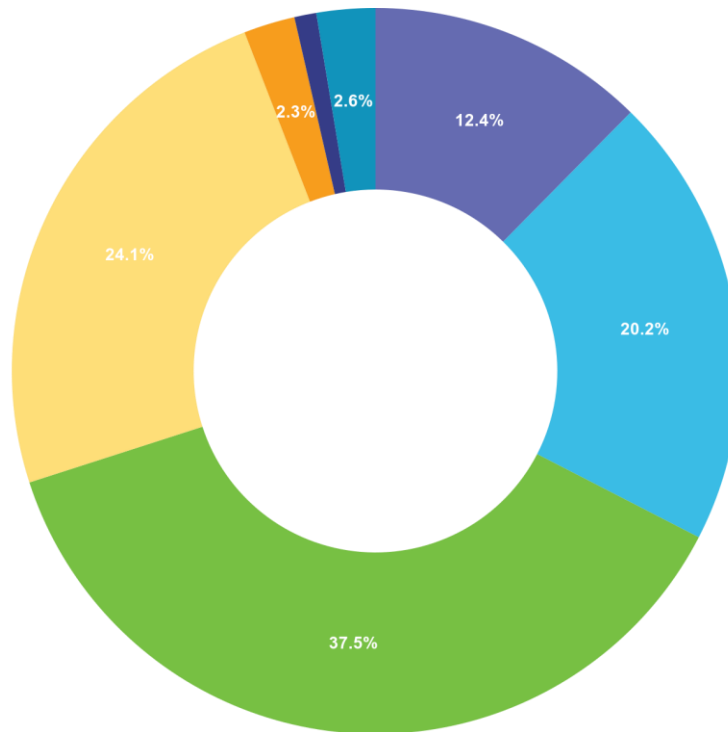
Choice	Totals
a woman	184
a man	116
a transgender person	2
a two-spirited person	1
DK	0
I prefer not to answer.	1
other (Please specify.)	4

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q4: What is your status? * Multiple Choice: Please choose only one option.



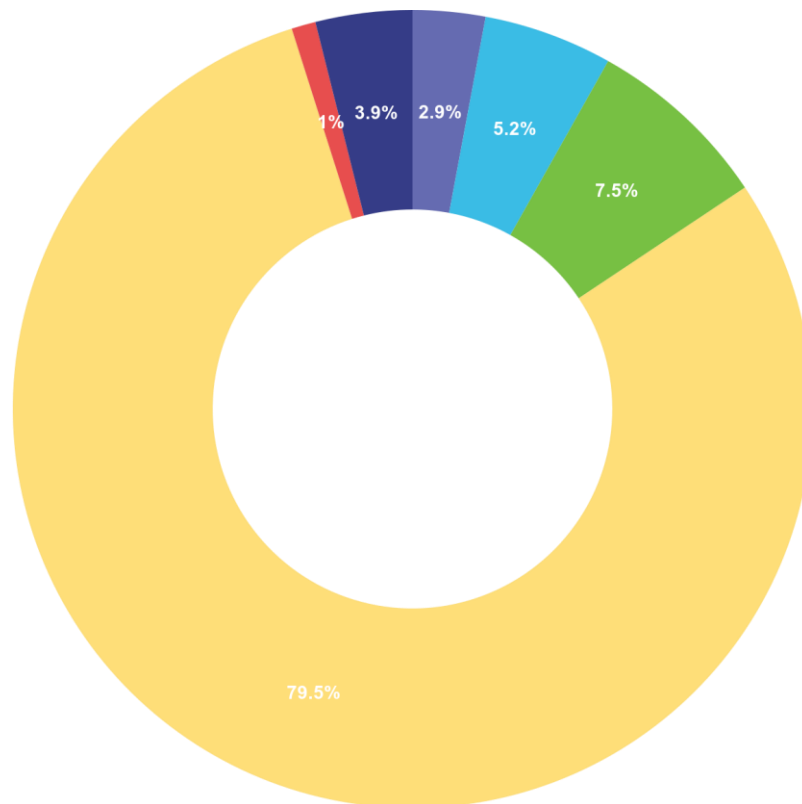
Choice	Totals
a primary/secondary/high-school student/a high-school graduate	38
a university/college student/I have an undergraduate degree.	62
a master’s degree student/I have a master’s degree.	115
a Ph.D. student/I have a Ph.D.	74
I am obtaining a professional licence/designation.	7
DK	0
I prefer not to answer.	3
other (Please specify.)	8

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q5: What is your ethnic or cultural origin? * Multiple Choice: Please choose only one option.



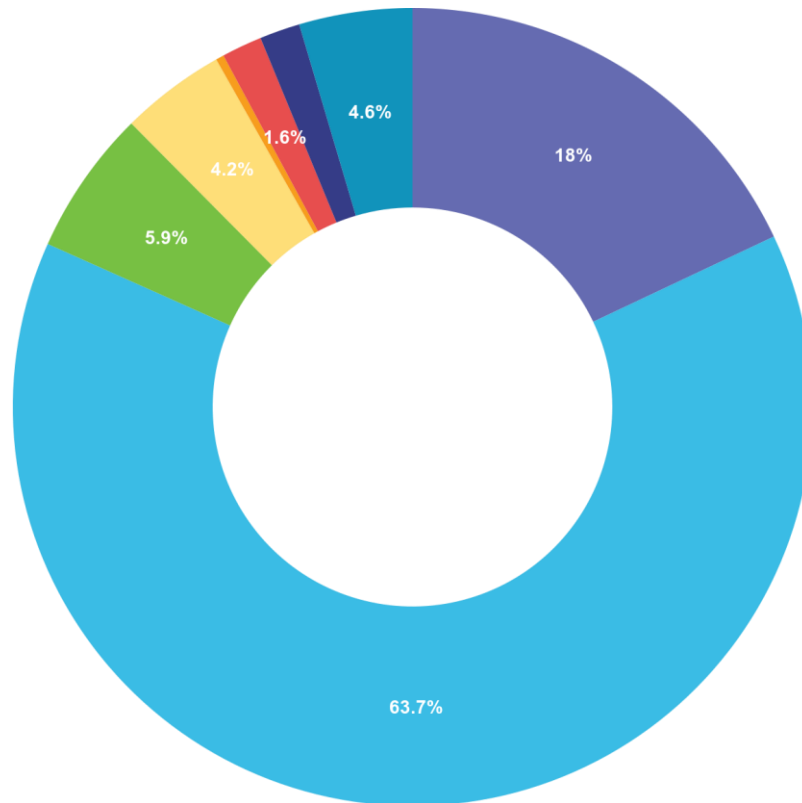
Choice	Totals
• Caucasian	9
• Slavic	16
• Yugoslavian	23
• Serbian	244
• DK	0
• I prefer not to answer.	3
• other (Please specify.)	12

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q6: I understand who a person of colour is.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



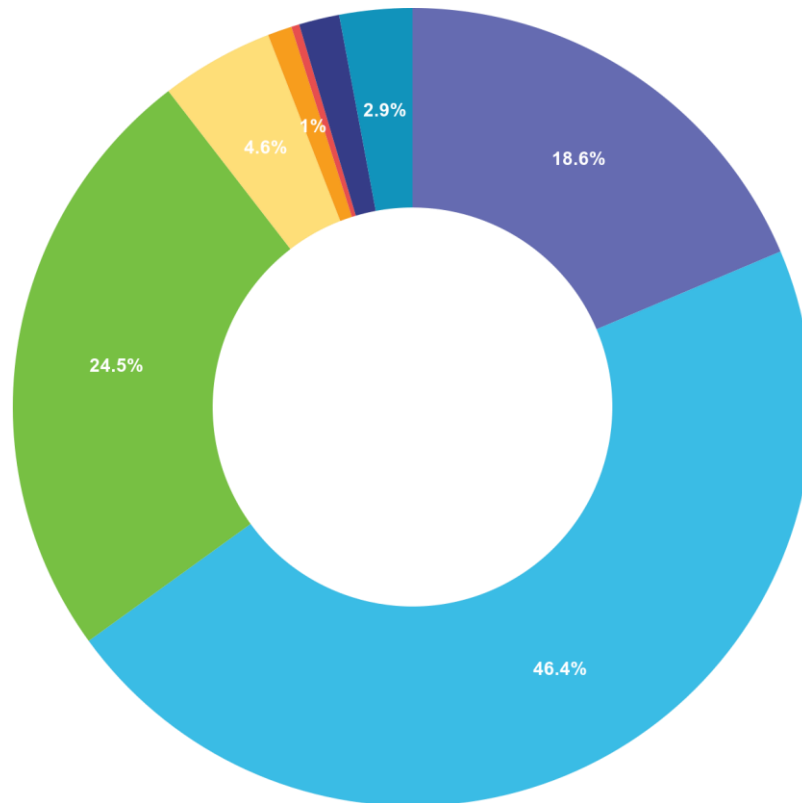
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	55
I agree.	195
I somewhat agree.	18
I neither agree nor disagree.	13
I somewhat disagree.	1
I disagree.	5
I strongly disagree.	5
I prefer not to answer.	14

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q7: I understand who an Indigenous person, e.g., a Native American, an Indian American, or a member of a First Nations, Métis or Inuit community is. * **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



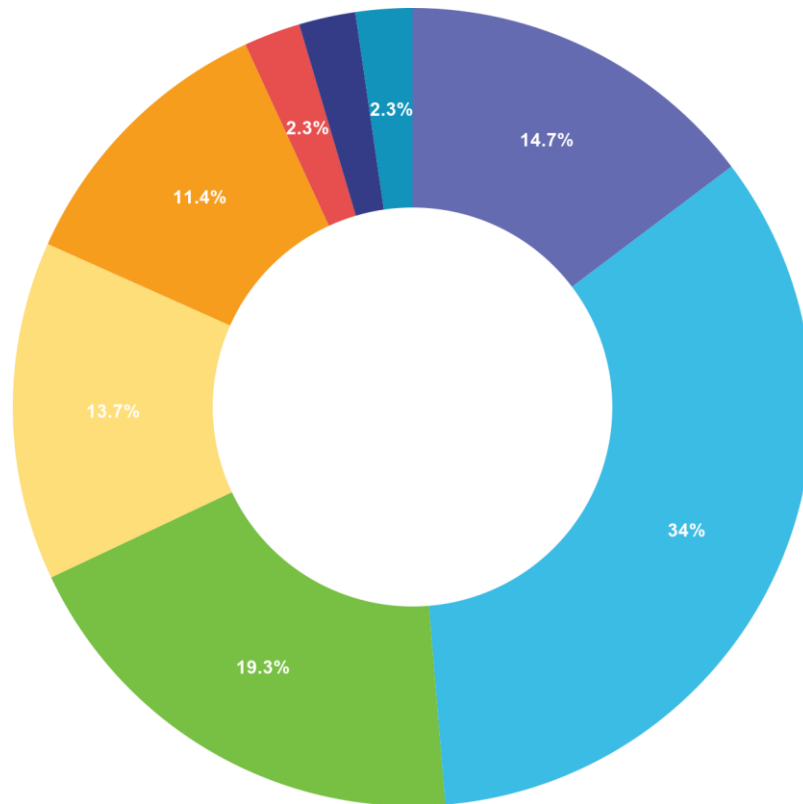
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	57
• I agree.	142
• I somewhat agree.	75
• I neither agree nor disagree.	14
• I somewhat disagree.	3
• I disagree.	1
• I strongly disagree.	5
• I prefer not to answer.	9

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q8: I understand who a mixed-blood person, e.g., a dual heritage/mixed race descendant, e.g., a mestizo or Amerindian, is.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



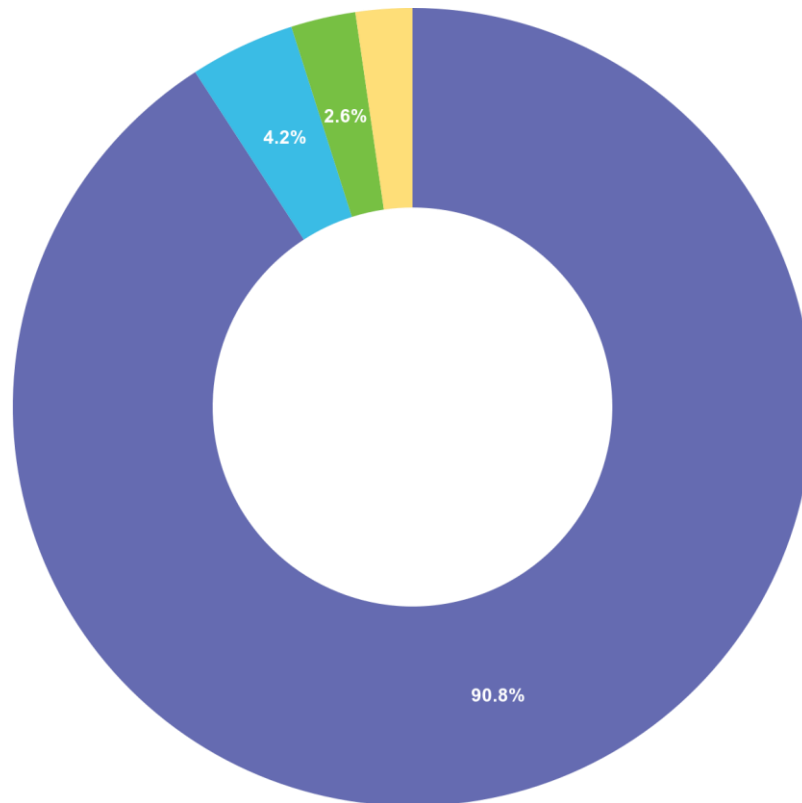
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	45
I agree.	104
I somewhat agree.	59
I neither agree nor disagree.	42
I somewhat disagree.	35
I disagree.	7
I strongly disagree.	7
I prefer not to answer.	7

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q9: Have you ever met a person of colour? * Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



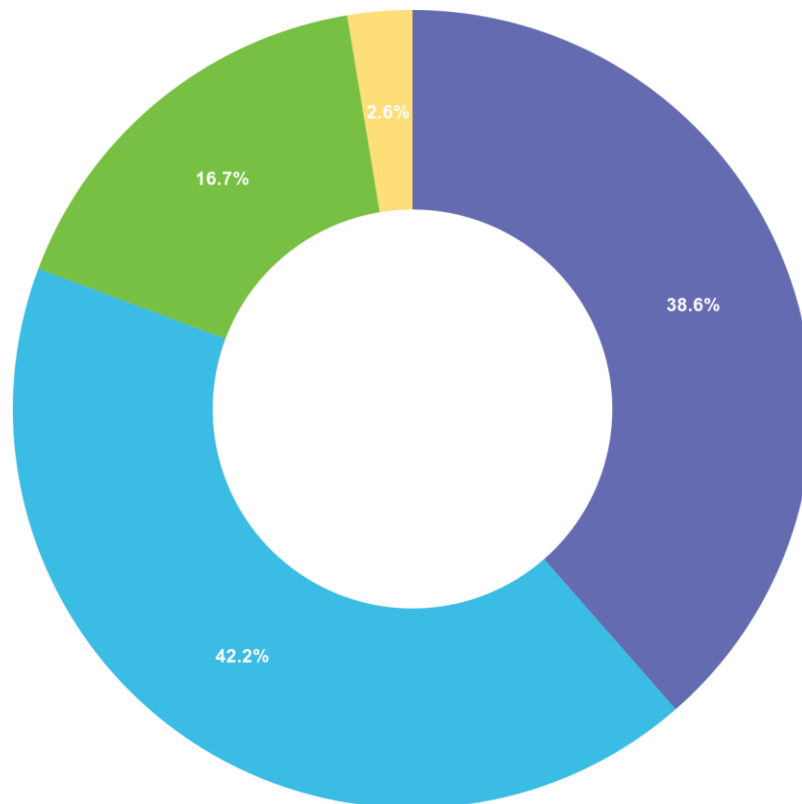
	Choice	Totals
•	Yes, I have.	278
•	No, I have not.	13
•	DK	8
•	I prefer not to answer.	7

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q10: Have you ever met an Indigenous person? * Multiple Choice: Please choose only one option.



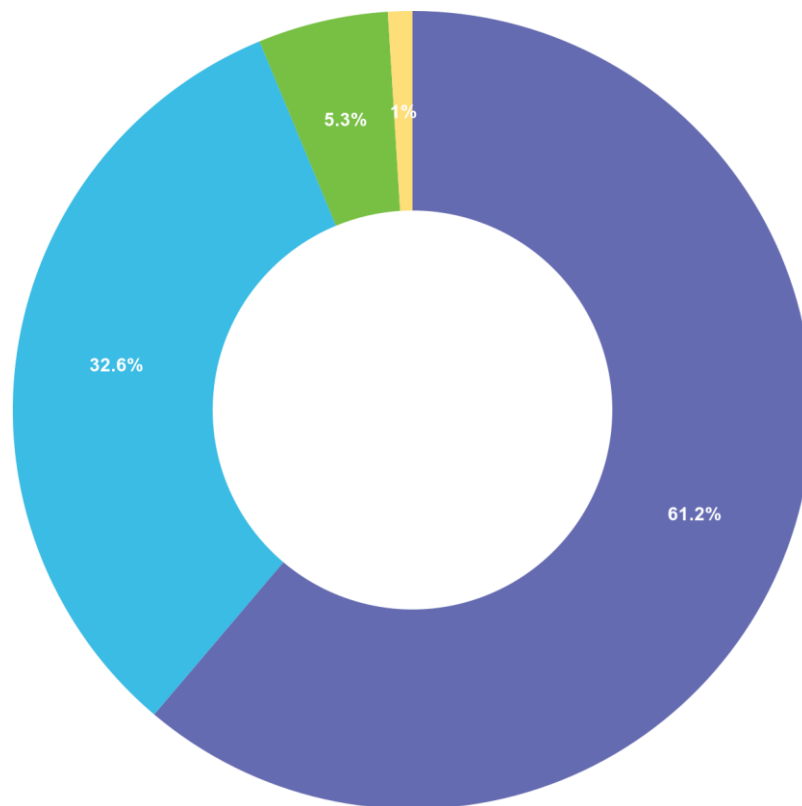
Choice	Totals
• Yes, I have.	118
• No, I have not.	129
• DK	51
• I prefer not to answer.	8

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q11: Have you ever read any books on Indigenous themes? **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



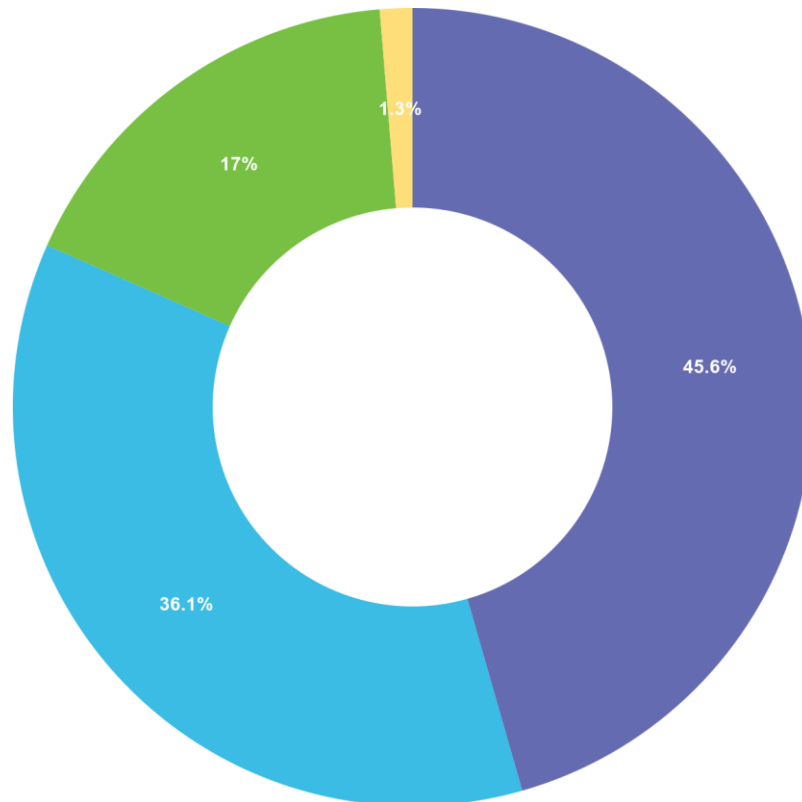
Choice	Totals
• Yes, I have.	186
• No, I have not.	99
• DK	16
• I prefer not to answer.	3

