

Publishing in North American Indigenous Languages

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Declaration by candidate

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15th September 2016

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Abstract

Developing Indigenous literacy is often seen as a key component of successful language revitalization programs (Fishman 1991, Watahomigie and McCarty 1997, Grenoble and Whaley 2005), particularly in contexts such as North America where literacy in the dominant language is widespread and necessary for participation in daily life. To date, however, there has been no systemic evaluation of the types of literature available to readers of Indigenous languages. I provide a strategic analysis of reading material available in Indigenous languages across North America, and examine how Indigenous language literature can affect perceptions of language prestige. The idea of prestige is especially crucial in the North American context, where the majority of Indigenous languages are highly endangered and have undergone language shift. Most North American Indigenous people acquire literacy in English or French first, and are exposed to literature that encompasses a wide variety of subjects, reading levels, and genres. In conducting a survey of 2,260 titles across 102 languages and dialects, I take stock of the state of the art of Indigenous language publishing in North America and identify the challenges faced by language revitalization programs that incorporate Indigenous literacy. I also discuss the role literature can play in prestige planning, and provide suggestions for the success of Indigenous language publishing efforts in the future.

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1. Introduction

There are 566 federally recognized tribes in the United States of America (National Conference of State Legislatures 2016) and over 600 First Nations bands in Canada (Statistics Canada 2011a), many of which are actively engaged in language revitalization efforts for the 169 Indigenous languages spoken in the United States of America (Siebens and Julian 2011) and 60 languages spoken in Canada (Statistics Canada 2011b). These language communities represent diverse cultural entities, and each has its own relationship to its heritage language and its revitalization. The choice to develop Indigenous literacy (or not) falls outside the scope of this paper (see Bielenberg 1999 for an overview); instead, I am concerned with the approaches Indigenous language literacy programs take in regards to building an Indigenous language literary tradition (Bernard 1997). While Indigenous North America is by no means monolithic, this dissertation explores the commonalities between the titles published by these communities and identifies the challenges they all face in building a body of Indigenous literature.

As will be discussed in Section 2, there is a paucity of literature on publishing in all minority languages, let alone North American Indigenous languages. This dissertation therefore fills a gap in the literature by providing a systemic analysis of the currently available Indigenous language literature, answering the questions of what literature is available, how it is published, why it is published, and for whom. These questions are addressed via the analysis of an extensive database of all discoverable and accessible Indigenous language literature in North America, encompassing 2260 titles across 102 languages. In Section 3 I analyze the distribution of these titles across subjects, reading levels, and genres, and interrogate their roles within language revitalization contexts. Section 4 continues this interrogation by asking how the inherent prestige of books and literature can be exploited to aid in the prestige and image planning for these languages. Finally, I make suggestions for how Indigenous language communities who wish to build a body of Indigenous language literature can best do so, taking into account the numerous challenges faced by such projects.

2. The Role of Publishing in Language Revitalization

The question of whether to develop literacy within Indigenous language revitalization and maintenance programs is one that must be answered on a case-by-case basis. In the North American context of Native American and First Nations communities, there are many reasons both in favor of including literacy development and against including it; pro-Indigenous literacy development programs are often motivated by a desire to promote the language and develop Indigenous-language curricula (Watahomigie and McCarty 1997) and to preserve the language (Zaharlick 1982:44) while the reasons not to develop Indigenous literacy largely revolve around the prioritization of oral language transmission and the preservation of oral culture (Benjamin, Pecos and Romero 1997; Sims 2002, 2006), but can also stem from a distrust of reading and writing as a Western practice (Scollon and Scollon 1981, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998, Bielenberg 1999). For revitalization programs that choose to include literacy development, there are many hurdles to jump: how to develop an orthography, whether to standardize the written language across dialects, which dialect to choose if so, and, most importantly, the publication of reading materials. This section focuses on the current literature on Indigenous language publication around the world and all that entails, including motivations behind publishing and the challenges Indigenous language publishers face, both social and economic, as these will be relevant when discussing the North American context.

The publication of Indigenous language reading materials has been identified by several language documentation experts as a key strategy in the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous languages. Yamamoto (1998:114) includes in her guidelines for the maintenance and promotion of minority languages: “Development of written literature, some based on the traditional oral literature and some newly created literature. Literary tradition has proven, in the history of languages, to be an effective means of survival and enhancement of language.”

Bernard (1997) elaborates on this view, arguing that “training Indigenous authors to write books in their native languages [...] extends greatly the accurate archiving of those languages” (Bernard 1997:143). In addition to Indigenous language revitalization activities such as language nest programs and training Indigenous speakers as linguists, Bernard (1997) holds that the development of Indigenous publishing houses – ones engaged with building a market and supplying that market with a range of titles – is vital in preserving linguistic diversity; Indigenous literacy by itself is not a sufficient solution. Additionally, Bernard (1997) points out that while many Indigenous languages have a writing system, most reading materials are limited to religious texts and primers and readers developed for schoolchildren in programs oriented towards transitional literacy, i.e., the development of Indigenous literacy to better facilitate literacy in the dominant language. Very little Indigenous literature exists that speakers may choose to purchase and read for enjoyment outside the educational and religious domains. For most of the world’s Indigenous languages, no written literary tradition exists; prior to contact with written language cultures, most Indigenous cultures maintained oral traditions of knowledge preservation. A lack of a literary tradition, Bernard (1997:145) states, puts minority languages at a great disadvantage to those languages with a literary tradition, and exacerbates the danger of dying out. Therefore, he argues, an Indigenous publishing industry should be established to extend Indigenous literature beyond educational materials in order to develop a literary tradition that can compete with that of the dominant language, and better represent Indigenous knowledge and cultural values than the literature of the “literary language” is able to. Furthermore, Bernard (1997) echoes Krauss (1992:8) in noting that any sort of Indigenous language literature contributes to the documentation of that language. Beyond providing an additional source of linguistic knowledge that may be of great practical value in future revitalization projects (as in the case of Wampanoag, Ash et al. 2001), Indigenous language literature is not only “valuable for science, but it is also a national treasure

for the people whose languages are thus preserved. The very existence of a book on a shelf or an archive of manuscripts can be of crucial symbolic value.” (Krauss 1992:8)

Although much of the literature on language documentation and revitalization touches upon the importance of creating books for Indigenous language communities, there is very little written about the actual publishing process for Indigenous language literature and the challenges involved. There is no systemic research that analyzes existing publishing endeavors across languages; the literature that does exist focuses on specific socio-political contexts that vary from the relatively stable and robust Catalan publishing industry in Spain (Jacob and Vose 2010) to struggling grassroots Indigenous language publishing projects in Mexico (Rus and Rus 2012) and South Africa (Ngulube 2012). The academic literature on Indigenous language publishing in the United States and Canada is scarce: Weidman (2006) provides an annotated bibliography of texts featuring Indigenous languages to greater or lesser extents, but no commentary on the publishing process; Koch et al. (2013) detail the process of *writing* a Blackfoot children’s ebook, touching on challenges of orthography and translation, but publication is not discussed.

While the anecdotal data the current literature provides largely cannot be applied to broader paradigms of publishing in smaller languages, there are still a number of parallels that can be drawn and commonalities across the publishing projects. For example, Jacob and Vose’s (2010) observations on Catalan publishing largely cannot apply to the North American context—Catalan enjoys a population of 9 million speakers (Jacob and Vose 2010), whereas the largest Native American language speaking population, Navajo, barely reaches 170,000 (United States Census Bureau 2010). It is interesting to note, however, that of the 8,544 Catalan titles published in the language in 2007, most of those titles were for children: 37.9% as primary and secondary-level textbooks, and 25.3% as children’s literature (Jacob and Vose 2010:132). As we will see in Section 3.3, this orientation towards publishing for younger speakers

seems to be symptomatic of top-down language planning efforts that focus on primary school education as the driving force of language maintenance and revitalization.

Although many Indigenous language publishing efforts do focus on publications for children, children's literature can actually end up neglected in grassroots Indigenous language publishing efforts. Ngulube (2012) highlights the work of what he terms the "alternative press"—Indigenous book publishing companies that operate outside of the mainstream industry—in producing and promoting books written in endangered languages of South Africa, but laments the lack of children's literature produced by these publishing outfits, as intergenerational transmission is key for language survival (Fishman 1991).

Another grassroots publishing project, the Taller Tzotzil project (Rus and Rus 2012) in Chiapas, Mexico, focused on promoting Indigenous expression and co-production of knowledge, written by and for Tzotzil-speaking adults. The Tzotzil publications had wide-reaching consequences within the communities, not only due to the revolutionary act of writing in Tzotzil, but also the alternative histories expressed (Rus and Rus 2012). The highly politicized nature of the publishing activities of the Taller Tzotzil and many of the alternative presses of South Africa mean that many are no longer publishing today; consequently, much of the literature published by those outfits is no longer in print and available to Indigenous language readers. While those publications served an important role in a particular time and place, their lack of continued availability makes for a weak foundation for building an Indigenous literary tradition in the sense Bernard (1997) argues for.

Across the sparse literature, it is acknowledged that publishing in smaller languages comes with a number of challenges. For those languages which do not have a standardized writing system, choosing

an orthography can be fraught with clashing political ideologies¹ (although Bernard (1997:147) points to the gradual development of English orthography and states, “It is simply not necessary to find the perfect orthography to begin developing a literary corpus.”). Finding trained Indigenous writers, editors, illustrators, designers, and marketers is also a challenge, as Sheahan-Bright (2011) points out for the Australian context. Sheahan-Bright writes about Indigenous literature more generally, not Indigenous language literature; for those publishing efforts that utilize Indigenous languages, finding people with publishing skills is even more difficult.

Economic considerations are, above all else, the biggest challenge faced by Indigenous language publishers. Many, like the Taller Tzotzil project (Rus and Rus 2012), are forced to use lower production values and produce “booklets,” with cheap paper and bound together with staples, coils, or low-cost glue. While this can mean more affordable products (*Abtel ta Pinka*, the first Taller Tzotzil title, was sold for US \$0.30 to community members and US \$5.00 in bookstores when published in 1990 (Rus and Rus 2012)), the longevity of these books is sacrificed, and once they are out of print, it becomes extremely difficult to find copies in good condition. Additionally, when books are published with lower production values than books published in the language of wider communication, the “symbolic value” Krauss (1992) advocates for can be greatly compromised with the perception that only second-rate languages are worthy of second-rate books (see Section 4 for a discussion of prestige planning and publishing). In order to produce high-quality, durable, prestigious books, subsidization from the government or NGOs is necessary; even relatively successful minority language publishing industries like Catalan rely heavily on subsidies to publish (Jacob and Vose 2010).

¹ For further discussion on the development of orthographies for unwritten languages in North America and elsewhere, see Burnaby 1985, Grenoble and Whaley 2006, Seifart 2006, Lüpke 2011, and Cahill and Rice 2014.

While ideally “publishing should serve a cultural, intellectual and social purpose rather than a commercial purpose per se,” as Ngulube (2012:11) declares, print publishing for small markets is rarely economically sustainable. Creative solutions must be found for these economic hurdles. Bernard (1997) suggests that Indigenous publishers should take on functions beyond book publication to both support the publishing house and create economic opportunities for speakers. As an example, Bernard points to the activities of the Centro Editorial de Literatura Indígena, Asociación Civil (CELIAC) in Oaxaca, Mexico, which not only published Indigenous language literature (and Indigenous literature in Spanish), but also produced audio products for purchase, conducted surveys under governmental contract in Indigenous languages, and created an exchange program with a college in the United States (Bernard 1997).

In another example of overcoming the economic challenges of publishing in small languages, Edwards (2007) describes two case studies concerning minority language children’s books. Both involve co-publishing, wherein various language communities pooled together resources to publish a children’s book in several different languages. By taking advantage of the printing process wherein a picture book passes through the press three times, with text only being added on the final run, numerous communities were able to share the costs of printing. Relatively large print runs (16,000 for one project, 20,000 for another) facilitated by printing in multiple languages meant that the unit price was significantly lowered and thus more affordable for publishers and readers. While this solution is ideal for illustrated children’s books, however, it should be noted that it does not make the production of non-illustrated books any less costly.

The foregoing touches upon a few of the issues that characterize the global landscape for publishing in Indigenous and minority languages, and highlights the scarcity of literature on publishing in smaller languages. Although the contexts are quite different to the cases reviewed above, North

American Indigenous language publishing faces many of the same challenges. Section 3 delves into the current state of the art of Indigenous language publishing in North America.