Responses 306 **Answered** 304 **Unanswered** 2

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q12: Have you ever read any book written by Indigenous authors (regardless of the genre, i.e., action, adventure, fantasy, comic book, graphic novel, historical fiction, literary fiction, science-fiction, biography, autobiography, thriller, romance, short story, women’s fiction, true crime, memoir, cookbook, poetry, essay, etc.)? **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



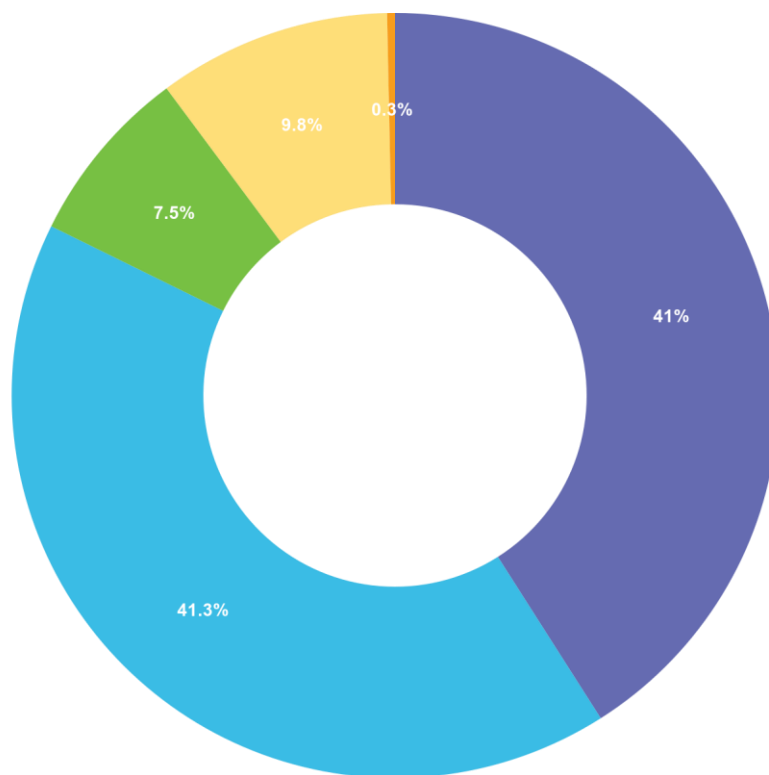
	Choice	Totals
•	Yes, I have.	139
•	No, I have not.	110
•	DK	52
•	I prefer not to answer.	4

Responses 306 **Answered** 305 **Unanswered** 1

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q13: What do Angelina Jolie (actress), Jessica Alba (actress), Megan Fox (actress), Jessica Biel (actress), Cameron Diaz (actress), Billy Bob Thornton (actor), Johnny Depp (actor), Edward Norton (actor), Chuck Norris (actor), Jason Momoa (actor), Jimi Hendrix (musician), Elvis Presley (musician), Anthony Kiedis (musician – Red Hot Chili Peppers), Miley Cyrus (musician), Cher (musician), and Tori Amos (musician) have in common? Please choose the best response. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



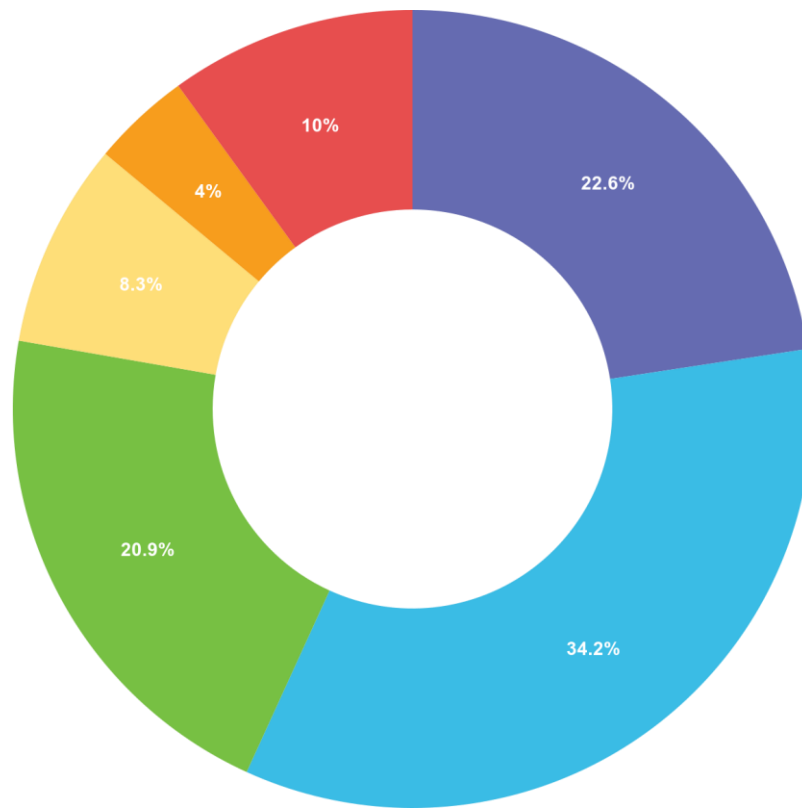
Choice	Totals
• They are celebrities.	125
• They are famous people who claim to have Native American ancestry.	126
• Nothing	23
• DK	30
• I prefer not to answer.	1

Responses 306 **Answered** 305 **Unanswered** 1

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q14: I am familiar with **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



Choice

Totals

- Cartoon characters, like Hiawatha (created up to The Song of Hiawatha by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow), Pocahontas, Kocoum (Pocahontas), Tiger Lily (Peter Pan), Elisa Maza (Gargoyles), Apache Chief (Super Friends), etc.

68

- Characters in movies and book-film adaptations, such as Chief Bromden (One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest), Tonto (and the Lonely Ranger), Chingachgook (James Fenimore Cooper’s Five Leatherstocking Tales, e.g., The Last of the Mohicans), Winnetou (Karl May’s books), Stands with a Fist (Dances with Wolves), Kicking Bird (Dances with Wolves),

Due to the glitch, some answers have been archived.

103 + 30 archived = 133 = 44.2%

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

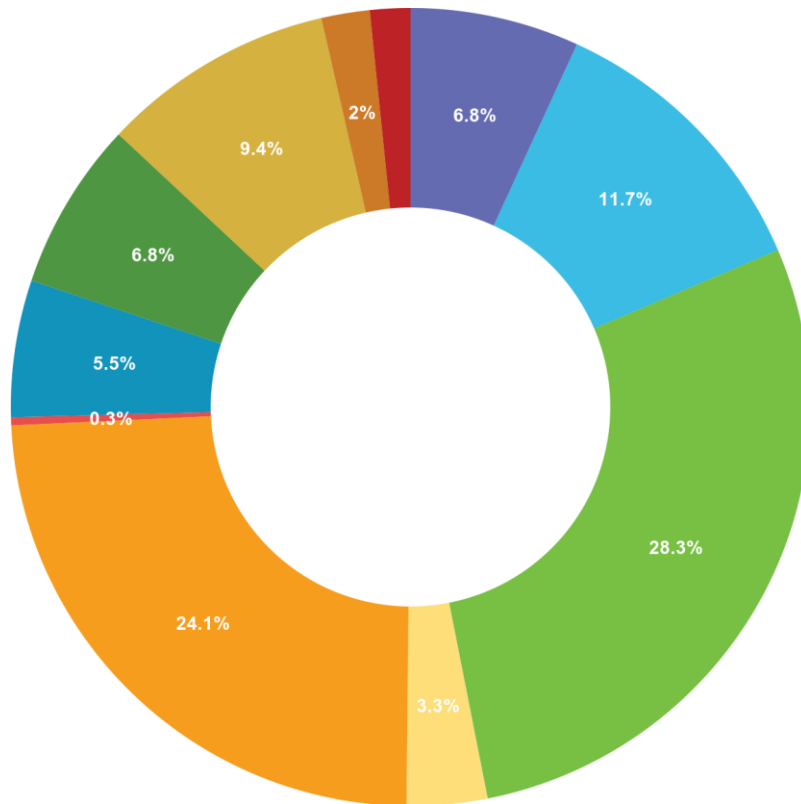
	Choice	Totals
	Wind in the Hair (Dances with Wolves), Commander Chakotay (Star Track: Voyager), etc.	
•	The above-mentioned cartoon characters and characters in movies and book-film adaptations	63
•	DK	25
•	I prefer not to answer.	12
•	(archived)	30 (counted within the blue)

Responses 306 Answered 301 Unanswered 5

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q15: The most acceptable and respectful term for the North American autochthonous population is: * **Multiple Choice:** Please choose only one option.



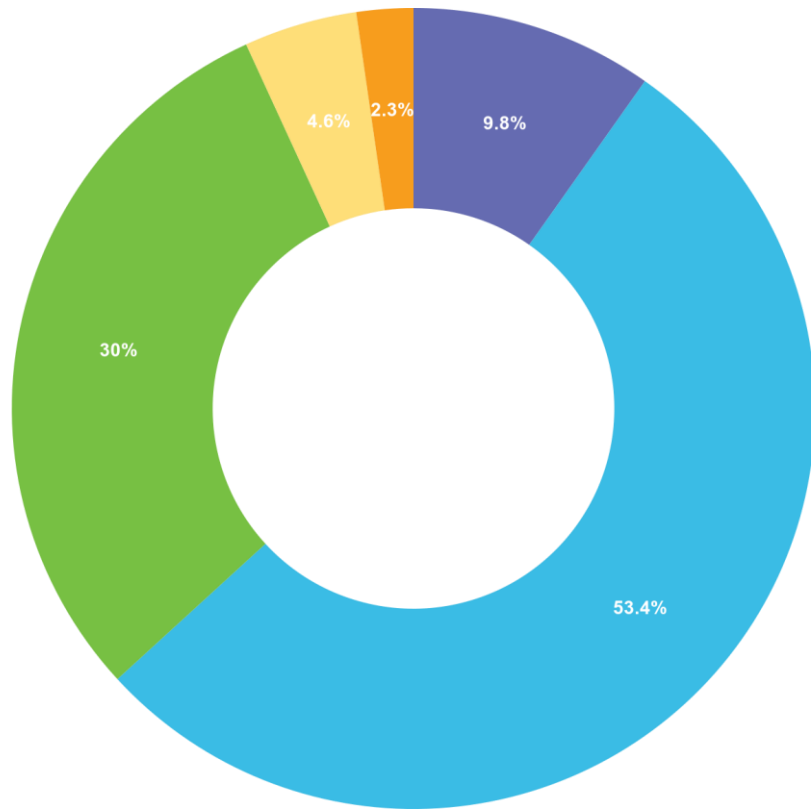
Choice	Totals
Indians	21
American Indians	36
Native Americans	87
Native People	10
Native Peoples	74
Aboriginal People	1
Aboriginal Peoples	0
Indigenous People	17
Indigenous Peoples	21
DK	29
I prefer not to answer.	6
other (Please specify.)	5

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q16: The term “Indigenous Peoples” is:
* Multiple Choice: Please choose only one option.



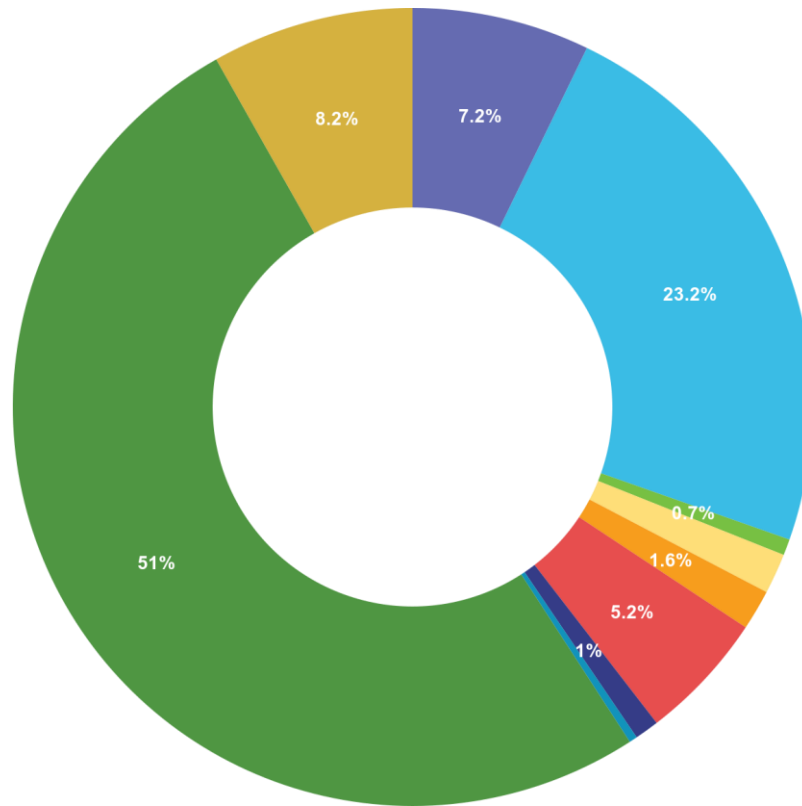
Choice	Totals
• incorrect because “people” is the plural form of “a person.” Therefore, it should be “Indigenous People.”	164
• correct because the pluralized plural form “peoples” distinguishes and emphasizes differences between ethnic communities in geographical and cultural contexts.	92
• DK	14
• I prefer not to answer.	7
• other (Please specify.)	

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q17: Please choose the best response. * Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



Choice	Totals
• Indigenous Peoples are ethnic groups non-native to colonized places.	22
• The United Nations (UN) terminology prefers a modern understanding of self-identifying instead of defining ethnic groups by outsiders.	71
• The term “Indigenous Peoples” means "genius people."	2
• Indigenous Peoples are not found in all inhabited continents.	5
• There are about 3,000 Indigenous nations in all climate zones.	5
• Indigenous Peoples live in more than 80 countries.	16

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

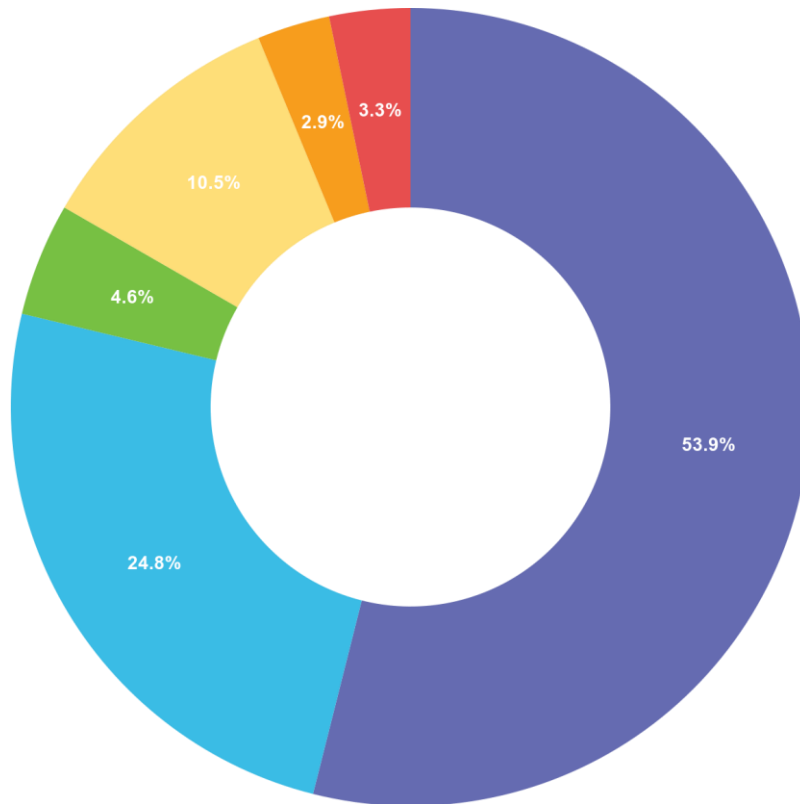
	Choice	Totals
•	The estimated range of the Indigenous population is about 1.5% of the world population, i.e., 119 million.	3
•	The Indigenous population in Canada is growing three times faster than the non-Indigenous.	1
•	DK	156
•	I prefer not to answer.	25

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q18: When someone says, “You are such an Indian!/Kakav Indijanac!”, what do you do? *
Multiple Choice” Please choose the best response.



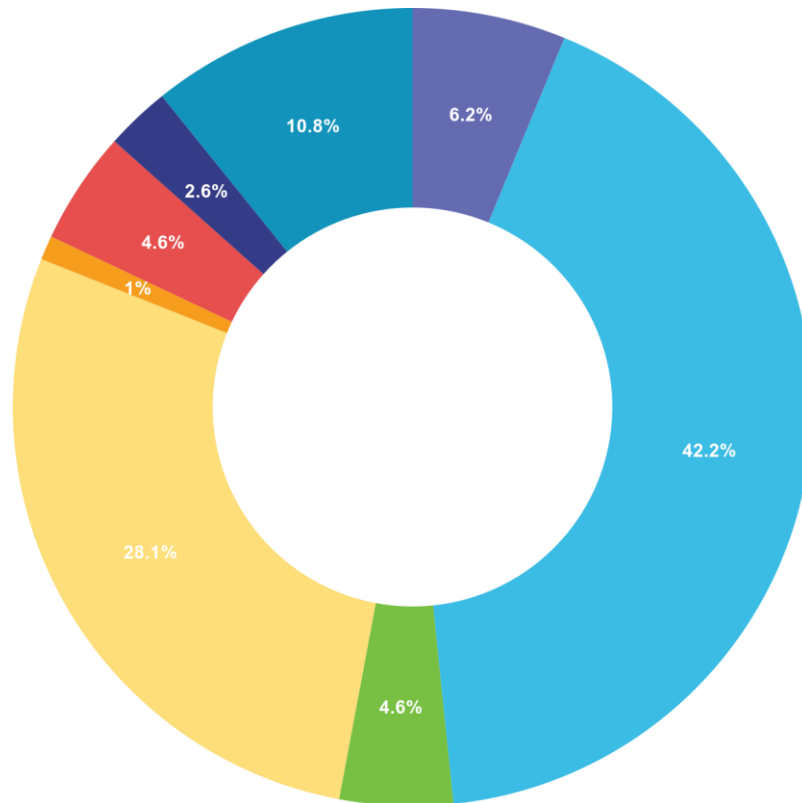
Choice	Totals
I do nothing.	165
I voice my concerns because that qualification is offensive.	76
I wish I were an Indian.	14
I have never heard that expression before.	32
DK	9
I prefer not to answer.	10

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q19: The American football team has changed its name for the better from “Redskins” to the Washington Commanders. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



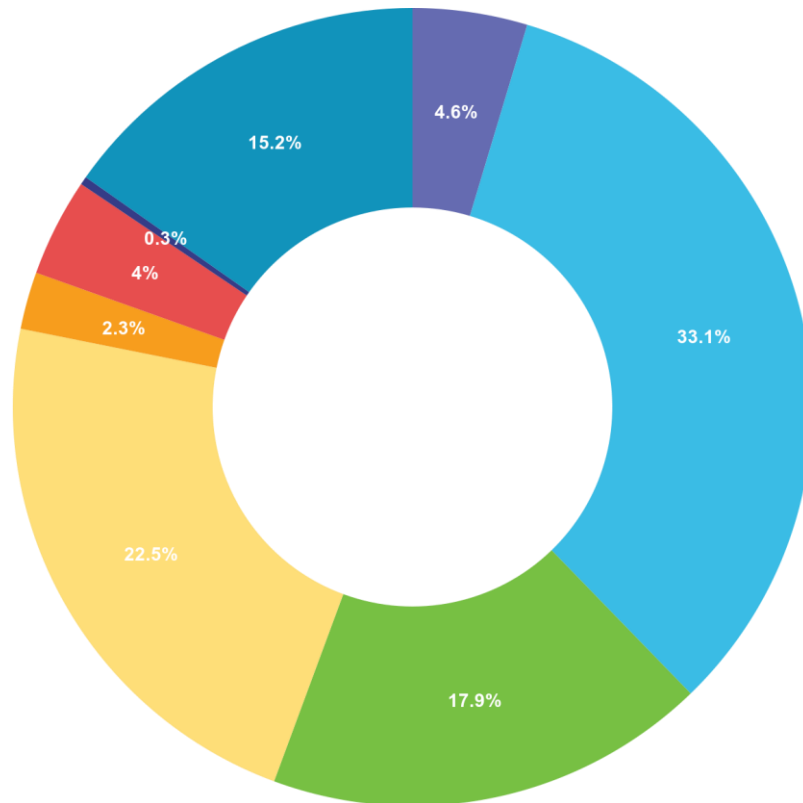
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	19
•	I agree.	129
•	I somewhat agree.	14
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	86
•	I somewhat disagree.	3
•	I disagree.	14
•	I strongly disagree.	8
•	I prefer not to answer.	33

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q20: Indigenous Peoples no longer inhabit tipis (teepees) and longhouses. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



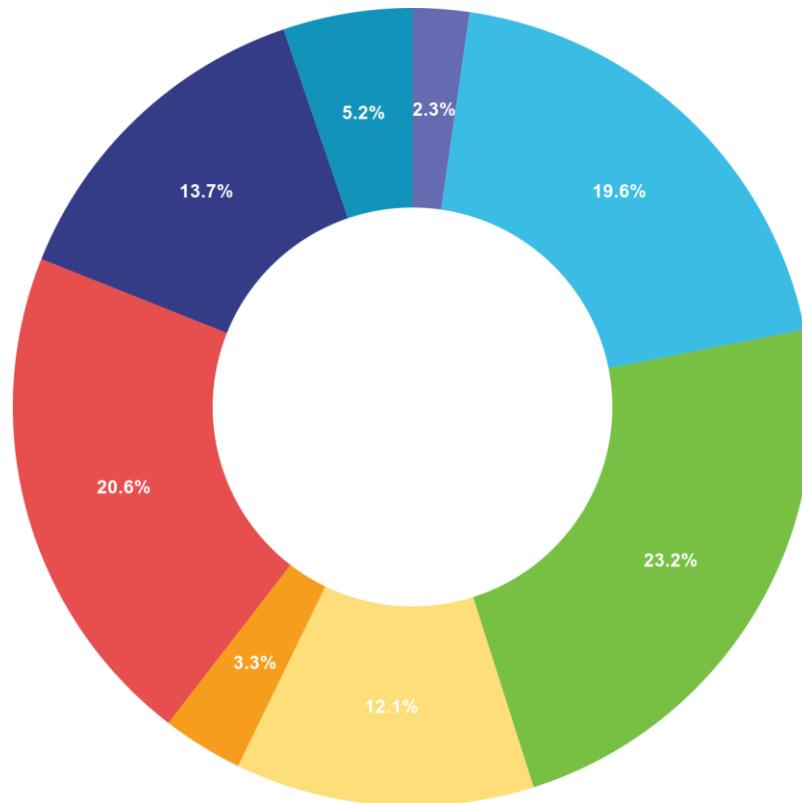
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	14
I agree.	100
I somewhat agree.	54
I neither agree nor disagree.	68
I somewhat disagree.	7
I disagree.	12
I strongly disagree.	1
I prefer not to answer.	46

Responses 306 **Answered** 302 **Unanswered** 4

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q21: Indigenous peoples live only on reservations/reserves.* Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



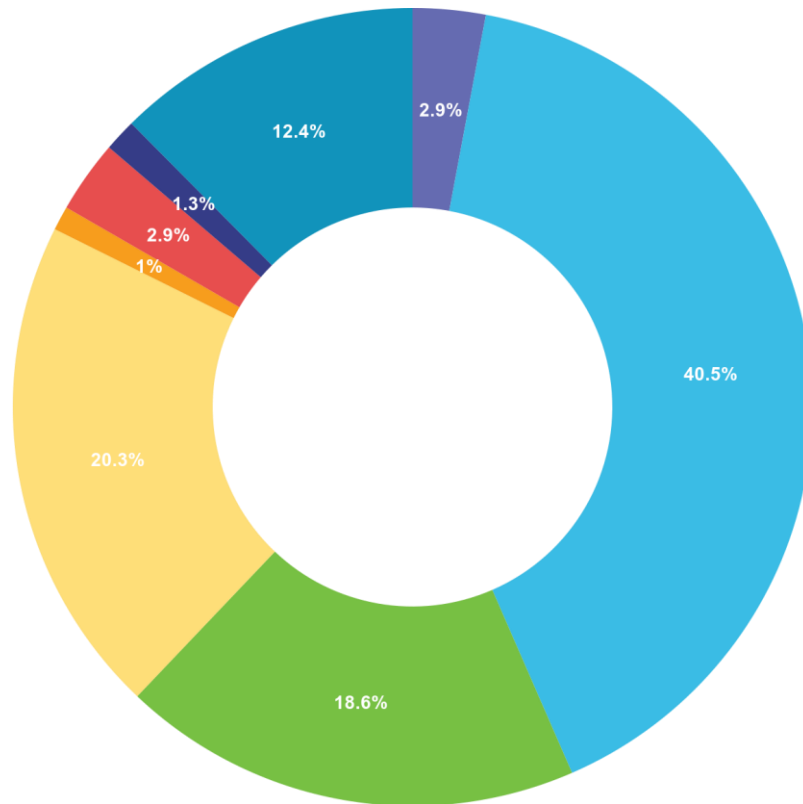
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	7
I agree.	60
I somewhat agree.	71
I neither agree nor disagree.	37
I somewhat disagree.	10
I disagree.	63
I strongly disagree.	42
I prefer not to answer.	16

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q22: Indigenous Peoples take part in healing ceremonies, i.e., powwows. * Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



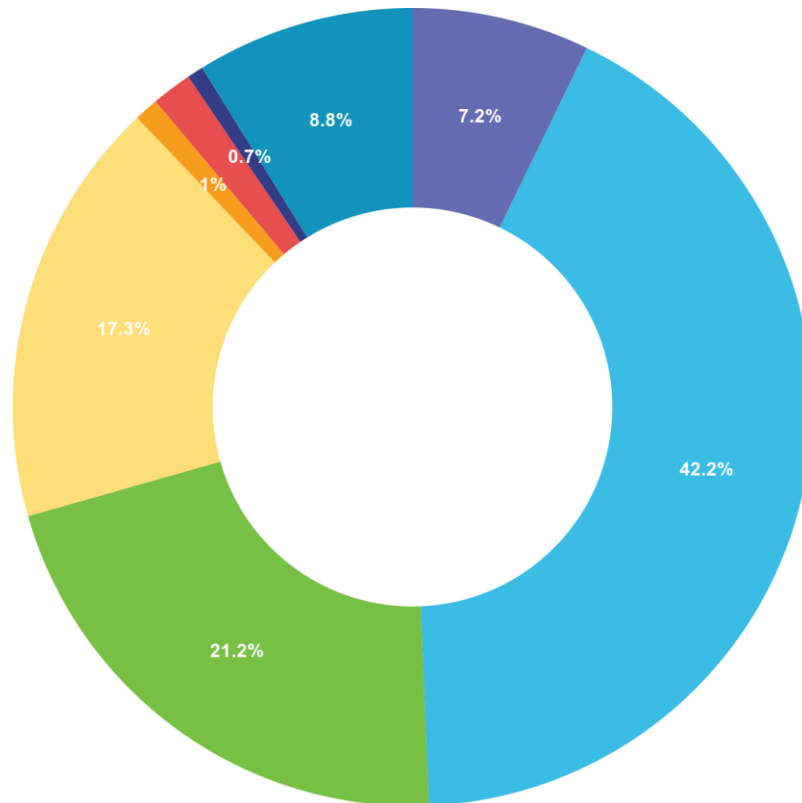
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	9
I agree.	124
I somewhat agree.	57
I neither agree nor disagree.	62
I somewhat disagree.	3
I disagree.	9
I strongly disagree.	4
I prefer not to answer.	38

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q23: Indigenous Peoples are eco-conscious.* Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	22
I agree.	129
I somewhat agree.	65
I neither agree nor disagree.	53
I somewhat disagree.	3
I disagree.	5
I strongly disagree.	2
I prefer not to answer.	27

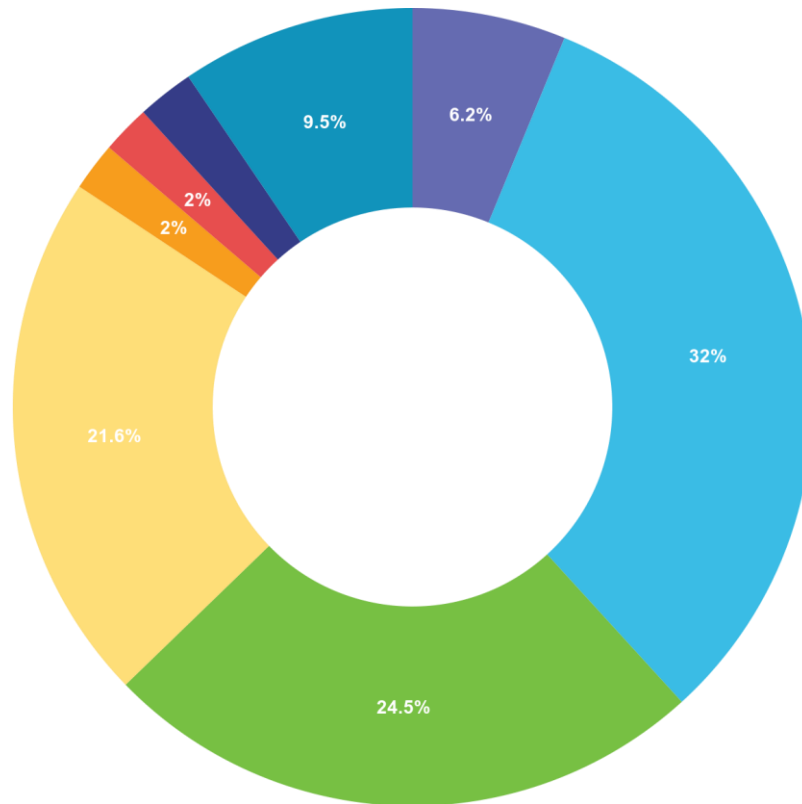
Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q24: Indigenous Peoples are on the verge of extinction, e.g., “vanishing Indians.”*

Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



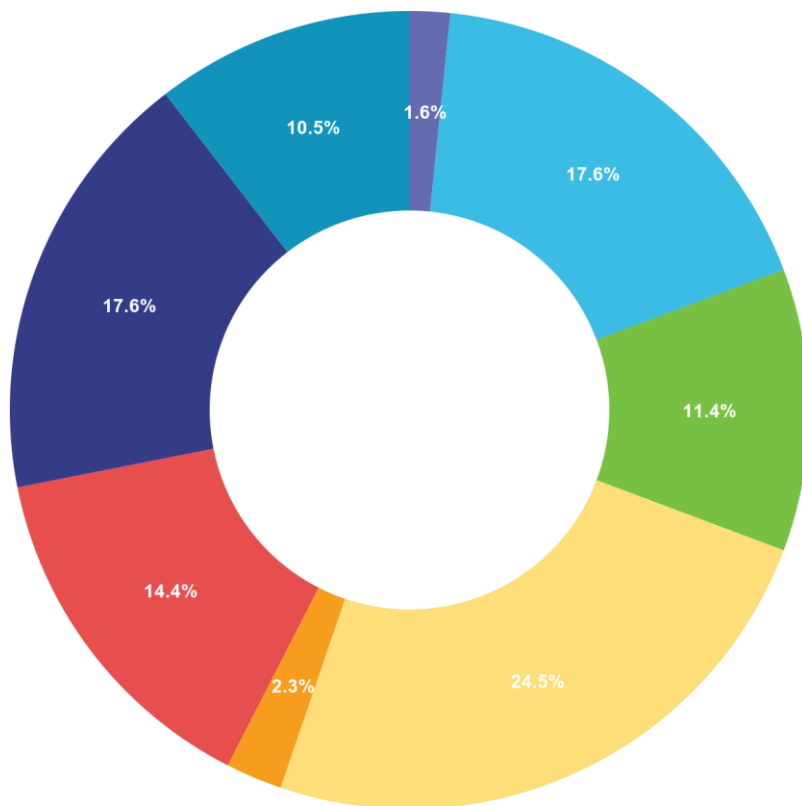
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	19
•	I agree.	98
•	I somewhat agree.	75
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	66
•	I somewhat disagree.	6
•	I disagree.	6
•	I strongly disagree.	7
•	I prefer not to answer.	29

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q25: Indigenous Peoples are “noble savages.”* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



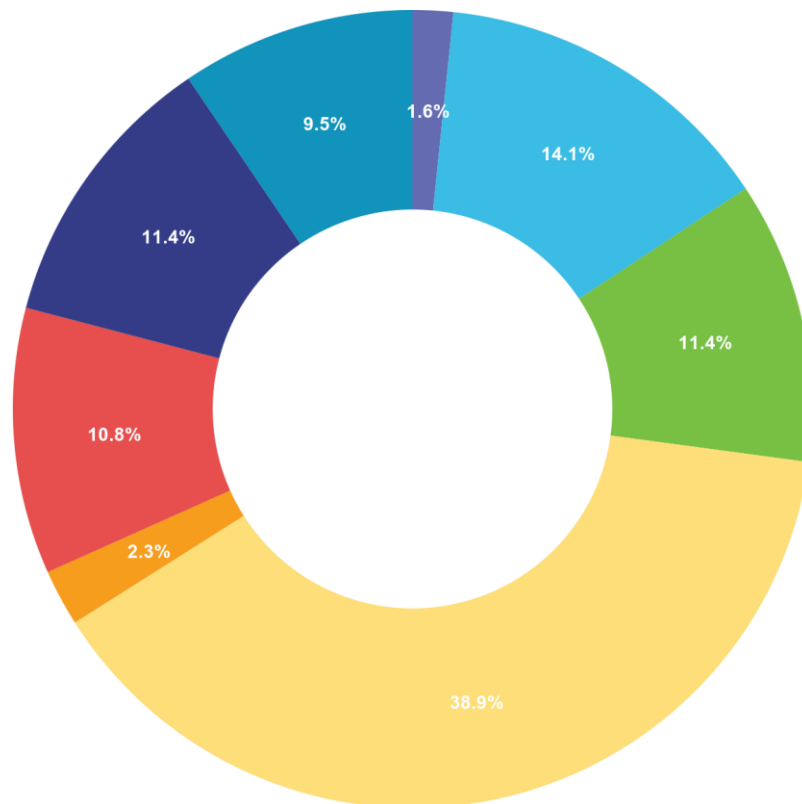
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	5
I agree.	54
I somewhat agree.	35
I neither agree nor disagree.	75
I somewhat disagree.	7
I disagree.	44
I strongly disagree.	54
I prefer not to answer.	32

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q26: Indigenous women are “Indian princesses.”* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



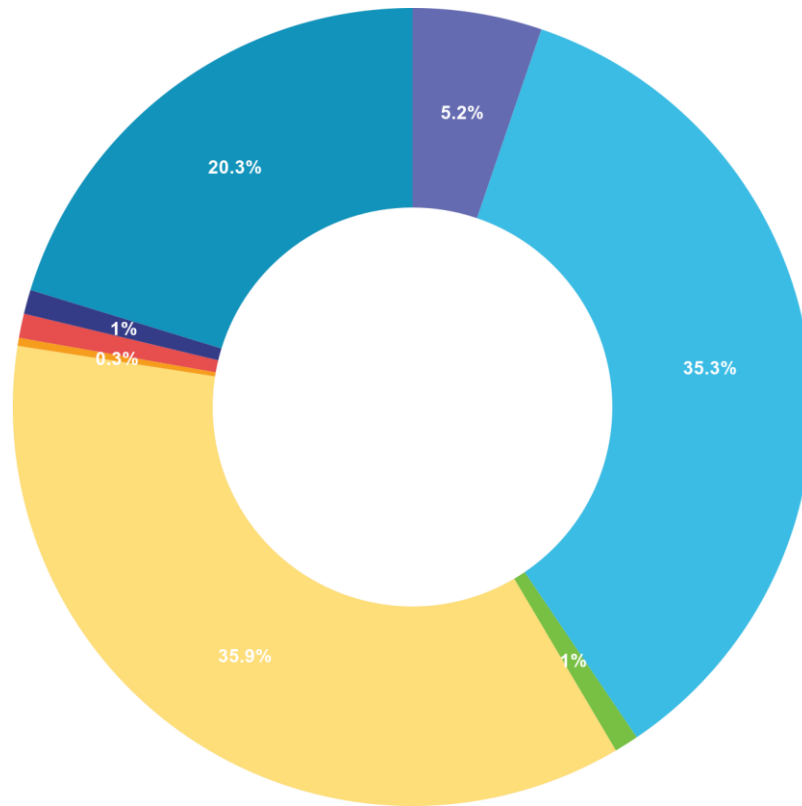
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	5
• I agree.	43
• I somewhat agree.	35
• I neither agree nor disagree.	119
• I somewhat disagree.	7
• I disagree.	33
• I strongly disagree.	35
• I prefer not to answer.	29

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q27: The International Day of the World’s Indigenous Peoples is on 9 August. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