3. The State of the Art of Indigenous Language Publishing in North America

In this section, I investigate to what extent the communities that choose to incorporate Indigenous literacy into their language revitalization programs have succeeded in building the “literary tradition” that Bernard (1997) believes is integral to linguistic preservation. To do so, I compiled a database of the currently available literature published in Indigenous languages, with the aim of gauging the state of Indigenous language publishing in North America. My guiding research questions were: What literature is available? How was it published? For what purposes was it published? For which audiences is the available literature written? What genres and subjects are represented in the available literature?

In answering these questions I hope to paint an accurate picture of the state of the art of Indigenous language publishing in North America. The final database consists of 2,260 titles in 102 languages and dialects across North America (see Appendix I for the full database and Appendix II for a listing of languages in the database) and reveals how far Indigenous language publishing has come, and how far it has yet to go. Section 3.1 discusses how data was collected for the database, including methodological justifications for inclusion (or exclusion) of titles. Sections 3.2 through 3.4 comprise a detailed quantitative analysis of the available Indigenous language literature indexed in the database, with analysis split between educational publishers and non-educational publishers, and children’s literature versus adult literature. I also give a brief profile of three notable publishing companies in order to give some insight into some Indigenous language publishing issues. Finally, in Section 3.5 I discuss the overarching trends displayed in the data analysis and their consequences for language revitalization and Indigenous literacy development.

3.1 Data Collection

For the purposes of this study, “literature” is defined as written material published in a book format (both in print or produced digitally as an ebook²) that can be read for entertainment or personal edification. Reference materials such as textbooks, dictionaries, grammars, glossaries, phrase books, compendiums of place names, and curriculum guidelines are not included in the scope of this study. Bible translations are also not included, however, adapted Bible stories such as *Jesus is Born* by Elizabeth Jancewicz (Naskapi Development Corporation, 2010) are included, as well as published liturgical services originally written in Indigenous languages (cf. the [Yukon Native Language Centre](#)³). Texts collected by linguists and published for academic consumption have also been excluded, with a few exceptions for volumes judged to published for trade consumption, such judgment based on price point (less than US \$40.00), availability in retailers, and marketing. As an example, *Aanjikiing: Changing Worlds - An Anishinaabe Traditional Funeral* by Lee Obizaan Staples & Chato Ombishkebines Gonzalez (University of Manitoba: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Memoirs, 2015) features attractive cover art, retails for US \$30.00, and is available for purchase online from [Birchbark Books](#)⁴.

The construction of the database of Indigenous literature was centered on two main principles: discoverability and accessibility. Literature was considered “discoverable” if it could be found on the Internet via basic search engine terms (e.g., “Navajo language books”) or through online resources compiled for the purpose of guiding interested parties to materials (e.g., “[First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Publishers and Distributors](#)⁵,” published online by University of Toronto Libraries, and “[Language and](#)

² An ebook is here defined as a digital product that is designed to be read page-by-page and can be accessed while off-line. For example, a picture book made available as a downloadable PDF would be considered an ebook; a traditional story transcribed and made available as a contiguous block of text on a website would not be.

³ <http://www.ynlc.ca/>

⁴ <http://birchbarkbooks.com/>

⁵ <http://guides.library.utoronto.ca/Aboriginalpublishers> Accessed 15 July, 2016.

[Culture Links](#)⁶,” published on the blog *âpihtawikosisân*). Literature was considered “accessible” if it is currently in print and/or available for purchase from distributors. If materials were discoverable but not accessible outside of limited library collections, they were not included. Out-of-print materials that are cheaply available (for less than US \$10) from more than ten sellers on online used book vendors were included. Materials that required interested buyers to contact the publisher directly and potentially prove tribal affiliation were also included if sufficient information about the nature of the material was provided; that is, literature need not have been *publically* accessible to be included, only accessible to appropriate readers.

The information collected for each item includes:

- title of the book;
- publisher;
- year published;
- format (i.e., monolingual or bilingual);
- language;
- genre (i.e., picture book, novel, nonfiction, etc.);
- audience (by age group);
- whether or not the material could be considered ‘traditional’;
- binding;
- page count;
- price;
- accessibility (e.g., whether the title was available from Amazon or via the publisher only);
- and any relevant notes (e.g., if the title was translated from another language).

⁶ <http://apihtawikosisan.com/language-links-2/publishers/> Accessed 15 July, 2016.

Where information was not readily available for material on the website of the publisher or distributor, reference was made to WorldCat⁷. It should be noted that although library catalogues such as WorldCat are an excellent source for discovering titles in North American Indigenous languages, many of those titles are out of print and are only available in library collections. (For example, the Cherokee language keyword search on WorldCat turns up over 340 results; my database, however, only lists 18 titles that are currently available to Cherokee readers and conform to my definition of Indigenous language literature.) The full database constructed for this study can be found via the information given in Appendix I.

3.2 *Indigenous Language Literature by Nation and Language*

In this section I give a broad overview of the Indigenous language titles included in the database, detailing where Indigenous language books are published and in which languages. Table 1 gives an overall breakdown of the available literature by country; Table 2 shows which languages are represented in the literature.

Table 1. The number of Indigenous language titles available by nation

Nation	Titles	Percentage
Canada	1806	79.9%
USA	444	19.6%
US/CA	8	0.4%
UK	2	0.1%
Total	2260	100%

⁷ www.worldcat.org

Table 2. The number of Indigenous language titles available by language

Languages	Titles	Percentage
Cree ⁸	756	33.5%
Northern Athabaskan ¹	442	19.6%
Ojibwe ¹	291	12.9%
Eskimo-Aleut ¹	276	12.2%
Navajo	126	5.6%
Mohawk	88	3.9%
Lakota and Dakota	83	3.7%
Michif	38	1.7%
Mi'kmaq	21	0.9%
Cherokee	18	0.8%
Tlingit	17	0.8%
Cayuga	15	0.7%
Oneida	11	0.5%
Other ⁹	78	3.5%
Total	2260	100%

Although Canada's Indigenous languages number just 60 compared to the United States' 169 languages (Statistics Canada 2011b, Siebens and Julian 2011), those languages—the various dialects of Cree and Ojibwe in particular—are disproportionately represented in the available Indigenous language literature. This discrepancy in the volume of publishing between Canada and the United States of America is due to the publishing efforts of Indigenous language education programs in Canada, several of which opt to offer their extensive catalogues of language materials on their websites. In fact, 64% of all titles in the database are published by language education institutions such as schools and Indigenous councils. The distribution of titles in the database between educational publishers and non-educational publishers is illustrated in Table 3:

⁸ Data about individual languages and dialects have been grouped together here by language families. Represented in Table 1 are 13 individual languages and dialects for Cree, 19 individual languages for Northern Athabaskan, 16 individual languages and dialects for Eskimo-Aleut, and 4 individual dialects for Ojibwe. A detailed breakdown of titles per language can be seen in Appendix II.