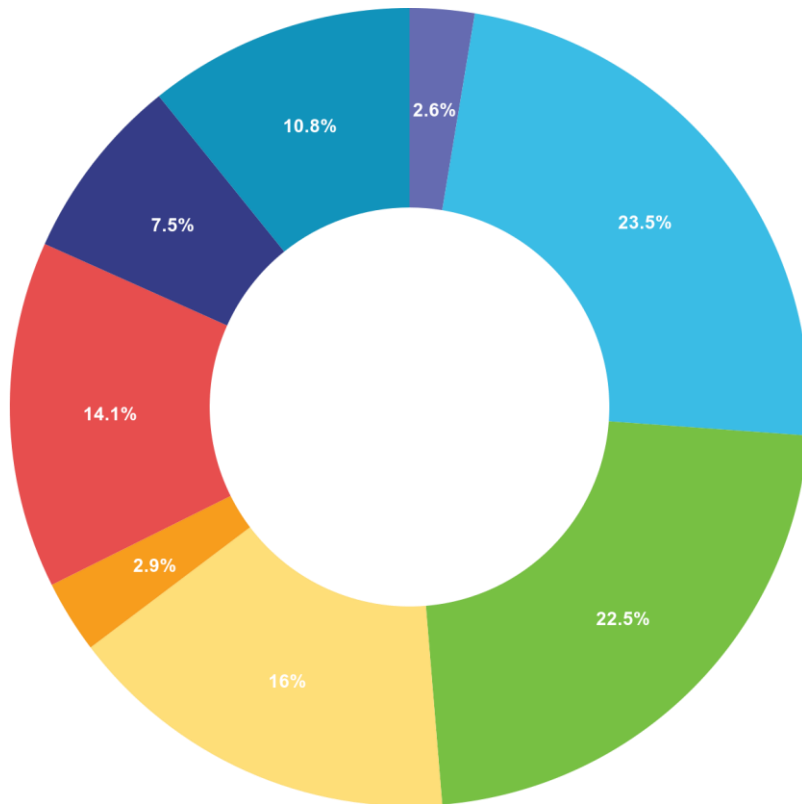
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	16
• I agree.	108
• I somewhat agree.	3
• I neither agree nor disagree	110
• I somewhat disagree.	1
• I disagree.	3
• I strongly disagree.	3
• I prefer not to answer.	62

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q28: Indigenous Peoples are in frail health, and are more prone to diseases than other races/ethnicities.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



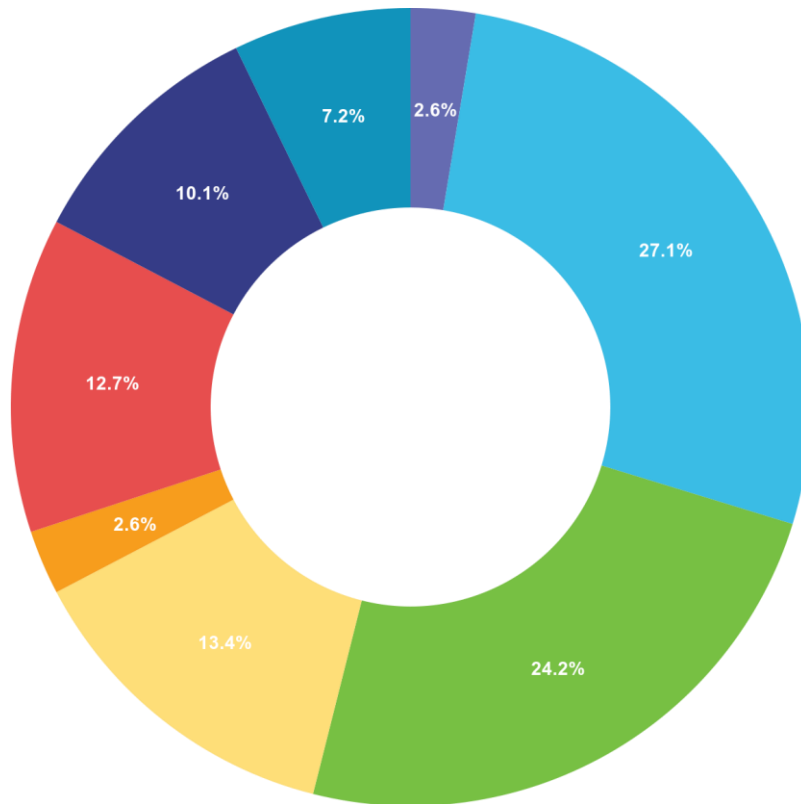
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	8
• I agree.	72
• I somewhat agree.	69
• I neither agree nor disagree.	49
• I somewhat disagree.	9
• I disagree.	43
• I strongly disagree.	23
• I prefer not to answer.	33

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q29: Indigenous Peoples have addiction problems more often than other races/ethnicities.*
Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



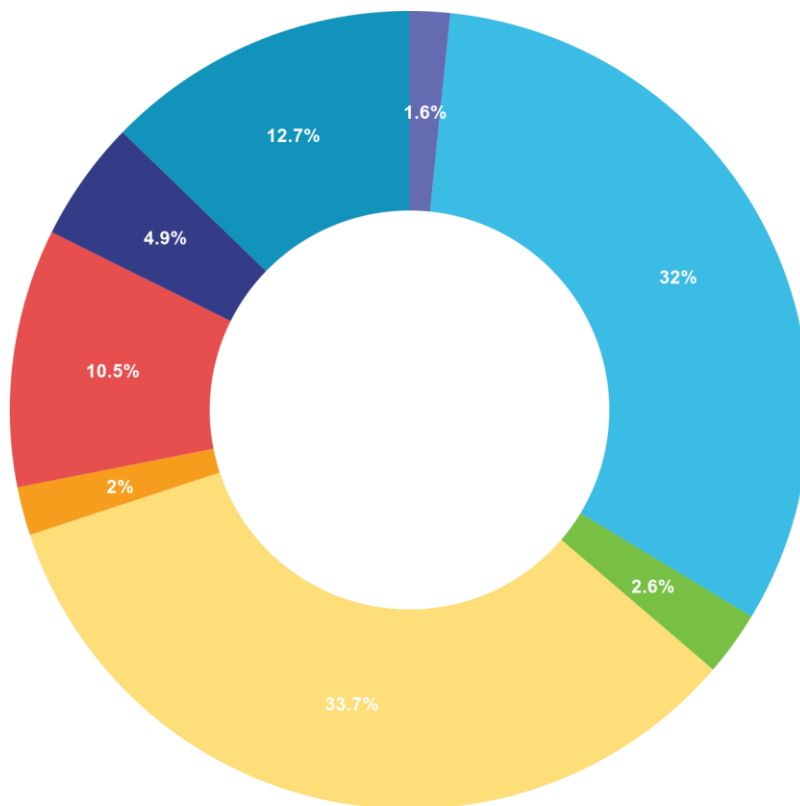
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	8
• I agree.	83
• I somewhat agree.	74
• I neither agree nor disagree.	41
• I somewhat disagree.	8
• I disagree.	39
• I strongly disagree.	31
• I prefer not to answer.	22

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q30: Indigenous Peoples do not pay taxes in Canada and the USA. * Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



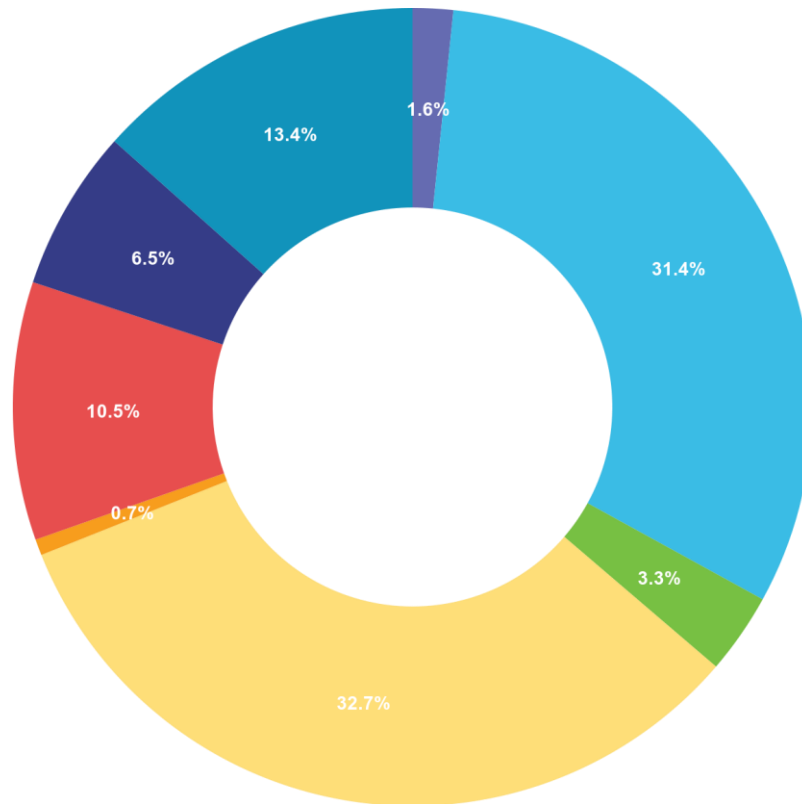
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	5
• I agree.	98
• I somewhat agree.	8
• I neither agree nor disagree.	103
• I somewhat disagree.	6
• I disagree.	32
• I strongly disagree.	15
• I prefer not to answer.	39

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q31: Indigenous Peoples do not pay for college/ university tuition.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



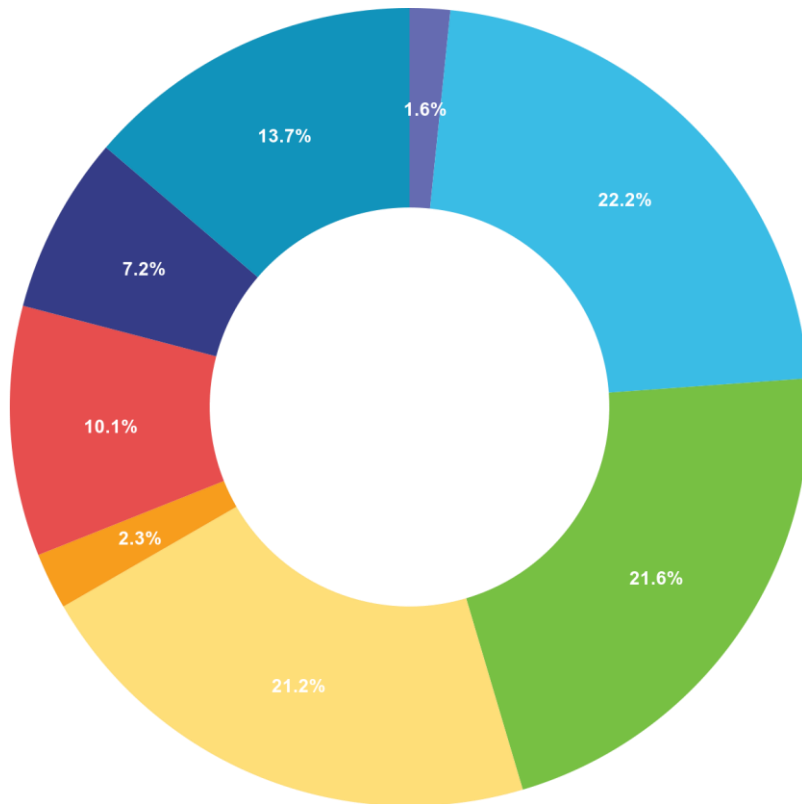
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	5
I agree.	96
I somewhat agree.	10
I neither agree nor disagree.	100
I somewhat disagree.	2
I disagree.	32
I strongly disagree.	20
I prefer not to answer.	41

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q32: Indigenous Peoples advocate the casino gaming industry.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



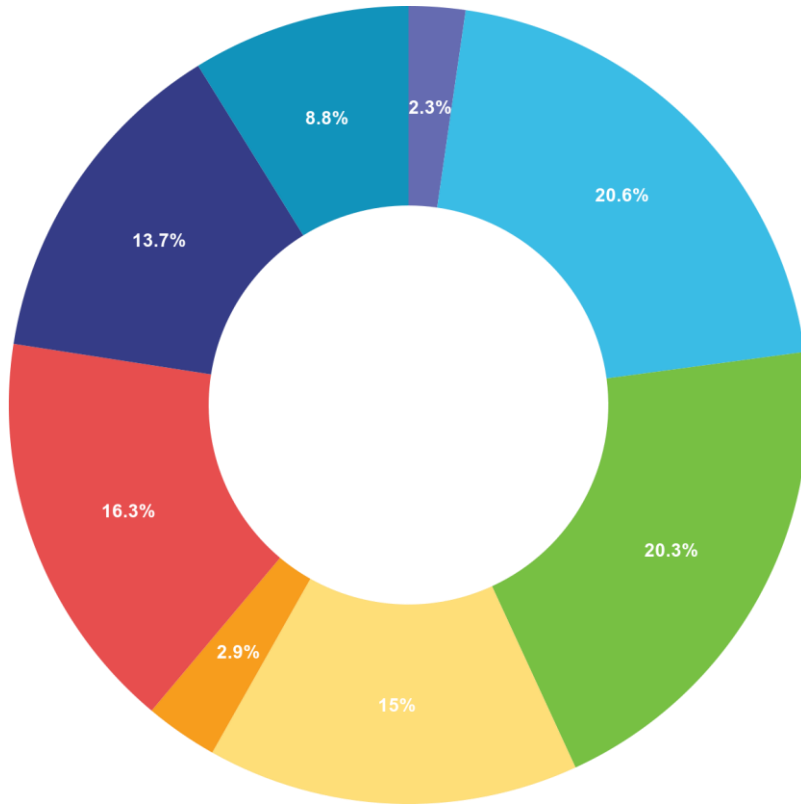
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	5
I agree.	68
I somewhat agree.	66
I neither agree nor disagree.	65
I somewhat disagree.	7
I disagree.	31
I strongly disagree.	22
I prefer not to answer.	42

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q33: Indigenous Peoples promote smoking.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



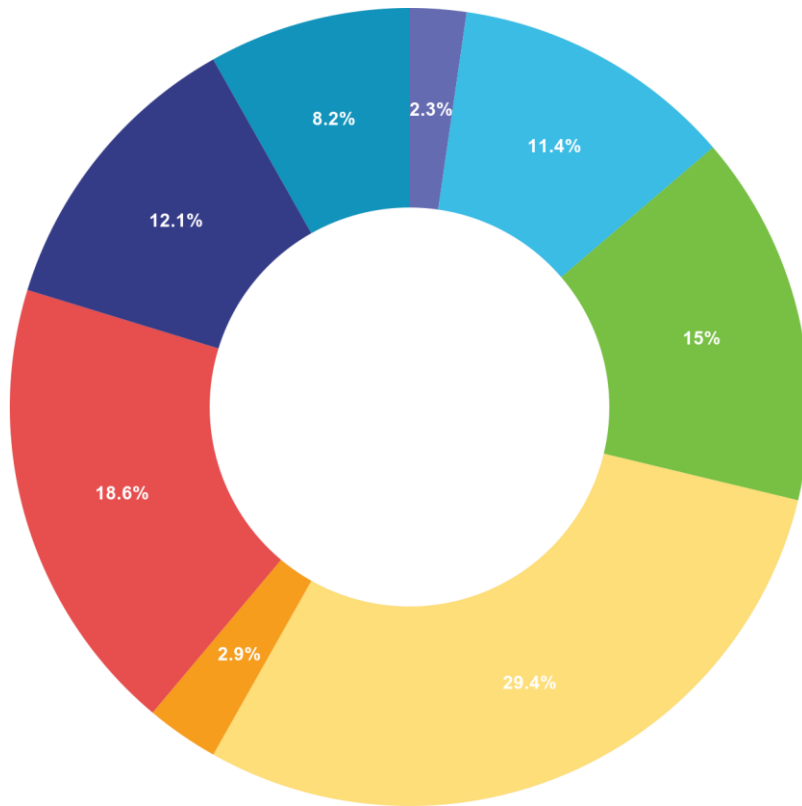
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	7
I agree.	63
I somewhat agree.	62
I neither agree nor disagree.	46
I somewhat disagree.	9
I disagree.	50
I strongly disagree.	42
I prefer not to answer.	27

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q34: Indigenous Peoples do magic tricks.* Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



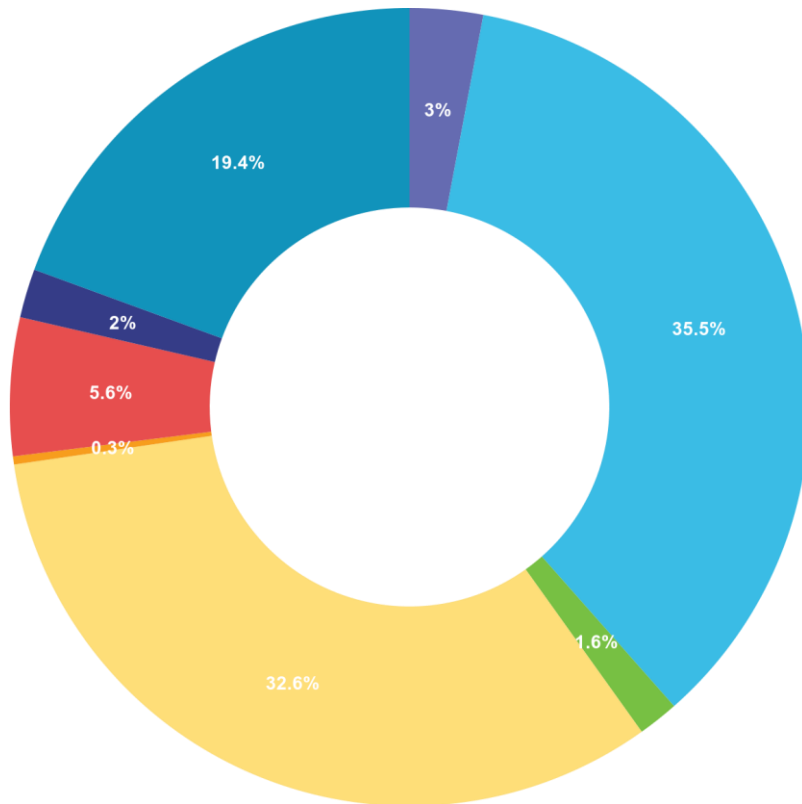
Choice	Totals
• I strongly agree.	7
• I agree.	35
• I somewhat agree.	46
• I neither agree nor disagree.	90
• I somewhat disagree.	9
• I disagree.	57
• I strongly disagree.	37
• I prefer not to answer.	25

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q35: Indigenous Peoples have sold off the island of Manhattan for \$24 worth of beads.
Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



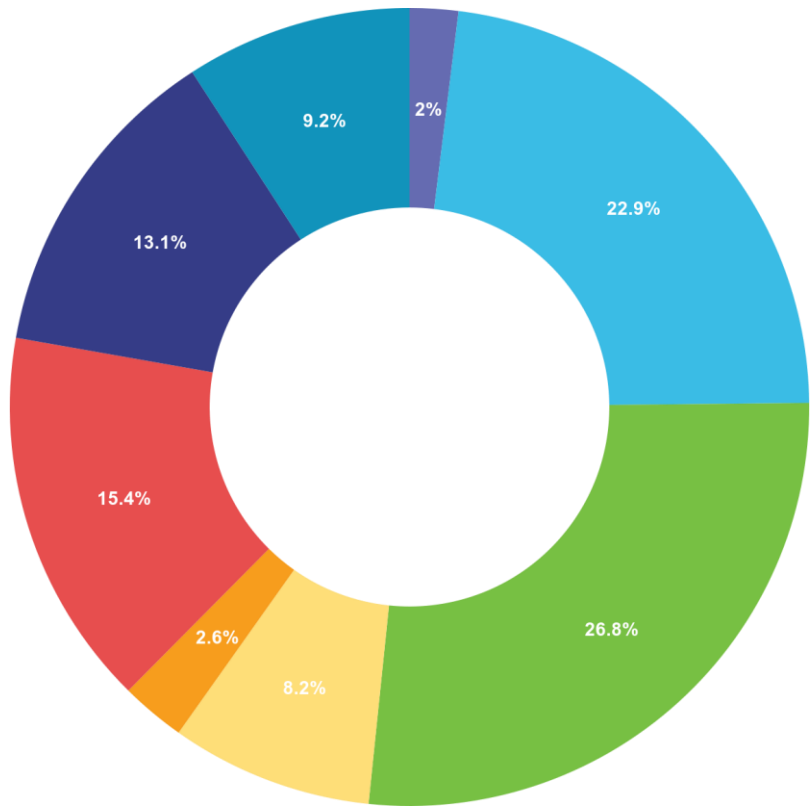
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	9
•	I agree.	108
•	I somewhat agree.	5
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	99
•	I somewhat disagree.	1
•	I disagree.	17
•	I strongly disagree.	6
•	I prefer not to answer.	59

Responses 306 **Answered** 304 **Unanswered** 2

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q36: All Indigenous Peoples look alike, e.g., have dark skin, straight black hair, a so-called aquiline, hook-like/eagle-like nose with a prominent nose bridge, etc.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



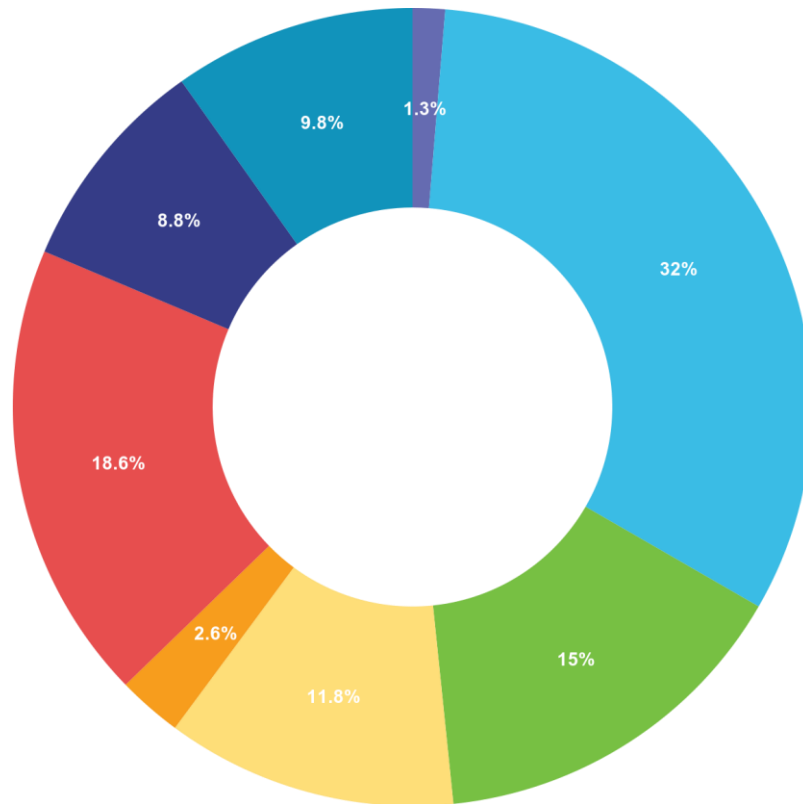
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	6
I agree.	70
I somewhat agree.	82
I neither agree nor disagree.	25
I somewhat disagree.	8
I disagree.	47
I strongly disagree.	40
I prefer not to answer.	28

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q37: Indigenous Peoples wear moccasins, mukluks, buckskins, and beaded dresses.*
Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



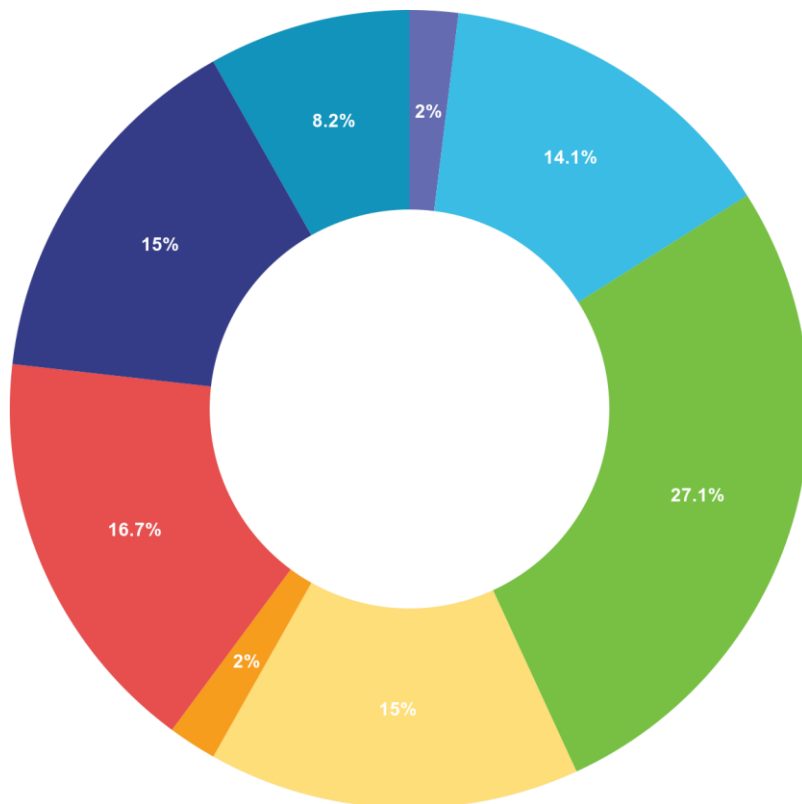
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	4
I agree.	98
I somewhat agree.	46
I neither agree nor disagree.	36
I somewhat disagree.	8
I disagree.	57
I strongly disagree.	27
I prefer not to answer.	30

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q38: The skin of Indigenous Peoples is red.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



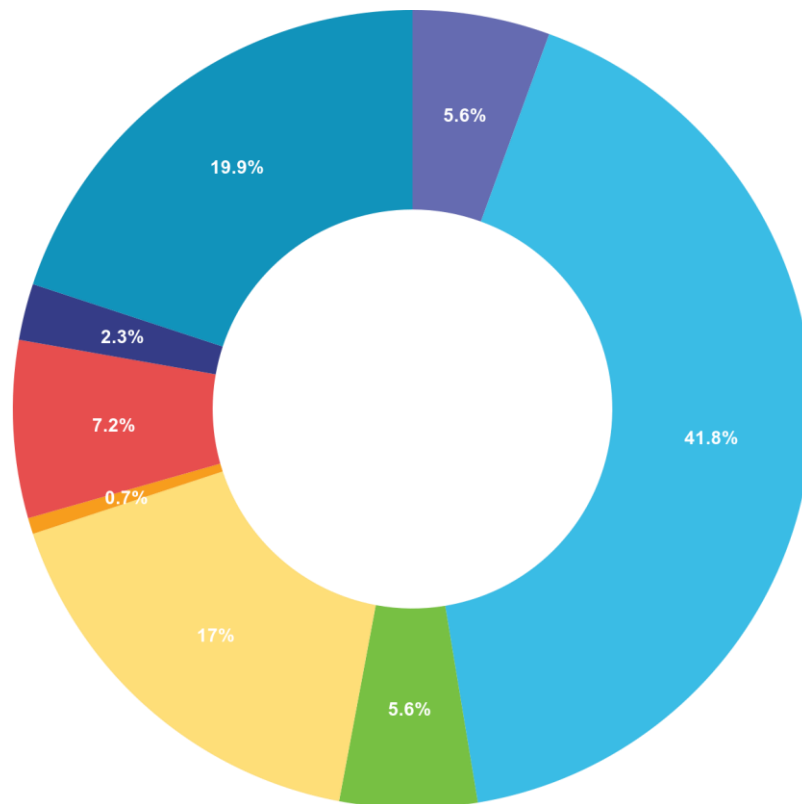
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	6
•	I agree.	43
•	I somewhat agree.	83
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	46
•	I somewhat disagree.	6
•	I disagree.	51
•	I strongly disagree.	46
•	I prefer not to answer.	25

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q39: The term “squaw” is a racial epithet.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



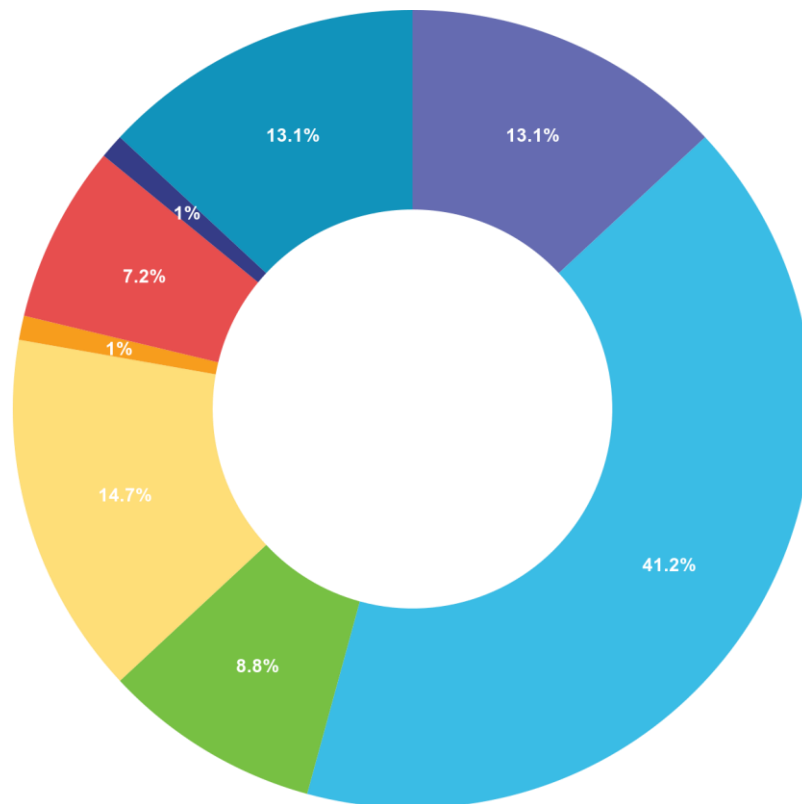
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	17
I agree.	128
I somewhat agree.	17
I neither agree nor disagree.	52
I somewhat disagree.	2
I disagree.	22
I strongly disagree.	7
I prefer not to answer.	61

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q40: Indigenous women and girls are often abused, missing, and murdered.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



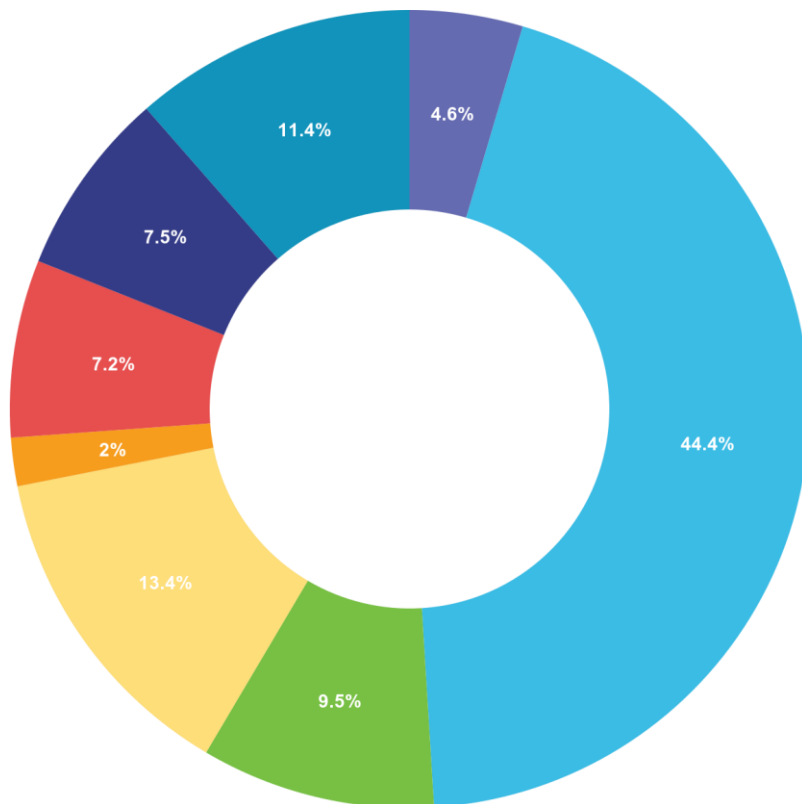
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	40
I agree.	126
I somewhat agree.	27
I neither agree nor disagree.	45
I somewhat disagree.	3
I disagree.	22
I strongly disagree.	3
I prefer not to answer.	40

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q41: I am aware of/I have witnessed the mistreatment of Indigenous Peoples.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



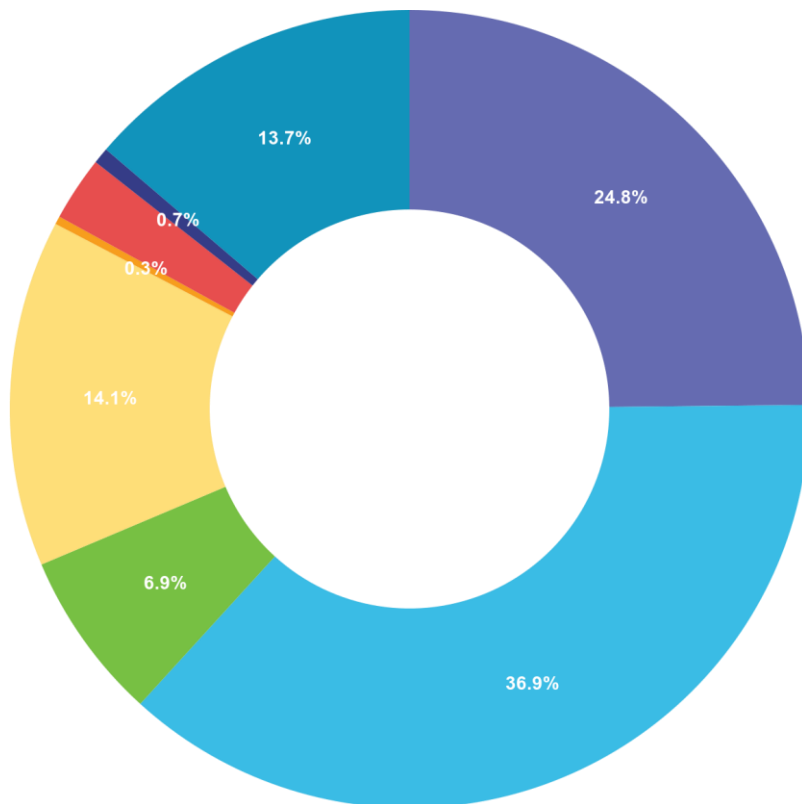
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	14
I agree.	136
I somewhat agree.	29
I neither agree nor disagree.	41
I somewhat disagree.	6
I disagree.	22
I strongly disagree.	23
I prefer not to answer.	35

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q42: Indigenous Peoples have experienced cultural genocide in residential schools.*
Multiple Choice: Please choose the best response.



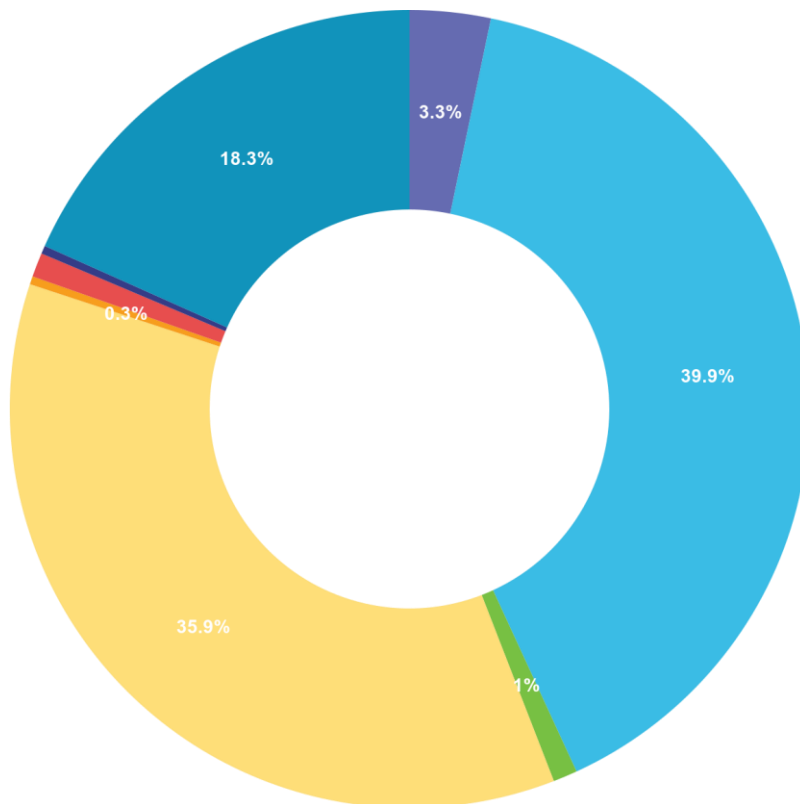
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	76
I agree.	113
I somewhat agree.	21
I neither agree nor disagree	43
I somewhat disagree.	1
I disagree.	8
I strongly disagree.	2
I prefer not to answer.	42

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q43: The last residential school in Canada was closed in 1996.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



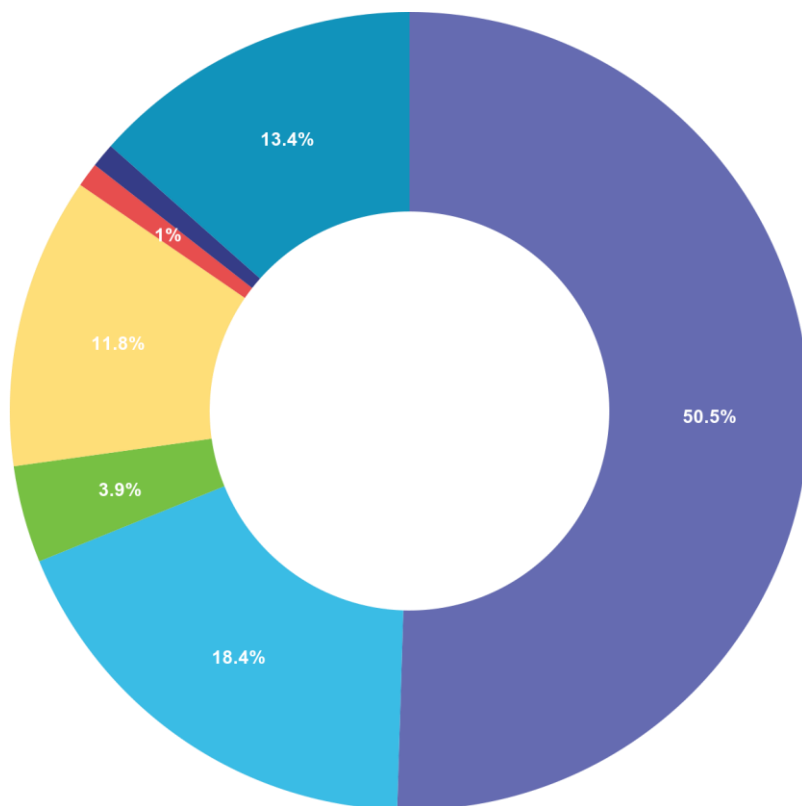
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	10
I agree.	122
I somewhat agree.	3
I neither agree nor disagree (neutral).	110
I somewhat disagree.	1
I disagree.	3
I strongly disagree.	1
I prefer not to answer.	56

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q44: The Head of the Catholic Church should have officially apologized to Indigenous Peoples for maltreatment sooner. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