⁹ Languages with fewer than 10 titles available have been grouped into the 'Other' category, which represents 48 individual languages. It may be of interest to note that 26 of these languages are represented only by a single title. See Appendix Y for more details.

Table 3. Distribution of titles between educational and non-educational publishers

Nation	Educational titles	Percentage of total titles	Non-educational titles	Percentage of total titles
Canada	1320	58.4%	486	21.5%
USA	131	5.8%	251	11.1%

Of the 1,320 titles published by educational publishers in Canada, EastCree.org (run by the Cree School Board), the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, the South Slave Divisional Education Council, and the Kwayaciiwin Education Resource Centre are together responsible for 726 titles. There are many other schools and tribal language councils both in Canada and the United States of America that publish titles for their students, but due to proprietary concerns or limited resources, those titles are not easily discoverable or accessible to non-students and outsiders, and thus are not included in the database.

Due to the overwhelming majority of titles in the database published by educational publishers, I found it useful to divide the database into two categories: educational publishers and non-educational publishers (i.e., companies that publish books for commercial trade as well as non-profit publishers, individuals, and institutions that publish material not associated with a particular language or tribal language program). By discussing each type of publisher separately, we will gain a clearer understanding of the mechanisms behind Indigenous language publishing in the United States of America and Canada.

3.2.1 A Note on the Alaska Native Language Center

The Alaska Native Language Center is a part of the University of Alaska Fairbanks and serves as a center for research and documentation concerning the 20 Indigenous languages of Alaska. Since their establishment in 1972, they have published a great number of research papers, dictionaries, grammars, and story collections, in addition to housing an archive of over 10,000 items (Alaska Native Language Center, n.d.). My database includes 109 titles available for purchase through ANLC. However, because nearly all of the titles for children seem to be archival reprints of educational materials originally

published in the 1970s and it is unclear whether they are still in circulation and use today, I have decided not to include these titles in my analysis of educational literature. The titles published for adult audiences have been included in the analysis of non-educational publishers.

3.3 Indigenous Language Literature: Educational Publishers

Although educational publishers have produced 64% of the titles in the database, they account for only 36 out of 174 publishers (21%) included in the database: a minority of specialized publishers are producing the majority of the Indigenous language literature available in North America. With only one exception (the Language Conservancy¹⁰), individuals interested in purchasing these titles must contact the publishers directly, which may be seen as a barrier to interested Indigenous language readers. The available titles range across 42 languages and dialects, with the most common languages represented shown in Table 4:

Table 4. Educational publisher titles by language

Language	Titles	Percentage of Educational Titles	Total Titles in Language	Percentage of Total Titles in Language
Cree	597	41%	756	79%
N. Athabaskan	394	27%	442	89%
Ojibwe	201	14%	291	69%
Mohawk	81	6%	88	92%
Eskimo-Aleut	53	4%	276	19%
Navajo	56	4%	126	44%
Lakota/Dakota	40	3%	83	48%
Other ¹¹	31	2%	----	----
Total	1453	100%	2260	64%

Compared to the database as a whole, Table 4 shows that educational titles make up the majority of the literature for Cree, Northern Athabaskan, Mohawk, and Ojibwe languages: most of the available

¹⁰ The Lakota editions of *Prairie Dog Goes to School* and *The Buffalo and the Boat*, picture books published through the Language Conservancy and the Lakota Language Consortium, are available for purchase via Amazon.com.

¹¹ As only 8 languages make up the 'Other' category in educational titles, rather than the 48 of the full database, no comparison is made in Table 4.

literature in these languages is written for children¹² with the aim of strengthening their indigenous language skills and fostering indigenous literacy. This focus on primary-school-leveled titles bears out in an analysis of the genres published, as shown in Table 5:

Table 5. Educational publisher titles by genre

Genre	Titles	Percentage
Early Reader	928	64%
Picture Book	247	17%
Nonfiction	160	11%
Folklore	54	4%
Workbook	20	1%
Other	44	3%
Total	1453	100%

For the purposes of this analysis, I define the above genres as follows: **early readers** are short books featuring minimal text on the page in a large font for ease of reading, with spot illustrations rather than full spreads; their purpose is to build literacy skills. **Picture books** feature full illustration spreads, and the text can either be meant for a child to read, or for an older reader to read aloud. The industry standard length for a picture book is 32 pages and subject matter is normally fiction or traditional stories. **Nonfiction** in here refers to titles that may share features of early readers and picture books (easy level of reading and fully illustrated, often with photographs), but describe “real world” activities (e.g., the EastCree.org title, *How to Skin and Cut a Beaver*). **Folklore** refers to traditional stories that are at a reading level too advanced to be classified as an early reader, but are not as fully illustrated as picture books. **Workbooks** include activities for children to complete alongside stories. Among the ‘Other’ genres of Table 4 are **biographies**, **board books** (sturdy books meant for children under the age of 4), **chapter books** (short children’s books at a higher level of reading than early readers, sparsely

¹² The main exception being the Yukon Native Language Centre, which, in addition to its educational materials for children, also publishes Literacy Workbooks and Indigenous language liturgies which are intended for older readers.

illustrated), *fiction* (novel-length works), and *short stories*; they are represented in the educational publisher database by such negligible numbers that individual discussion is unnecessary, but will come under discussion in Section 3.4.

The dominance of early readers among the titles produced by educational publishers is unsurprising; early readers are specifically written for children just beginning to grasp literacy. As most of these publishers are attached to school boards it is to be expected that the subject matter should be child-friendly. However, this does raise the question of what adult Indigenous language learners are using when beginning to learn to read in their heritage languages. The emphasis on early readers also begs the question of what older children read after they've finished these titles; in mainstream English schools, this normally translates to chapter books, novels, and similar "big kid" books that are widely available in libraries and bookstores. This is a glaring gap in the literature available from educational publishers (whether non-educational publishers fill that gap will be investigated in Section 3.4). In the next section I discuss the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, an educational publisher in Canada, and their role in developing Indigenous language literacy in the First Nations communities they support.