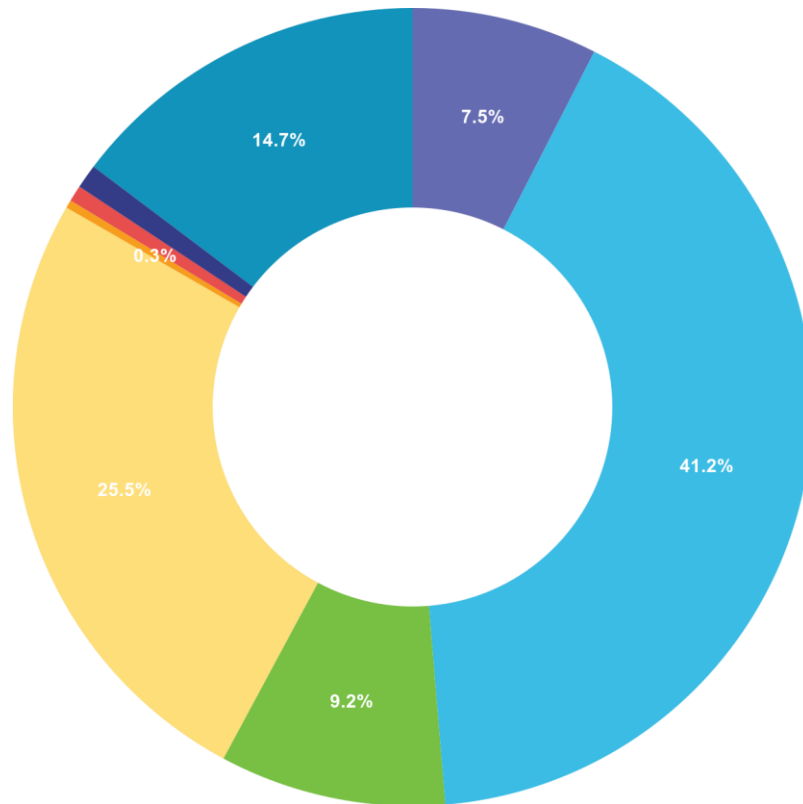
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	154
I agree.	56
I somewhat agree.	12
I neither agree nor disagree.	36
I somewhat disagree.	0
I disagree.	3
I strongly disagree.	3
I prefer not to answer.	41

Responses 306 Answered 305 Unanswered 1

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q45: For Indigenous Peoples, the land is a communal resource. Thus, they do not own it but borrow it from a Creator/Great Spirit.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



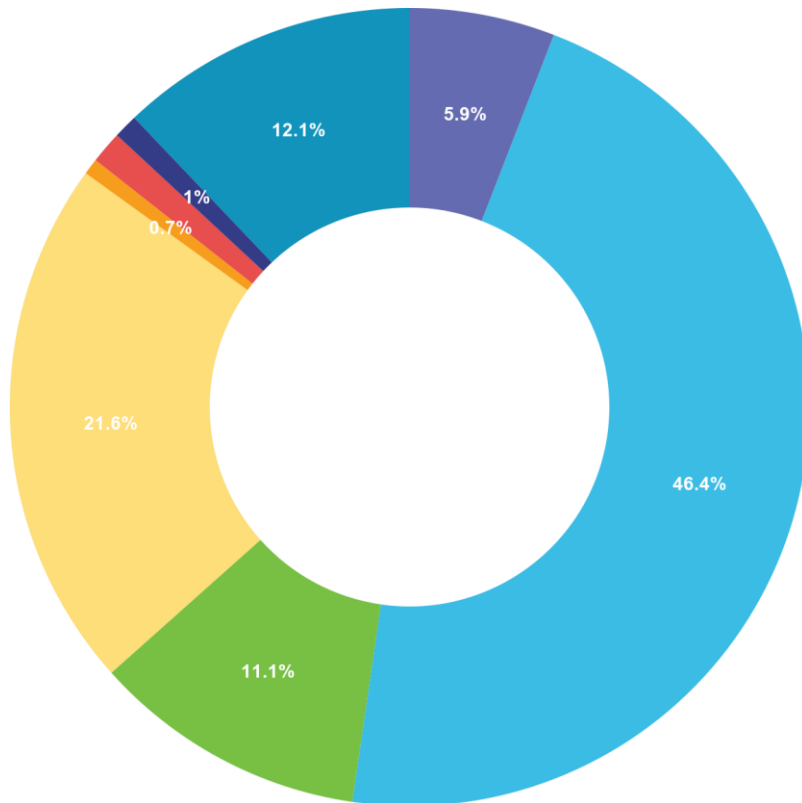
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	23
I agree.	126
I somewhat agree.	28
I neither agree nor disagree.	78
I somewhat disagree.	1
I disagree.	2
I strongly disagree.	3
I prefer not to answer.	45

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q46: Indigenous Peoples do not perceive time as a linear (past, present, and future) concept, but as circular, e.g., death is a new beginning.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



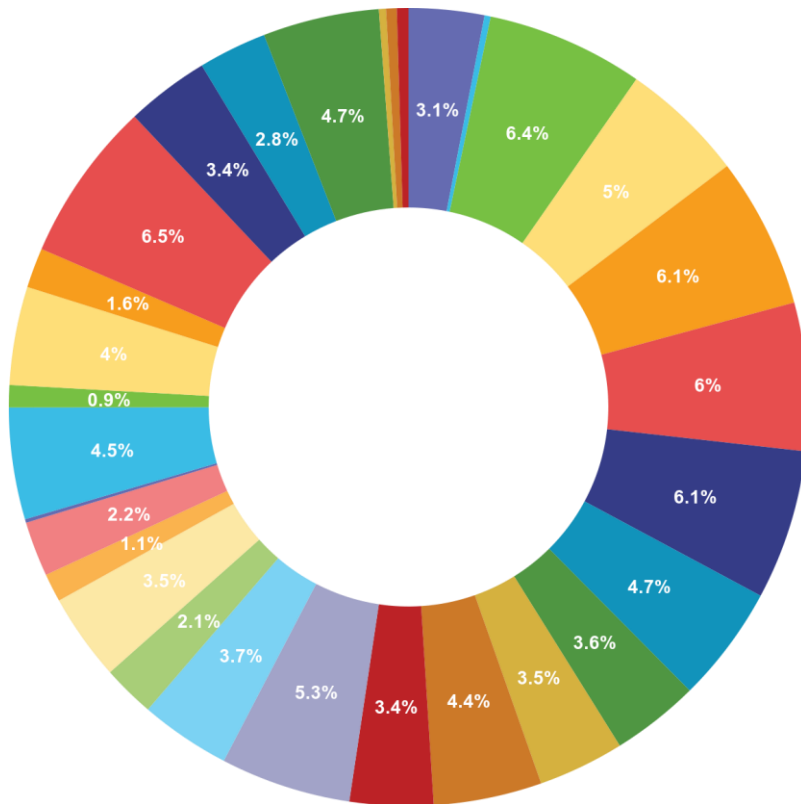
Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	18
I agree.	142
I somewhat agree.	34
I neither agree nor disagree.	66
I somewhat disagree.	2
I disagree.	4
I strongly disagree.	3
I prefer not to answer.	37

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q47: Please select all answers that apply. When someone mentions Indigenous Peoples, aka “Indians,” your thoughts are: * **Multiple Choice:** Please select all answers that apply.



Choice	Totals
• Iroquois hairstyle	85
• the car Jeep Cherokee/Grand Cherokee	7
• a dream catcher	177
• the scalp	140
• smoke signals	170
• smoking a pipe	167
• wigwams	169
• warbonnets/headdresses	132
• traditional dance gatherings	99
• rituals	97
• spirituality	122
• knowledge of herbs	94
• unity with nature	147
• war	102
• peace	59

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

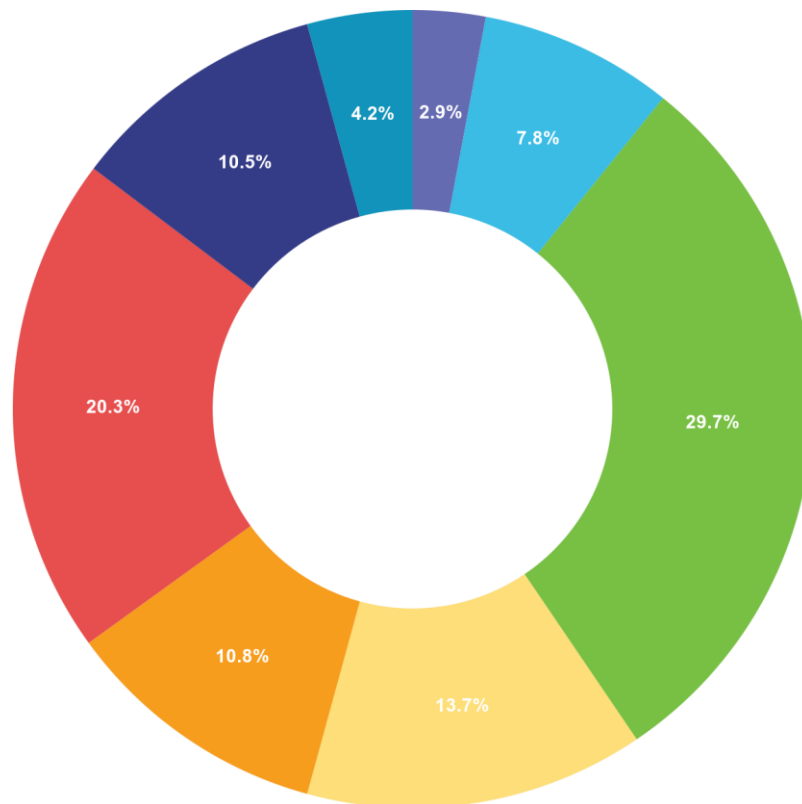
	Choice	Totals
•	unfairness	98
•	shame	32
•	positively strange	62
•	negatively strange	4
•	Manitou, a Great Spirit	126
•	Christopher Columbus	25
•	legends	111
•	jokes	45
•	Western movies	181
•	books	94
•	comics	77
•	residential schools	131
•	DK	8
•	I prefer not to answer.	12
•	other (Please specify.)	13

Responses 306 Answered 306 Unanswered 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q48: I know enough about Indigenous Peoples.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



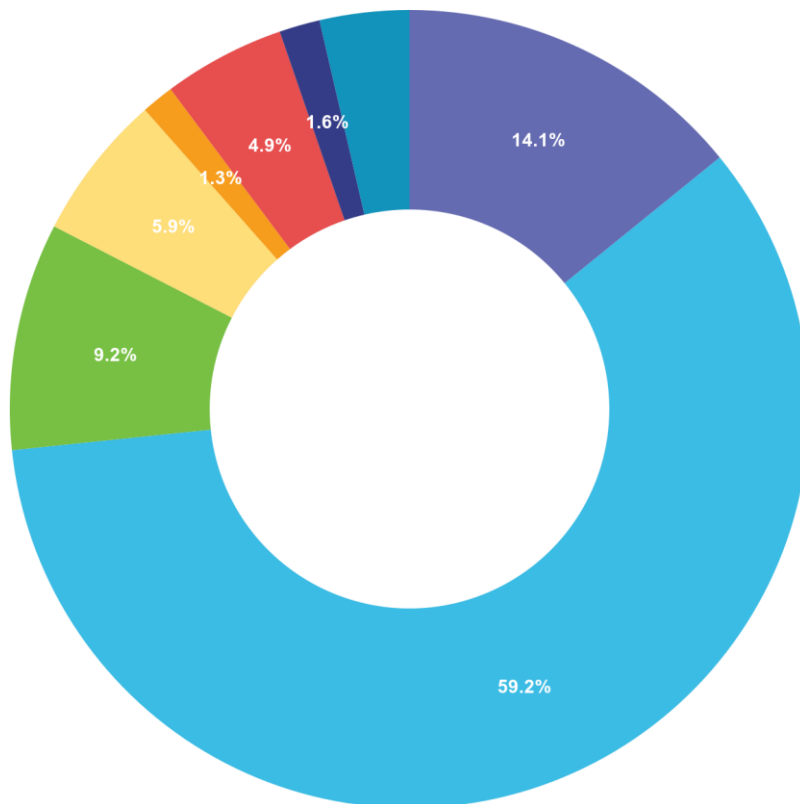
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	9
•	I agree.	24
•	I somewhat agree.	91
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	42
•	I somewhat disagree.	33
•	I disagree.	62
•	I strongly disagree.	32
•	I prefer not to answer.	13

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q49: I would like to read books about Indigenous Peoples. **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



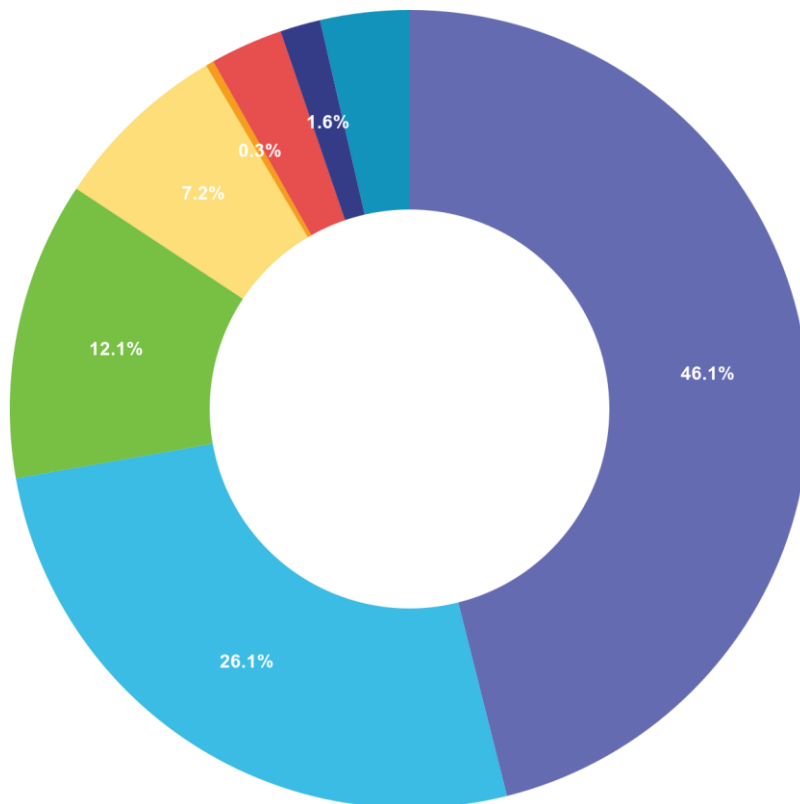
	Choice	Totals
•	I strongly agree.	43
•	I agree.	180
•	I somewhat agree.	28
•	I neither agree nor disagree.	18
•	I somewhat disagree.	4
•	I disagree.	15
•	I strongly disagree.	5
•	I prefer not to answer.	11

Responses 306 **Answered** 304 **Unanswered** 2

“It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world.”

(Chief Leon Shenandoah, par. 18)

Q50: I have learned something new about Indigenous Peoples in this survey.* **Multiple Choice:** Please choose the best response.



Choice	Totals
I strongly agree.	141
I agree.	80
I somewhat agree.	37
I neither agree nor disagree.	22
I somewhat disagree.	1
I disagree.	9
I strongly disagree.	5
I prefer not to answer.	11

Responses 306 **Answered** 306 **Unanswered** 0

“Looking behind, I am filled with gratitude, looking forward, I am filled with vision, looking upwards I am filled with strength, looking within, I discover peace.”

(qtd. A Quero Apache prayer in Parenteau, par. 1)

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of identity is essential for social actors, confirming their existence and enabling their survival. For the Indigenous Peoples of North America, it is even more critical. Owing to the correlation between literature and the life in which language operates, culturally specific Indigenous roots become more evident.

The concept of identity is a multi-tiered notion. In globalization, identity is created through contrasts that cause different reactions, such as segregation or integration and acculturation or interculturality. Thus, the natural essence of identity is subject to construction and deconstruction in social interactions. Identity, viewed as personal and collective, implies a differentiation between the self and the other.

As a cultural precondition, the self gains character in the social context. Thereby, identity is not solely a result of social circumstances created under social pressure, but an outcome of the compromise social subjects make in their gradual adaptation to social change. Besides, identity is an essential determinant in the uniqueness of one's life and destiny, despite social limitations expressed in the interplay. Therefore, the coded identity concept must be articulated to be deciphered based on the historical and social context, economic-political circumstances, and cultural development.

Different literary paths lead to the desired venue of revealed and defined identity. One direction of literary analysis looks for messages in significant works of dominant mainstream literature. The prevailing point of view examines the venture, inception, and resolution of a quest toward self. Indigenous Identity is perceived as

Ipeity in the
Name for
Distinctiveness and genuine
Idiosyncrasy, despite
Guise, to secure
Existence and harmony with
Nature, so that
Oneness relives the
Uniqueness and seals the
Selfhood.

The other perspective listens to minority literary expressions. The so-called peripheral literature(s) examine one's alienation and, most often, forced social isolation. Through rituals toward self-identification, the individual re-initiates oneself into national heritage. In spite of anthologized denominators, Indigenous cultural diversity showcases the primordial constituent of identity in writing. The goal is achieved by indicating autochthonous voices to ascertain the existence of resistance literature(s). That is how Indigenous literary material transitioned from being marginalized to becoming part of cultural norms, rewriting the past.

North American Indigenous Peoples try to fit into imposed life frames of existential threats, stereotypes, an uncertain future, and displacement. They struggle to prevent linguistic and cultural disappearance by preserving traditional languages, reviving oral forms, and recreating cultural identity. Although the medium of Indigenous expression has mainly changed from oral performance to the written word in English, ethnogenesis has

“Looking behind, I am filled with gratitude, looking forward, I am filled with vision, looking upwards I am filled with strength, looking within, I discover peace.”

(qtd. A Quero Apache prayer in Parenteau, par. 1)

been established in a social context and confirmed in historical continuity in and through Indigenous Literatures.

Similarities are noticed between Indigenous Peoples and Serbs regarding historical events for being stereotyped. Still, those ethnicities are incomparable. What is more, as the survey confirms, neither Serbs are the omniscient “knower”¹⁶⁶ about the Indigenous matter nor the Indigenous Peoples of North America are “the known,” resulting in misconceptions that habituate in the vacuum of the unknown. Thus, reading Indigenous Literatures helps redefine faulty thinking.

¹⁶⁶ The reference is purely a wordplay that has no link to Stephen Parish’s book “The Knower and the Known” nor the text under the same title by Marjorie Green.

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¹⁶⁷ The same title "Is That All There is?" was chosen by authors Basil Johnson and Lawrence Grossberg.