3.3.1 *Publisher Profile: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre*

Established in 1972, the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre (SICC) aims to "strengthen and support the overall First Nations education and cultural awareness of First Nations people" (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre n.d.). As part of that mission, they operate the SICC Learning Outlet, which produces language and cultural education materials for eight First Nations language communities in Saskatchewan. The SICC Learning Outlet operates a brick-and-mortar store, but also makes their [product catalogue](http://www.sicc.sk.ca/product-catalogue.html) available on their website¹³, hence the inclusion of SICC materials in the database.

¹³ <http://www.sicc.sk.ca/product-catalogue.html> Accessed 15 July, 2016.

Of the 185 Indigenous language titles available in the SICC product catalogue, 150 (81%) are monolingual rather than bilingual, a stylistic decision that strongly supports the development of Indigenous language literacy (Crawford 1995; see Section 3.4.1). However, 117 (63%) of the SICC titles were published prior to 2000; the most recent titles in the product catalogue were published in 2008¹⁴. The lack of new materials development is likely due to limited funds and prioritization of other projects. While one of the benefits of print publishing is the “timeless” quality of books (opposed to technologies that go obsolete), having a school library filled with books from 20+ years ago can have adverse effects on Indigenous language prestige, as will be discussed further in Section 4.

3.4 Indigenous Language Literature: Non-Educational Publishers

While titles published by educational publishers make up the majority of the database, the greatest diversity of titles in terms of genre, audience, and subject matter is represented by the 138 non-educational publishers included in the database. While a few of these publishers (e.g., Institut Tshakapesh and Ningwakwe Learning Press) do produce materials intended for educational purposes, they are grouped with other non-educational publishers by virtue of not being associated with any particular school, language, or tribe, and by making their titles freely available for purchase via online storefronts and major retailers such as Amazon.com.

Table 6. Non-educational Publisher Titles by Audience

Audience	Titles	Percentage
Adults	190	25.5%
All Ages	15	2.0%
Youth (Total)	540	72.5%
<i>Babies</i>	54	7.2%
<i>Children</i>	455	61.1%
<i>Middle Grade</i>	29	3.9%
<i>Young Adult</i>	2	0.3%
Total	745	100%

¹⁴ Publication year data was gathered from WorldCat.

Whereas 1% of the titles published by educational publishers were intended for adults, the target audiences for non-educational publishers are more diverse. Young audiences (babies, children, middle grade (9-12 year-olds) and young adults (13-18 year-olds), per industry standards) still dominate the available Indigenous language literature: 72.5% of the titles in the database are meant for young readers. The literature published for adults necessarily involves different genres than that published for children; therefore, I examine the data for each age group separately¹⁵.

3.4.1 *Indigenous Literature for Children Published by Non-Educational Publishers*

Non-educational publishers, not necessarily being associated with single schools or tribal language councils, encompass a greater diversity of languages: the ‘Other’ category in Table 7, below, consists of 32 languages.

Table 7. Non-educational publisher titles for children by language

Language	Titles	Percentage
Cree	125	23%
Inuktitut	89	16%
Ojibwe	73	14%
Navajo	65	12%
Lakota/Dakota	37	7%
Michif	35	6%
Mi'kmaq	17	3%
Cherokee	16	3%
Cayuga	15	3%
Other	68	13%
Total	540	100%

Perhaps moreso than with the titles published by educational publishers, we can see here the influence of speaker populations: there are over 89,000 speakers of varieties of Cree in Canada

¹⁵ As only 15 titles were categorized as ‘all ages,’ these titles are not included in the analysis of titles produced by non-educational publishers.

(Statistics Canada 2011b), by far the largest Indigenous language-speaking population; Inuktitut comes second with 34,110 speakers (Statistics Canada 2011b). Navajo has the largest number of speakers in the United States: roughly 170,000 (Siebens and Julian 2011). The greater the population of speakers, the bigger the market for Indigenous language readers; it makes sense that we should see trade publishers cater to larger populations of speakers. Canadian-produced titles still dominate, however (cf. Table 3), which likely is due to institutional support from agencies such as the Canada Council for the Arts.

Table 8. Non-educational publisher titles for children by genre

Genre	Titles	Percentage
Picture Book	312	58%
Early Reader	94	18%
Board Book	55	10%
Nonfiction	23	4%
Workbook	12	2%
Other	38	7%
Total¹⁶	534	100%

Among the titles published by non-educational outfits, picture books are the most common genre to be found. What is more salient, however, is how the literature of the individual languages included in the non-educational children’s titles database is represented—that is, which genres are most commonly found across languages, and most likely to be published.

¹⁶ Because some titles feature more than one Indigenous language, the total number of titles differs between the tabulations for languages and genres (e.g., *Passing the Peace* (Penumbra Press, 1990) features Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun: it is counted twice for titles in Indigenous languages, and once as a picture book published by Penumbra Press).

Table 9. Representation of Indigenous languages in children’s genres

Genre	Number of Languages	Percentage of Languages
Picture Book	49	94%
Board Book	12	23%
Early Reader	12	23%
Nonfiction	6	12%
Workbook	4	8%
Other	11	21%

Table 9 shows that of the 52 languages represented in the database for children’s Indigenous language literature published by non-educational publishers, 94% have published at least one picture book. Indeed, for the 20 languages which only have one title, 18 of those titles are picture books. The dominance of picture books likely stems from the commercial viability of these titles: parents are drawn to them as bedtime stories and keepsake books for their children. Children are drawn to the illustrations, which can tell a story even if they cannot yet read the text without aid. Picture books are therefore an ideal vehicle for introducing a child to Indigenous language literacy, even before they start learning to read (Strasser and Seplocha 2007).

In choosing books for their children, parents also consider subject matter. Of the 534 children’s titles analyzed from non-educational publishers, 101 titles (19%) are classified as traditional stories. This is likely to be attractive to parents wishing to pass down the stories of their ancestors, in their ancestral language, and appeals to parents in the mainstream market who wish to expose their children to the folklore of other cultures. This does, however, run the risk of propagating the view that traditional Indigenous stories are for children, when in fact they are for all ages and deal with serious moral topics (Kroskirty 2012:6). It is just as well, then, that 81% of the available children’s literature from non-educational publishers relates to the contemporary, everyday lives of children, who may find reflections of their own lives easier to engage with than stories of a distant past.