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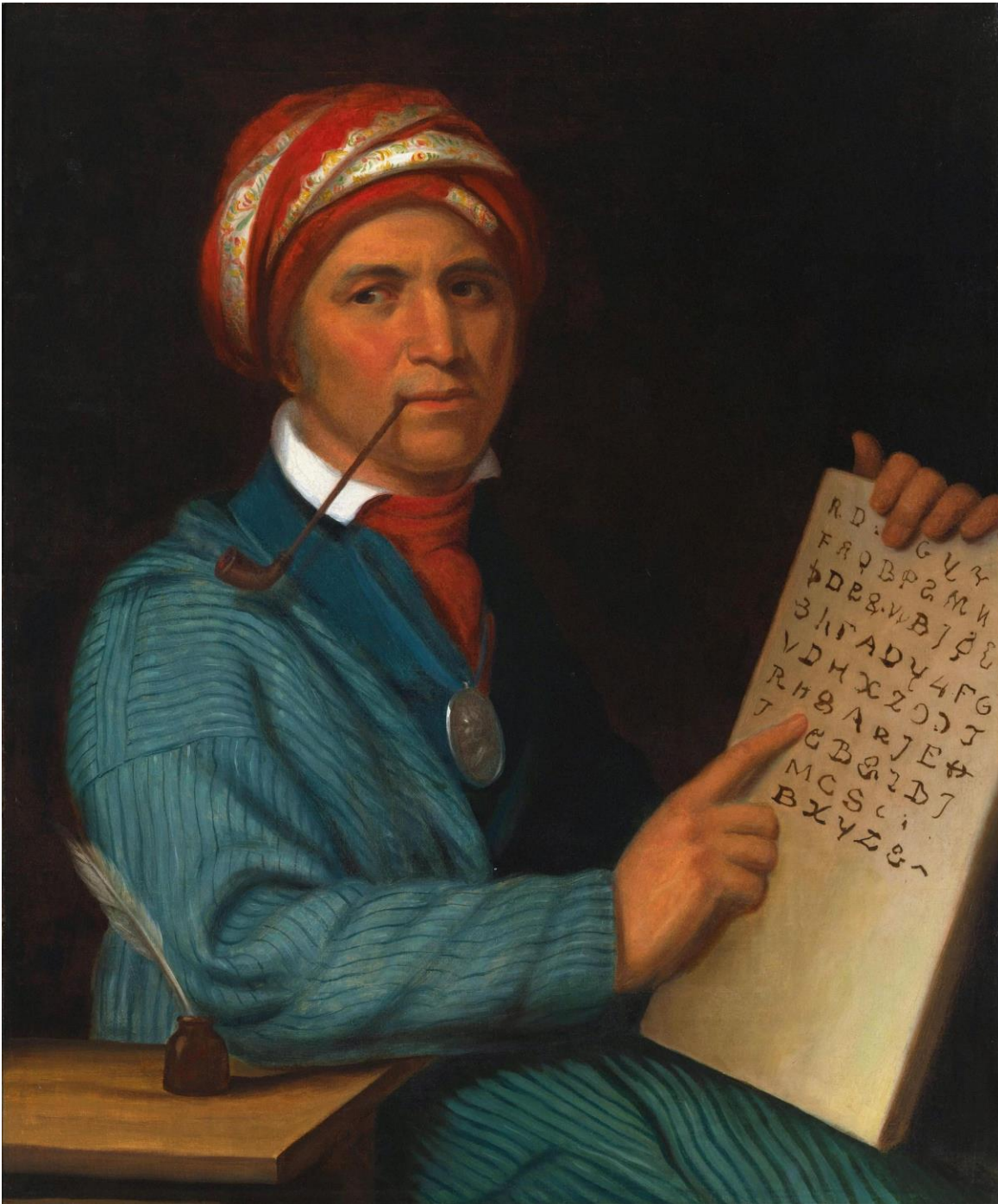
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APPENDICES

Introductory Notes



Appendix 1. Cherokee Chief Sequoyah.

Hi-Story. *Sequoyah*. National Geographic.

www.nationalgeographic.org/article/sequoyah-and-creation-choerokee-syllabary/.

Accessed 2 July 2023.

Cherokee Alphabet.

D _u	R _e	T _i	Ꭰ _o	O _u	i _v
S _{gu} O _{ku}	F _{ge}	Y _{gi}	Λ _{go}	J _{gu}	E _{gv}
V _{hia}	P _{he}	D _{hi}	F _{ho}	Γ _{hu}	G _{lv}
W _{ta}	P _{te}	P _{ti}	G _{to}	M _{tu}	A _{lv}
F _{mu}	O _{me}	H _{mi}	Ꭱ _{mo}	Y _{mu}	
O _{na} t _{hu} G _{nah}	A _{ne}	h _{ni}	Z _{no}	A _{nu}	O _{nv}
T _{qua}	Q _{que}	P _{qui}	V _{quo}	Q _{qui}	E _{quv}
U _{sa} O _s	A _{se}	B _{si}	t _{so}	E _{su}	R _{sv}
U _{da} W _{ta}	S _{de} U _{te}	J _{di} J _{ti}	V _{do}	S _{du}	P _{dv}
D _{lla} F _{lta}	L _{tle}	C _{ti}	J _{to}	P _{tu}	P _{lv}
G _{tsa}	V _{tse}	h _{tsi}	K _{tso}	J _{tsu}	C ^w _{tsv}
G _{wa}	Q _{wre}	O _{wi}	O _{wro}	J _{wu}	E _{wv}
Q _{ya}	B _{yre}	D _{yi}	h _{yo}	G ^w _{yu}	B _{yv}

Sounds represented by Vowels.

<i>a</i> , as <i>a</i> in <i>father</i> , or short as <i>a</i> in <i>rival</i> <i>e</i> , as <i>a</i> in <i>hate</i> , or short as <i>e</i> in <i>met</i> <i>i</i> , as <i>i</i> in <i>pike</i> , or short as <i>i</i> in <i>pit</i>	<i>o</i> , as <i>aw</i> in <i>law</i> , or short as <i>o</i> in <i>nut</i> <i>u</i> , as <i>oo</i> in <i>foot</i> , or short as <i>u</i> in <i>put</i> <i>v</i> , as <i>u</i> in <i>but</i> ; nasalized.
--	--

Consonant Sounds

g nearly as in English, but approaching to *k*; *d* nearly as in English but approaching to *t*; *h*, *k*, *lm*, *ng*, *st*, *w*, *y*, as in English. Syllables beginning with *g*, except *S* have sometimes the power of *k*. *A*, *S*, *O* are sometimes sounded *to*, *tu*, *tv*, and Syllables written with *ll* except *G* sometimes vary to *dl*.

Smith's 1808 1.217

Appendix 2. Cherokee Syllabary.

Cherokee Syllabary. Britannica.

www.britannica.com/topic/Cherokee-language#/media/1/109503/243715. Accessed 2 July 2023.

Special Circulation - Free

GWY
CHEROKEE



J. J. AUO. O.
PHENIX.

VOL. I.

NEW ECHOTA, THURSDAY MARCH 6, 1828.

NO. 3.

EDITED BY ELIAS BOUNDWITT,
PRINTED WEEKLY BY
ISAACH HARRIS,
FOR THE PROPRIETOR.

At \$250 if paid in advance, \$3 in six months, or \$350 if paid at the end of the year.

To subscribers who can read only the Cherokee language, the type will be printed in a character, or \$250 if paid at the end of the year.

Every advertisement will be considered as continued unless subscribers order to the contrary before the commencement of a new year.

The Phoenix will be printed on a Superior of sheet, with type entirely new procured for the purpose. Any person printing an advertisement, and becoming responsible for the payment, shall receive a seventh cent per square for the first insertion, and thereafter at a half cent for each subsequent insertion, longer runs in proportion.

All letters addressed to the Editor, post paid, will receive due attention.

OWNERS AND PUBLISHERS:
ELIAS BOUNDWITT, Editor.
ISAACH HARRIS, Proprietor.
J. J. AUO. O., Printer.

LETTERS OF ADVERTISING.
M. S. Editors receive terms over the amount of a year in advance, and the amount is returned in a bill of exchange on the United States, in the month of January, 1828. The amount is stated at \$250.00 per annum. The amount is returned in a bill of exchange on the United States, in the month of January, 1828.

THE PHOENIX HAS BEEN RECENTLY REBUILT.
The quantity which the year 1828 will require is estimated at 250,000 copies. The amount is stated at \$250.00 per annum. The amount is returned in a bill of exchange on the United States, in the month of January, 1828.

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(CONCLUDED.)
CONSTITUTION OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.

Enacted by the Convention of Delegates from the several Districts, at New Echota, July 1827.

ARTICLE VI.
Sec. 1. Whereas the ministers of the Gospel are, by their profession, dedicated to the service of God and the care of souls, and ought not to be dispersed from the great duty of their function, therefore, an minister of the Gospel, or public preacher, of any religious persuasion, whilst he continues in the exercise of his pastoral functions, shall be eligible to the office of Principal Chief, or a Sect in either house of the General Council.

Sec. 2. No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this Nation.
Sec. 3. The free exercise of religious worship, and serving God without distinction, shall forever be allowed within this Nation. Provided, That this liberty of conscience shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this Nation.

Sec. 4. Whenever the General Council shall determine the expediency of appointing delegates, or other public Agents, for the purpose of transacting business with the Government of the United States; the Principal Chief shall have power to recommend, and by the advice and consent of the General Council, shall appoint and commission such delegates at Public Agents accordingly; and on all matters of interest touching the rights of the citizens of this Nation, which may require the attention of the United States Government, the Principal Chief shall keep up a friendly correspondence with that Government, through the medium of its proper officers.

Sec. 5. All commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the Cherokee Nation, and be sealed with the Seal of the Nation, and be sealed with the Seal of the Nation, and be sealed with the Seal of the Nation.

Sec. 6. A Sheriff shall be elected in each District by the qualified electors thereof, who shall hold his office for the term of two years, unless sooner removed. Should a vacancy occur subsequent to an election, it shall be filled by the Principal Chief in other cases, and the person so appointed shall continue in office until the next General election, when such vacancy shall be filled by the qualified electors, and the Sheriff then elected shall continue in office for two years.

Sec. 7. There shall be a Marshall appointed by a joint vote of both houses of the General Council for the term of four years, whose composition and duties shall be regulated by law; and whose jurisdiction shall extend over the Cherokee Nation.

Sec. 8. No person shall for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy of life, or limb, nor shall any person's property be taken or applied to public use without his consent. Provided, That nothing in this clause shall be so construed as to impair the right and power of the General Council to lay and collect Taxes. All courts shall be open, and every person for an injury done him in his property person or reputation, shall have remedy by due course of law.

Sec. 9. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

Sec. 10. Religion morality and knowledge being necessary to good Government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, Schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged in this Nation.

Sec. 11. The appointment of all officers, not otherwise directed by this Constitution, shall be vested in the Legislature.

Sec. 12. All laws in force in this Nation, at the passing of this Constitution,

shall so continue until altered or repealed by the Legislature, except where they are temporary, in which case they shall expire at the times respectively limited; provided, that continued by act of the Legislature.

Sec. 13. The General Council may at any time propose such amendments to this Constitution as two thirds of each house shall deem expedient; and the Principal Chief shall issue proclamations directing all the civil officers of this Nation to promulgate the same as extensively as possible within their respective Districts, at least one month previous to the next General election; and if at the first session of the General Council after such General election, two thirds of each house shall by yeas and nays, ratify such proposed amendments they shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as parts of this Constitution. That such proposed amendments shall be read on three several days, in each house, as well when the same are proposed, as when they are finally ratified.

Done in Convention at New Echota, this third day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty seven, in testimony whereof, we have each of us, hereunto subscribed our names.

Delegates of Chickamauga District,
JNO. ROSS, President of Convention,
JOHN BALDWIN, his x mark,

Delegates of Chatahoochee District,
GEORGE LOWREY,
JNO. BROWN,
EDWARD GENTER,

Delegates of Coconino District,
JOHN A. ARTIN,
JOSEPH YANN,
KELCHULEE, his x mark,

Delegates of De Kalb District,
LEWIS ROSS,
THOMAS FEGEMAN,
HARR CONRAD, his x mark,

Delegates of Fannin District,
JAMES DANIEL,
JOHN TITMAN,

Delegates of Floyd District,
JOSEPH YANN,
THOS. PETTIT, his x mark,
JOHN BEAMER, his x mark,

Delegates of Gwinnett District,
OCCLESNYA, his x mark,
Wm. POLING, his x mark,

Delegates of Habersham District,
JOHN TIMSON,
SITUWAKEE, his x mark,
RICHARD WALKER, his x mark,
A. NIXON, Secretary of Convention.

REPORT
Of a Special Conference in the Legislature of Georgia, on the Cherokee Land.

From this gloomy and almost hopeless prospect, we turn our attention to the sacred branch of our enquiry, and find that we shall be able to establish and perfect title to the lands in question, and that we have the right year means in our power to possess ourselves of them.

In the examination of this important and interesting question, we are necessarily carried back to the earliest history of this country. When the settlement of America was first discovered, it was possessed and owned by various tribes of savages, and the discoverers asserted successfully the right of denuding such parts as they deemed necessary, by deeds more than by words, by which a nation may use the country for the supply of its necessities, and derive from it any advantage it is capable of yielding. And by "settling" we mean the "right of sovereignty" by which the nation directs and regulates its pleasure, every thing that passes in the country. Presidely in this way, and so others, of Spain, France, England, Holland and Portugal obtain sovereignty over the portions of this country discovered by them. It may

be considered with much probability, that there is in these claims more of force than of justice; but they are claims which have been recognized and admitted by the whole civilized world, and it is unquestionably true that under such circumstances force becomes right. This kind of title is not only good and valid, agreeable to the laws of nations, but is perfectly consistent with justice. The earth was certainly made for the benefit, comfort and subsistence of man, and should be so used as to accommodate the greatest possible number of human beings. It was therefore perfectly in accordance with the duties of nature, that the densely populated countries of Europe, should possess themselves of the immense forests in America, which were used only as hunting grounds, and employ them in promoting the comforts and providing for the subsistence of their overflowing population. Acting in doubt upon these principles, Great Britain occupied and colonized the province of Georgia, the limits of which, anterior to the revolutionary war, were defined and made to extend from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, and from the 31st to the 33rd degrees of north latitude. The whole of the territory was made to form a provincial government, thus exercising the highest and most unqualified act of sovereignty. In this exercise, both of dominion and empire, on the part of Great Britain, certain portions of territory

Appendix 3. The Front Page of the Cherokee Phoenix. Front page of the Cherokee Phoenix. Britannica. www.britannica.com/topic/Cherokee-Phoenix#/media/1/109505/178868. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 4. Street Signs in Cherokee, North Carolina.

Delimont, Anita. Cherokee Street Signs. *National Geographic*.

education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/sequoyah-and-creation-chokeee-syllabary/

Accessed 2 July 2023.

Extra session in Oregon. For defraying the expense of an extra session of the legislature of Oregon, held agreeably to the provisions of law, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the production of regular and legal vouchers, five thousand dollars.

Volunteers in New Mexico. For the pay and expenses of four companies of volunteers, called into the service of the United States by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, in New Mexico, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-nine, one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and thirty dollars and twenty cents.

APPROVED, February 27, 1851.

Feb. 27, 1851. CHAP. XIII. — *An Act making Appropriations for the Payment of Revolutionary and other Pensions of the United States, for the Year ending the thirtieth of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and the same are hereby, appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the payment of pensions for the year ending the thirtieth of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two:—

1818, ch. 19. For revolutionary pensions, under the act of the eighteenth of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, fifty-eight thousand dollars.

For invalid pensions, under various acts, five hundred thousand five hundred dollars.

1836, ch. 323. For pensions for widows and orphans, under the acts of July the fourth, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and July the twenty-first, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, six hundred and forty thousand seven hundred and sixty dollars.

1838, ch. 189. For pensions to widows, under the act of seventh July, eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, sixty thousand dollars.

1843, ch. 102. For pensions to widows, under the act of the third of March, eighteen hundred and forty-three, twenty thousand dollars.

1844, ch. 102. For pensions to widows, under the acts of the seventeenth June, eighteen hundred and forty-four, second of February, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, and twenty-ninth of July, eighteen hundred and forty-eight, eight hundred and sixty-two thousand six hundred and forty dollars.

1813, ch. 18. For half-pay pensions to widows and orphans, provided for by the eleventh section of an act approved January the twenty-ninth, eighteen hundred and thirteen, and the first and second sections of an act approved the sixteenth of April, eighteen hundred and sixteen, in addition to a balance remaining in the treasury undrawn on the fifteenth of October, eighteen hundred and fifty, of twenty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars and nine cents, ten thousand dollars.

APPROVED, February 27, 1851.

Feb. 27, 1851. CHAP. XIV. — *An Act making Appropriations for the current and contingent Expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with various Indian Tribes, for the Year ending June the thirtieth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following sums be, and they are hereby, appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of paying the

Appendix 5. The Indian Appropriation Act.

Legislative Acts of Colonial Land Appropriation, 1951 Indian Appropriation Act, 27 Feb. 27, 1851, U of Maryland, p. 574-586,

govtrackus.s3.amazonaws.com/legislink/pdf/stat/9/STATUTE-9-Pg574a.pdf

Accessed 2 July 2023.

Congress approved February 28, 1931, June 9, 1932, and June 13, 1933, are hereby extended one and three years, respectively, from June 13, 1934.

Amendment.

SEC. 2. The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is hereby expressly reserved.

Approved, June 18, 1934.

[CHAPTER 576.]

AN ACT

June 18, 1934.

[S. 3833.]

[Public, No. 383.]

To conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes.

Indian affairs.
Future allotment in
severalty prohibited.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter no land of any Indian reservation, created or set apart by treaty or agreement with the Indians, Act of Congress, Executive order, purchase, or otherwise, shall be allotted in severalty to any Indian.

Existing trust pe-
riods extended.

SEC. 2. The existing periods of trust placed upon any Indian lands and any restriction on alienation thereof are hereby extended and continued until otherwise directed by Congress.

Restoration of lands
to tribal ownership.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of the Interior, if he shall find it to be in the public interest, is hereby authorized to restore to tribal ownership the remaining surplus lands of any Indian reservation heretofore opened, or authorized to be opened, to sale, or any other form of disposal by Presidential proclamation, or by any of the public-land laws of the United States: *Provided, however,* That valid rights or claims of any persons to any lands so withdrawn existing on the date of the withdrawal shall not be affected by this Act: *Provided*

Precious.
Existing valid rights
not affected.

further, That this section shall not apply to lands within any reclamation project heretofore authorized in any Indian reservation: *Provided*

Lands in reclamation
projects.

further, That the order of the Department of the Interior signed, dated, and approved by Honorable Ray Lyman Wilbur, as Secretary of the Interior, on October 28, 1932, temporarily withdrawing lands

Order temporarily
withdrawing Papago
Reservation lands
from mineral entry,
etc., revoked.

of the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona from all forms of mineral entry or claim under the public land mining laws, is hereby revoked and rescinded, and the lands of the said Papago Indian Reservation are hereby restored to exploration and location, under the existing mining laws of the United States, in accordance with the express terms and provisions declared and set forth in the Executive orders establishing said Papago Indian Reservation:

Resulting damages
to be paid tribe; limita-
tion.

Provided further, That damages shall be paid to the Papago Tribe for loss of any improvements on any land located for mining in such a sum as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior

Annual rental to be
paid.

Provided further, That a yearly rental not to exceed five cents per acre shall be paid to the Papago Tribe for loss of the use or occupancy of any land withdrawn by the requirements of mining operations, and payments

Applicant for min-
eral patent must first
make deposit of rent.