A further point of interest is how many of the books published for children are monolingual versus how many are bilingual. In educational Indigenous language publishing, 78% of the 1,453 titles in the database are monolingual titles: the only text on the page is in an Indigenous language, with translations, if any, printed in the back of the book¹⁷. This is not the case for children’s literature published by non-education publishers: of the 534 titles analyzed, only 39% of the titles are monolingual texts. Sixty-one percent (61%) of the titles are bilingual, with pages displaying both the Indigenous language and a language of wider communication. In contexts of major language shift, bilingual texts can be ineffective tools for introducing children to the Indigenous language—if children who are dominant in English or French are likely to “tune out” the Indigenous language text on the page (Crawford 1995, Weinberg and Penfield 2000). However, including English text may make the books more accessible to non-fluent parents and outsiders, who increase the market potential for the books. Below I discuss how two publishers, Salina Bookshelf and Inhabit Media, approach the problem of bilingual vs. monolingual texts in different ways.

3.4.2 Publisher Profile: North and South – Inhabit Media vs. Salina Bookshelf

In compiling the database, two publishers stood out as producing high-quality, beautifully illustrated books that would not look out of place in mainstream English bookstores: Salina Bookshelf, based in Flagstaff, Arizona, specializing in bilingual Navajo/English and Navajo/Hopi books; and Inhabit Media in Iqaluit, Nunavut, publishing books in Inuktitut and other Inuit languages. Both companies were founded to fulfill the need for Indigenous language literature in their respective communities (Kraker 2009, Williams 2014), but also to introduce Indigenous literature to wider markets.

¹⁷ Books published in the ‘tumble’ format wherein the book is printed in one language in the first half of the book and in another language in the second half of the book, are noted as monolingual texts in the database.

Salina Bookshelf publishes bilingual titles, with both Navajo and English text appearing on the pages of their hardcover picture books and board books, and reflect the bilingual character of Navajo communities. The English text ostensibly makes the books accessible to non-Navajo speakers as well. However, in a 2006 interview Jessie Ruffenach, an editor at Salina Bookshelf, noted that the Navajo text on the page made it difficult to convince distributors to carry the books, as they were seen as only appealing to the Navajo market. (Smith 2006)

Inhabit Media produces some bilingual books, but most of their picture books are published in two editions: one hardcover English-only edition, and one paperback Inuktitut-only edition. The difference in binding allows for a lower cost overhead in producing the Inuktitut editions, and the English editions can be sold at a higher price point through major distributors (Fitzhenry & Whiteside in Canada and IPG in the USA), potentially offsetting the cost of the Inuktitut editions. Monolingual Inuktitut books also reinforce language retention and can raise language prestige, although bilingual books have their benefits as well, as discussed in Section 3.5.

3.4.3 Indigenous Literature for Adults Published by Non-Educational Publishers

The distribution of languages represented in the adult titles published by non-educational publishers (Table 10) mirrors that of the children's titles. The significant presence of Yupik and Gwich'in is due to the inclusion of titles from the Alaska Native Language Center, though it is worth noting that the many of the ANLC titles are texts of oral narratives collected by linguists, anthropologists, and folklorists.

Table 10. Non-educational publisher titles for adults by language

Language	Titles	Percentage
Inuktitut	59	31%
Cree	33	17%
Yupik	17	9%
Ojibwe	13	7%
Gwich'in (N. Athabascan)	7	4%
Lakota/Dakota	6	3%
Navajo	5	3%
Other	50	26%
Total	190	100%

Most of the titles available in the literature published for adult audiences falls under the umbrella of texts collected by outsiders, normally from transcribed oral texts, whether it be traditional stories, narratives about the way Indigenous people used to live and personal histories, or compendiums of local knowledge. This is illustrated in Table 11 below:

Table 11. Non-educational publisher titles for adults by genre

Genre	Titles	Percentage
Fiction	7	4%
Folklore	59	31%
Poetry	16	8%
Nonfiction	70	37%
Memoir	28	15%
Other	10	5%
Total	190	100%

Although the total number of nonfiction titles makes up the majority of the adult literature in the database, the most frequently occurring genre across languages is folklore, as can be seen in Table 12:

Table 12. Representation of Indigenous languages in adult genres

Genre	Number of Languages	Percentage of languages
Folklore	33	72%
Nonfiction	20	43%
Poetry	12	26%
Memoir	10	22%
Fiction	6	13%
Other	7	15%

This preponderance of folklore and transcribed oral narratives in the available adult Indigenous language literature is due to the inclusion of titles published by university presses. Although university presses comprise 28% of the total number of adult non-educational publishers, they are responsible for 41% of the total number of adult titles. Of those titles, 48% are categorized as folklore, with nonfiction and memoir (both genres frequently composed of transcribed oral narratives) making up 44%.

While university publications offer Indigenous language speakers and readers an opportunity to access texts in their language that might otherwise be unavailable to them, the fact is (with the exception of the Alaska Native Language Center) university publications are not produced with an Indigenous audience in mind. While titles that were deemed inaccessible to Indigenous readers (i.e., texts that included interlinear glosses that are difficult for a layperson to read, or texts priced higher than USD \$40) were not included in the database, 92% of the university publications in the database are bilingual to allow English-dominant readers to access the text. Of all the adult titles in the database, 72% are bilingual: only 54 titles in the database are monolingual, and 32 of those titles are in a single language, Inuktitut. (Innu, a variety of Cree, comes in at a distant second for monolingual titles, with a total of eight.)

3.5 Summary

So, what is the state of the art of Indigenous language publishing? The data reveals a lack of diversity in targeted audience and genre and subject matter; with most children's books being pedagogical early readers and many adult titles published without an Indigenous audience in mind, very few languages have a good foundation for the "literary tradition" Bernard (1997) advocates for. While this is unfortunate, it is not entirely surprising: most Indigenous language revitalization programs struggle to even get off the ground for reasons of funding, ideological conflicts, and political barriers (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998, Hinton and Hale 2002, Oberly et al. 2015, Coronel-Molina and McCarty 2016), let alone progress to the point where publishing more than a few books that aren't dictionaries or textbooks is viable.

As we saw with our discussion of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, many Indigenous communities must rely on materials that were developed decades ago. In some cases, those materials were developed to facilitate "transitional literacy" into English (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:112, Bernard 1997:144), a fact which should not necessarily preclude their use in Indigenous language literacy programs today, but must be considered in terms of authenticity. Take, for example, the Upper Kuskokwim version of *The Three Bears*, repurposed by the Telida Village Council from a 1973 Eskimo Language Workshop publication, digitally colored in and published as an ebook: despite showing a dark-skinned and dark-haired girl in the illustrations, the English translation reads, "...a golden haired girl was playing outside..."

This does not mean that all Indigenous language books should be Indigenous-interest stories. For one thing, the line between Indigenous and non-Indigenous can be very blurry for Indigenous peoples living in contemporary society (for example, McCarty (2005:57) relates how the traditional English story, 'The Little Red Hen,' has been appropriated as a Navajo tale embodying Navajo values),

and moreover it is important to *integrate* Indigenous language content with mainstream media rather than segregate Indigenous media from Indigenous speakers' daily media consumption. One way to facilitate this is to translate mainstream books into Indigenous languages, as multiple First Nations bands have done with Robert Munsch's very popular picture books (Cree and Halkomelem editions of Munsch's titles are included in the database, but also exist in several other languages), taking advantage of Munsch's blanket grant of translation rights to First Nations bands, free of royalties (Webb-Campbell 2014)¹⁸. Much like the Navajo dubbing of Star Wars (Donovan 2013), translations can bridge mainstream culture and Indigenous language, move the domain of Indigenous language literacy outside of school, and raise the prestige of the Indigenous language as well. Furthermore, Native American, Alaska Native, and First Nations peoples have all produced critically acclaimed authors writing in English; many of these writers are concerned with creating "authentic" Indigenous texts in English, a creative process that often involves navigating between orality and literacy (Blaeser 1999, Parker 2003), and translating concepts from a heritage language into English (Swann 1992, Diaz 2014). By exploring the translation of existing Indigenous literature into Indigenous languages, Indigenous language publishing could strengthen pride in existing Indigenous literary traditions and encourage new works to be written in the Indigenous language first.

Pride and prestige are important factors to consider when publishing in Indigenous languages. In the next section I discuss the role of prestige planning in language revitalization contexts, and how Indigenous language publishing can help to promote positive attitudes towards Indigenous languages.

¹⁸ See also the Cherokee editions of E.B. White's *Charlotte's Web* (Neal 2016) and Charles Frazier's *Thirteen Moons: Revival* (Dyer 2008).

4. Raising the Prestige of Indigenous Languages Through Publishing

Prestige planning was first proposed as an addition to the traditional categories of language planning—status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition (language-in-education) planning (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997)—by Haarmann (1984, 1990), who argued that any language planning effort is reliant on engendering positive attitudes towards the language and language planning activities. Otherwise, the implementation of such language planning is likely to fail. Ager (2005) further distinguishes between prestige planning and image planning, characterizing the former as a consequence of language attitudes borne of language status, and the latter as a reflection of linguistic identity (Ager 2005:15-16). Both prestige planning and image planning deal with “changing the mental image of a language in order to make it more positive,” (Ager 2005:37), however prestige planning, in Ager’s view, requires short-term campaigns aimed at establishing linguistic dominance, while image planning is a continuous process focused on linguistic equality.

While Ager (2005) makes this distinction between prestige planning and image planning, it is clear that the two are intrinsically tied up with one another: image planning necessarily involves raising the perceived prestige of a language, particularly in language revitalization contexts where the Indigenous language has long been devalued by the dominant culture and the language speakers themselves (cf. Sallabank 2005). Ager (2005) identifies language revitalization contexts as needing “to confer prestige on the formerly inferior language in order to improve its image and give speakers pride in its use, attacking the dominant language in the process.” (Ager 2005:35) However, few language revitalization researchers and activists in the North American context see this as a viable policy, instead working to reverse language shift so that communities reach stable bilingualism (Fishman 1967, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998)—that is, working towards a linguistic equality that Ager equates with image planning.

Regardless of whether Indigenous language publishing would fall under prestige planning or image planning, it is uncontested that books are inherently prestigious objects. Even within the mainstream, dominant culture, celebrities and public figures are driven to publish books (though anything earned from such publications is negligible compared to their regular earnings), and being seen as “literary,” i.e. reading and discussing literature, carries high social prestige. The symbolic power of books (Krauss 1992) is what motivates linguists to produce dictionaries, grammars, and storybooks in order to give back to the communities they work with (Hinton 2010, Rice 2010), and although the debate surrounding Indigenous literacy falls outside the scope of this paper, many of the arguments in favor of literacy that are based on prestige can be extended to Indigenous language literature. Fishman (2007) notes the prestige factor of literacy when the non-literate language is in contact with a literate language, and Grenoble and Whaley (2006) write:

The mere existence of literacy can have an impact on the way people view their own languages. Having a written form of a language can elevate perceptions of its prestige. Alternatively, lack of a written form is often interpreted by local communities as signaling that their language is not a “real” language, that it does not merit writing. If reading and writing are valued at a regional or national level, not having them in a local language can, unfortunately, lead to the idea that the language is inherently deficient.

(Grenoble and Whaley 2006:116-117)

In North America, where books and literature are an intrinsic part of schooling and being seen as a “reader” confers social prestige (Collins 2010), it can be argued, following Bernard (1997), that being literate in an Indigenous language is only the first step in raising the prestige of the language: there must also be Indigenous language literature to continue to build perceptions of linguistic legitimacy. Building a body of Indigenous literature is not only a natural next step for communities developing Indigenous literacy, it can also be a vital component for community engagement in language revitalization programs

by “captur[ing] the attention and interest of community members” and “provid[ing] important visual symbols of community identity.” (Hinton 2010:38)

However, to be truly effective in raising Indigenous language prestige, Indigenous language literacy must extend beyond the domain of the classroom (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). The same is true of Indigenous language publishing. As the analysis of the currently available Indigenous language literature in Section 3 shows, Indigenous language publishing still has a long way to go in this regard, across all languages and communities; only Inuktitut has published books for a wide variety of ages and genres, and what is available is dwarfed in comparison to English- and French-language libraries. There is a great need for Indigenous language books for all ages and reading levels. This is arguably the impetus behind publishing Indigenous language board books and picture books meant for younger children not yet in school: the books serve as a way of introducing the language in the home, even if the parents are not fluent in the language (Neely 2012:99). But in my entire database of Indigenous language literature, only 180 titles were suited for young people between the ages of 9 and 18—across 102 languages. The adult Indigenous language literature situation is just as dire, with only 190 titles available across all languages, many of them not published with Indigenous readers in mind (see Section 3.4). When Watahomigie and McCarty (1997) ask “Literacy for what?,” it is definitely not to read books outside of school. Hardly any exist. Anyone who would like to both use their language and enjoy literature must make a choice between the two, and the dominance of English and French language literature only reinforces negative attitudes about Indigenous language literacy.