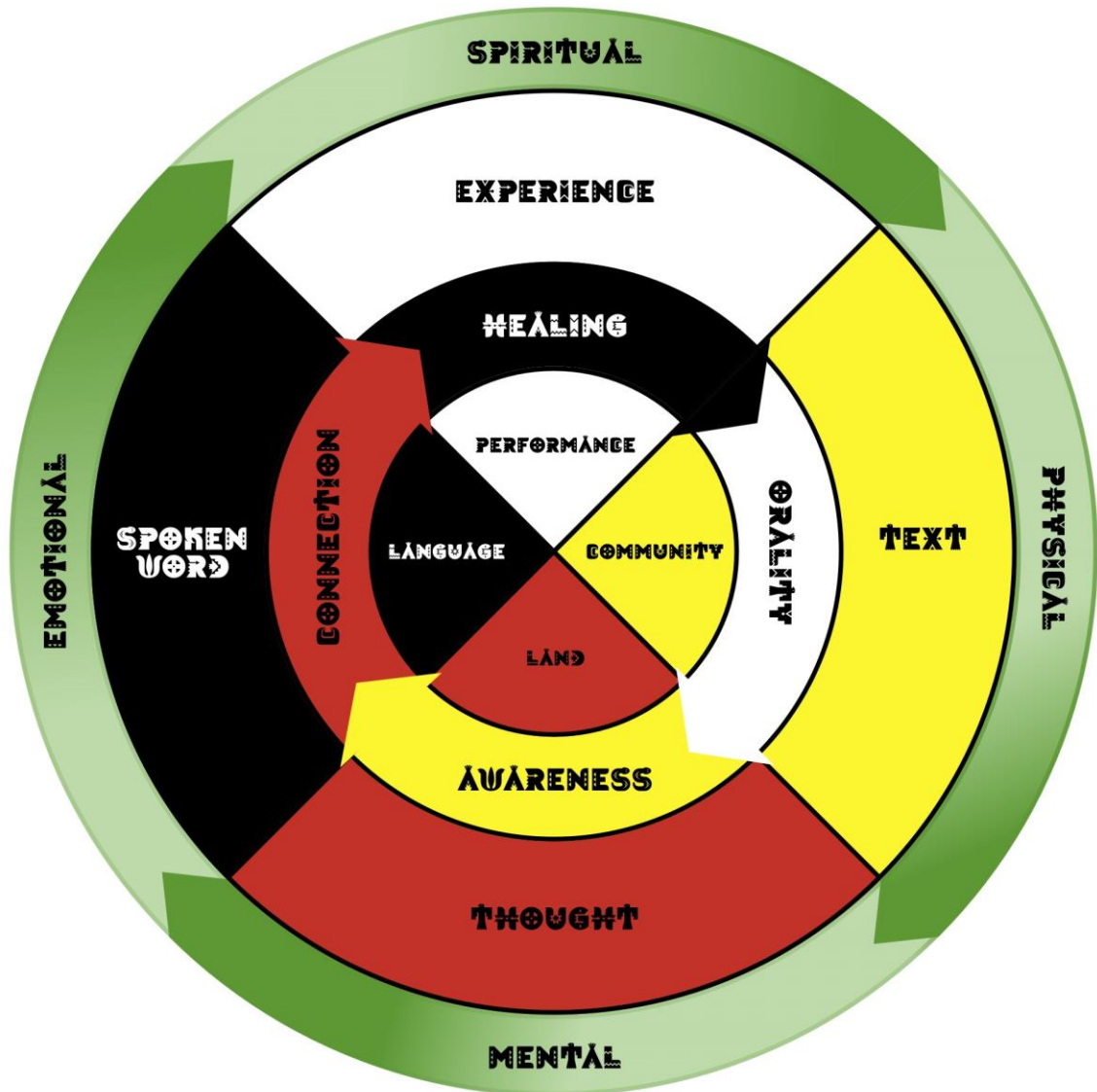
derived from damages or rentals shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Papago Tribe: *Provided*

further, That in the event any person or persons, partnership, corporation, or association, desires a mineral patent, according to the mining laws of the United States, he or they shall first deposit in the Treasury of the United States to the credit of the Papago Tribe the sum of \$1.00 per acre in lieu of annual rental, as hereinbefore provided, to compensate for the loss or occupancy of the lands withdrawn by the requirements of mining operations: *Provided further,*

Appendix 6. The Indian Reorganization Act.

An Act to Conserve and Develop Indian Lands and Resources; to Extend to Indians the Right to Form Business and Other Organizations; to Establish a Credit System for Indians; to Grant Certain Rights of Home Rule to Indians; to Provide for Vocational Education for Indians, and for Other Purposes. Public Law 383. US Statues at Large 48, 1934, U of North Dakota, pp. 984-988, commons.und.edu/indigenous-gov-docs/126/. Accessed 2 July 2023.

1. Identifying Paradigms of Postmodern Indigenous Writing - Epistemological Achievements



Appendix 7. The Balance Wheel.

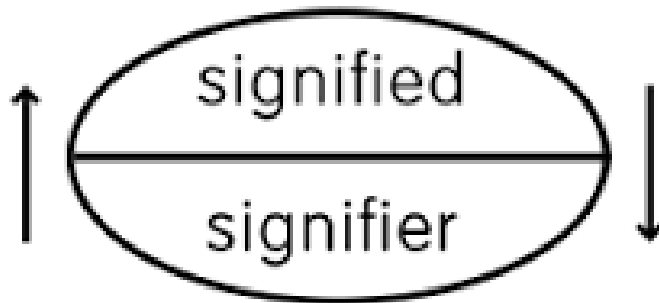
1.4. Serb-Indian Realm of Semblance: Representations of Indigeneity in Serbian Slang



Appendix 8. Nismo mi „Indijanci” (“We Are Not ‘Indians’”).

Mastlović Jasnić, Ivana. „Od hevi metala do politike. Nepoznati detalji iz biografije Siniše Malog.” *Blic*, 26 July 2016,

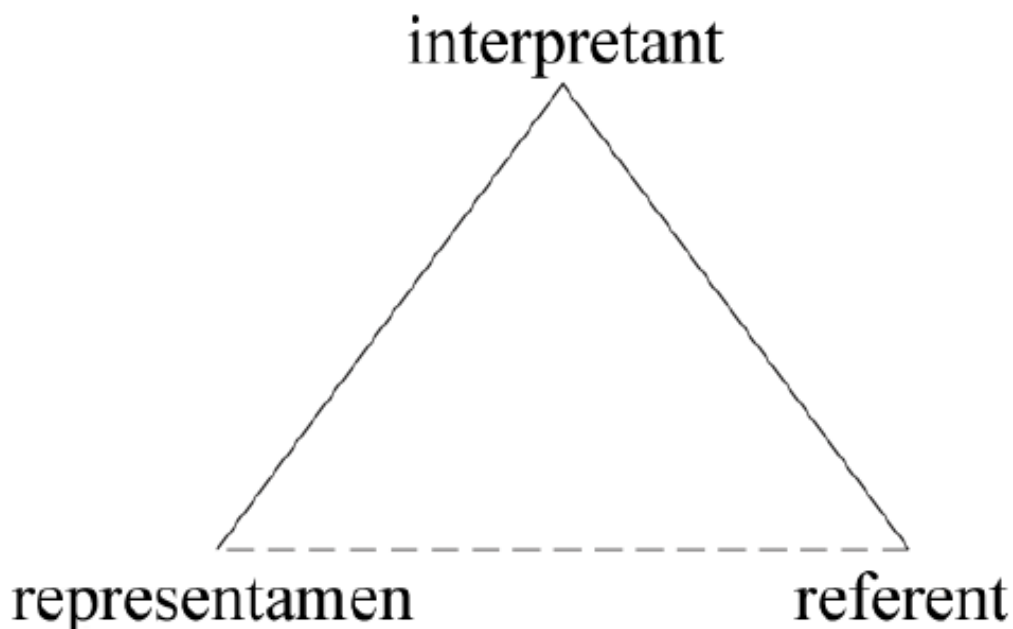
www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/od-hevi-metala-do-politike-nepoznati-detajli-iz-biografije-sinise-malog/6z7f1ms. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 9. De Saussure's Model of the Sign.

Chandler, Daniel. *Semiotics: The Basics*. 2nd ed. Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007, p. 14,

www.wayanswardhani.lecture.ub.ac.id/files/2013/09/Semiotics-the-Basics.pdf. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 10. Peirce's Semiotic Triangle.

Chandler, Daniel, 2007. *Semiotics: The Basics*. 2nd ed. Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 2007, p. 30,

www.wayanswardhani.lecture.ub.ac.id/files/2013/09/Semiotics-the-Basics.pdf. Accessed 2 July 2023.

4.1. Cross-cultural Perception of Gender: Rethinking Indigenous Gender Roles



Appendix 11. Infographic - Sex vs. Gender.

Infographic - Sex vs. Gender. Canadian Institutes of Health Research. What is gender? What is sex?

www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/documents/igh_s17_infographic_gender_sex-en.pdf. Accessed 2 July 2023.

Appendix 12.

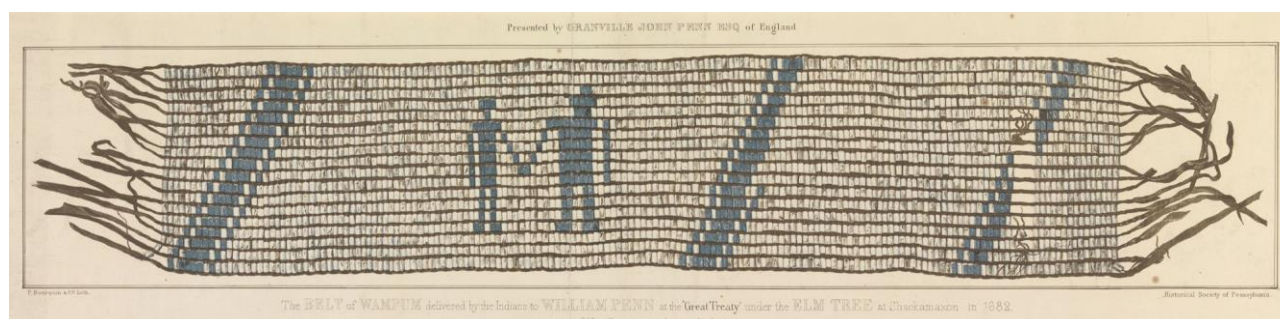
Table 1

Concepts related to sex at birth, gender and cisgender, transgender and non-binary

Variables and classifications	Cisgender, transgender and non-binary	
Gender/Sex at birth	Male	Female
Man	Cisgender man	Transgender man
Woman	Transgender woman	Cisgender woman
Non-binary person	Non-binary person	Non-binary person

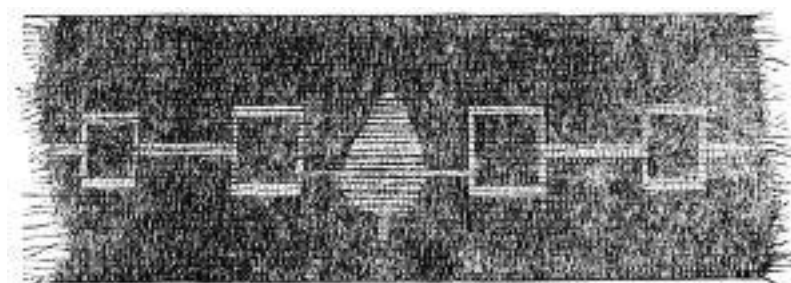
Source: Statistics Canada, 2021.

Concepts [R]elated to [S]ex at [B]irth, [G]ender and [C]isgender, [T]ransgender and [N]on-[Binary]. Age, Sex at Birth and Gender Reference Guide, Census of Population, 2021. www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/ref/98-500/014/98-500-x2021014-eng.cfm. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 13. The Wampum.

“The belt of wampum delivered by the Indians to William Penn at the ‘Great Treaty’ under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon in 1682. ‘Not Sworn to and never Broken.’ Presented by Granville John Penn ESQ of England. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1857.” digital.librarycompany.org/islandora/object/digitool%3A64307. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 14. The Hiawatha Belt.

The Hiawatha Belt. Museum of Ontario Archeology. London Ontario. archaeologymuseum.ca/wampum/. Accessed 2 July 2023.



Appendix 15. The Two-[R]ow Wampum (Kaswehnta).

The Two Row Wampum (Kaswehnta). Museum of Ontario Archeology. London Ontario. archaeologymuseum.ca/wampum/. Accessed 2 July 2023.

Appendix 16. Lexis for the Survey Logo: Word Cloud.

trickster
trickster
Canada
Canada
Canada
the~USA
the~USA
two-spirited
colour
race
racial
Native~Americans
Indian~Americans
First~Nations
First~Nations
Métis
Métis
Inuit
Inuit
sacred~hoop
sacred~hoop
medicine~wheel
medicine~wheel
mixed-blood
mestizo
Amerindian
Hiawatha
Pocahontas
Chief
Chief
medicine~man
medicine~woman
Winnetou
dances
Indians

American~Indians
Indigenous~Peoples
Indigenous~Peoples
Indigenous~Peoples
Indigenous~Peoples
ethnic
colonized
self-identifying
outsiders
Indigenous~Peoples
Indigenous~Peoples
healing ceremonies
Indigenous~Peoples
tipis~(teepees)
longhouses
Indigenous~Peoples
reservations
reserves
Indigenous~Peoples
eco-conscious
Indigenous~Peoples
extinction
vanishing~Indians
Indigenous~Peoples
noble~savages
Indian~princesses
Indigenous~Peoples
frail~health
diseases
race
ethnicities
ethnicities
Indigenous~Peoples
addiction~problems
Indigenous~Peoples
taxes
Canada
the~USA
Indigenous~Peoples
College/university~tuition
Indigenous~Peoples
casino~gaming~industry
Indigenous~Peoples
smoking
pipe
Indigenous~Peoples
magic~tricks
Indigenous~Peoples

beads
Indigenous~Peoples
dark skin
straight~black~hair
aquiline~nose
Indigenous~Peoples
moccasins
mukluks
buckskins
beaded~dresses
skin
Indigenous~Peoples
Redskins
red
squaw
racial
genocide
Indigenous~women~and~girls)
abused
missing~and~murdered
missing~and~murdered
mistreatment
Indigenous~Peoples
self-identifying
Indigenous~Peoples
cultural~genocide
residential~schools
apology
Indigenous~Peoples
maltreatment
Indigenous~Peoples
land
land
nature
nature
languages
languages
Creator
spirit
Indigenous~Peoples
time
circular
Iroquois~hairstyle
Jeep~Cherokee/Grand~Cherokee
dream~catcher
scalp
smoke~signals
pipe

wigwams
warbonnets/headaddresses
traditional~dance~gatherings
rituals
movies
spirituality
herbs
unity
nature
war
peace
unfairness
shame
strange
strange
spirit
Columbus
legends
jokes
Western~movies
West
books
residential~schools
powwows
powwows
dance
regalia
food
crafts
mukluks
buckskin
hides
missing
murdered
genocide
colonized
colonizers
Columbus
colonization
spirit
past
past

The Survey – Voices on Indigenous Peoples



Appendix 17. A Survey Logo.



Appendix 18. A Completion Checkmark.

pixabay.com/illustrations/quality-hook-check-mark-ticked-off-500950/. Accessed 2 July 2023.

SAYINGS IN THE HEADINGS

Abstract

“The Indian and the white man perceive the world in different ways. I take it that this is an obvious fact and a foregone conclusion. But at the same time, I am convinced that we do not understand the distinction entirely or even sufficiently.”

N. Scott Momaday

Introductory Notes

“When you know who you are when your mission is clear, and you burn with the inner fire of unbreakable will; no cold can touch your heart; no deluge can dampen your purpose. You know that you are alive.”

Chief Seattle, a Suquamish and Duwamish leader

1.

“We will be known forever by the tracks we leave.”

Dakota Sioux

1.1.

“You have to look deeper, way below the anger, the hurt, the hate, the jealousy, the self-pity, way down deeper where the dreams lie, son. Find your dream. It’s the pursuit of the dream that heals you.”

Billy Mills of the Oglala Lakota, an Olympic athlete

1.2.

“A very great vision is needed, and the man who has it must follow it as the eagle seeks the deepest blue of the sky.”

Crazy Horse, an Oglala Lakota leader

1.3.

“The finest of my elders remind me that being Indian is an attitude, a state of mind, a way of being in harmony with all things and all beings. It is allowing the heart to be the distributor of energy on this planet: to allow feelings and sensitivities to determine where energy goes; bringing aliveness up from the Earth and from the Sky, pulling it in and giving it out from the heart, the very center of one’s being. That is the Indian way.”

Brooke “Medicine Eagle” Edwards, a writer

1.4.

“In retrospect, I realized that we have done them (Indians) wrong. (...) These films were for me, a bit of an attempt to correct the story.(...) I have always admired their (Indian) beliefs and attitudes. ... I feel that my films have given them (Indians) a piece of restitution.”

Gojko Mitić, an actor

1.5.

"It is no longer good enough to cry peace. We must act peace, live peace, and march in piece in alliance with the people of the world."

Leon Shenandoah, an Onondaga Chief

2.

"You can't wake a person who is pretending to be asleep."

Navajo

2.1.

"Force, no matter how concealed, begets resistance."

Lakota

2.2.

"All dreams spin out from the same web."

Hopi

3.

"When all the trees have been cut down, when all the animals have been hunted, when all the waters are polluted, when all the air is unsafe to breathe, only then will you discover you cannot eat money."

Cree

3.1.

"In the circle, we are all equal. There is no one in front of you and there's nobody behind you. No one is above you, no one is below you. The circle is sacred because it's designed to create unity."

Lakota

3.2.

"Take only memories, leave nothing but footprints."

Chief Seattle, a Suquamish and Duwamish leader

4.

"It does not require many words to speak the truth."

Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé

4.1.

“Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The Earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it.”

Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé

4.2.

“My own story has meaning only as long as it is a part of the overall story of my people. For above all else, I am a Cherokee woman.”

Wilma Mankiller (Atsilasgi Asgayadihi), a Cherokee Chief

5.

“There are no truths, Coyote,” I says. “Only stories.”
“Okay, says Coyote. “Tell me a story.”

Thomas King

5.1.

“This story deserves to be told; all stories do.”

Lee Maracle

5.2.

Why We Dance

“To dance is to pray,
to pray is to heal,
to heal is to give,
to give is to live,
to live is to dance.”

Remembering atop Palocca on First Mesa, MariJo Moore, a writer

6.

“From nowhere we came; into nowhere we go. What is life? It is the flash of a firefly in the night. It is the breath of a buffalo in the wintertime. It is the little shadow which runs across the grass and loses itself in the sunset.”

Crowfoot Blackfoot Warrior Chief

7.

“Looking behind, I am filled with gratitude, looking forward, I am filled with vision, looking upwards I am filled with strength, looking within, I discover peace.”

A Quero Apache prayer

Appendix 20 - Sayings in the Headings

BIOGRAPHY

Marija Glišić Dunović, born in Jagodina, Serbia, is a graduate philologist in English Language and Literature. She holds a Master of Arts from the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology.

After completing her studies, she went to Canada and the USA, where she researched identity in Indigenous Literatures. In Toronto, she met Lee Maracle, a famous traditional teacher. She volunteered as Maracle's assistant at the First Nations House at the University of Toronto. In 2014, she moved to Toronto, where she has lived ever since, working as a Senior ESL Evaluator and an SLE Coach.

Her areas of interest are American Literature and Indigenous Studies. She sees herself as a missionary promoting Indigenous Literatures to Serbian readers. Marija Glišić Dunović has been a member of the CEACS (Central European Association for Canadian Studies) since March 2012. She has spoken about indigeneity nationally and internationally.

Published Works:

1. "Deconstructing Indigenous Feminism: A View from the Other Side." *Central European Journal of Canadian Studies. European Association for Canadian Studies.* vol. 10/11., Sep. 2017, pp. 107-118,

ISBN 978-80-210-8689-0 (paperback), ISBN 978-80-210-8690-6 (online: pdf) ISSN 1213-7715

digilib.phil.muni.cz/_flysystem/fedora/pdf/138479.pdf.

Cited in

Sekhar, Ajitha. "Plight of Native Aborigines in North America." *International Journal of Engineering Applied Sciences and Technology*, 2022, vol. 7, no. 4, ISSN no. 2455-2143, pp. 189-191, www.ijeast.com/papers/189-191,%20Tesma0704,IJEAST.pdf.

2. Master's Thesis: *Crnosivi svet Grejama Grina: Beseda o Grinlendu*. ["Graham Greene's *Black-Gray World: A Tale of Greenland*."] (A Dialogical Discussion on the Motif of Pity in Graham Greene's Novels), Globe Edit, 2019.

ISBN 978-613-9-42063-6

www.morebooks.de/store/gb/book/Crnosivi-svet-Grejama-Grina:-Beseda-o-Grinlendu/isbn/978-613-9-42063-6

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Број индекса 18056/д

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