Of course, this is true for *all* Indigenous language material: there are hardly any newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasts, television shows, movies, video games, etc. in Indigenous languages, all of which would also go a long way towards raising language prestige. Print books, however, have the advantage of being less ephemeral than other forms of media, and more accessible: no special

equipment is needed to read a book; there is no technology that will go obsolete and render a print book useless. This is especially true when books are printed on high-quality paper, with quality binding and covers, as with Salina Bookshelf and Inhabit Media (Section 3.4.2).

If Indigenous language communities in North America wish to build literacy in their languages and raise the prestige of Indigenous languages in their communities, serious consideration should go into building a body of literature in that language. Literacy-based prestige can be seen as a continual process: first, establishing a writing system can confer that a language “merits” writing, as Grenoble and Whaley (2006) point out; second, creating literacy materials in a school environment can validate Indigenous literacy within the community (McCarty and Watahomigie 1998:93); third, publishing literature for audiences outside of the school environment can “raise the prestige of Indigenous languages, since they are competing with dominant languages in terms of their expressiveness and stylistic flexibility” (Coronel-Molina 2016:328); fourth, ensuring that the Indigenous language books that are published are of a high quality, comparable to those of the dominant language.

This last point is probably the most problematic, as creating high-quality books with heavy paper, lasting bindings, and sturdy covers requires funding that most Indigenous language communities don’t have access to. However, if Indigenous language books are to compete with English or French language books for the attention of Indigenous language readers, they must be equally as attractive. As Edwards (2007) shows, there can be creative solutions to the problem of limited funding. Through the process of co-publishing, Native American and First Nations bands can collaborate on translations of popular books and reduce the cost of print runs, rather than undertaking each translation project separately (as with the Munsch books). For original titles, costs can be offset by producing an English-language version to be sold at market prices to mainstream distributors, as Inhabit Media have done. Alternatively, bilingual editions could be produced: Although bilingual books with line-by-line

translations may not be the best medium for encouraging Indigenous language fluency and literacy (cf. Section 3.4.1), introducing high-quality bilingual books to the mainstream market has the potential to not only bring in revenue but also raise the visibility of the Indigenous language and combat perceptions that Indigenous languages are not literary or written (Washburn 2003). Additionally, collaboration between tribes and bands could equate to a greater pool of funds, both from governmental bodies and cultural councils. Haarmann (1990) envisioned prestige planning as operating at four levels, with government, agencies, groups, or individuals promoting the language. Hypothetically, a collaborative Indigenous language publishing endeavor could transverse all four levels if such an institution were supported in part by government and agency funds (a necessary component, as demonstrated by Jacob and Vose (2010) for Catalan), and produced books by individuals looking to promote the language, with demand stipulated by groups wishing to read those books.

There are many obstacles and challenges to be overcome before the Indigenous peoples of North America can well and truly start to build literary traditions in their languages. Of course reading and writing a language does not equate to *speaking* a language, which is necessary to keep a language alive. But in raising the prestige of a language and promoting positive language attitudes, having a visible literature in Indigenous languages can go a long way towards making the language seem attractive, vital, and relevant to contemporary interests and lifestyles. As Ager (2005) points out, image planning for a language requires long-term strategies, and Indigenous language publishing should be developed with long-term publication strategies in mind—both to ensure the continued circulation of past and current literature, and to continually renew interest and pride in the language with new publications. While each Indigenous community must decide on what role literacy will play in their language revitalization programs on their own terms (as every community has different needs, and Indigenous North America is incredibly diverse), those communities that do decide to incorporate Indigenous language literature all face the same challenges. A collaborative effort to pool resources, skills and knowledge—rather than

reinventing the publishing wheel again and again—could go a long way in overcoming some of those challenges.

5. Conclusion

In analyzing 2,260 Indigenous language titles across 102 North American languages I have presented an accurate portrait of the state of the art of publishing in Indigenous languages in North America. Although Indigenous North America is not monolithic, language revitalization programs all face the same challenges in developing Indigenous language literature: creating domains to use Indigenous literacy outside of the classroom, funding publications, and producing books that can compete with the literature of the more prestigious language. I argue that prestige should be a significant consideration for all Indigenous language publishing endeavors, both in informing the publication quality and in justifying the investment in publishing. Indigenous language books should be attractive, well-made, and appeal to a wide variety of ages, reading levels, and interests. As the data analysis in Section 3 shows, Indigenous language literature has a long way to go in that regard, though recent developments are promising. However, what books do exist can instill great pride in the Indigenous language and encourage deeper engagement with the language (Hinton 2010). Further, I argue that the prestige gained by building an Indigenous literature, in addition to the benefits Indigenous language publishing can confer on future language preservation efforts (Bernard 1997), makes a strong case for Indigenous language communities to engage in Indigenous language publishing. While the challenges of financial viability are significant, Indigenous language publishers like Salina Bookshelf and Inhabit Media show that building a commercial Indigenous publishing house is possible, and co-publishing models like those described by Edwards (2007) can be replicated if disparate Indigenous communities come together to share resources and find solutions.

As Ager (2005) writes, the notion of linguistic prestige entails the idea “that using the language should be regarded as something attractive, something that is done with enthusiasm to fire the imagination.” Books—literature—more so than any other medium, are in the business of firing the imagination. The refrain in Louise Erdrich’s essay collection, *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country* reflects this: “Books. Why?” Because books open doors, provide comfort, commiseration, knowledge, entertainment, health and sanity. Erdrich—along with countless other writers and readers, Indigenous or not—found immense value in books. The creative and expressive power of literature is not just for the dominant language and dominant culture: Indigenous languages can find empowerment through literature as well.

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Appendix I: Database of Indigenous North American Literature

Due to the large nature of my database of Indigenous North American Literature, as it details 2,260 titles, I have uploaded the database to Google Drive and made it publically available.

The database can be accessed here:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BwWLxoetwfa3aTBOYIRicUcyYTA/view>

Appendix II: North American Indigenous Languages Featured in the Database

Languages and Dialects	Titles	Languages and Dialects	Titles
Abenaki	4	Kawaiisu	1
Apache	1	Keres	1
Arapaho	1	Koasati	1
Blackfoot	3	Kwak'wala	3
Caddo	1	Lakota	58
Cahuilla	3	Lillooet	1
Cayuga	15	Lushootseed	1
Cherokee	18	Maliseet	1
Cheyenne	1	Maricopa	1
Chickasaw	3	Miami-Illinois	1
Chinook Jargon	1	Michif	38
Choctaw	1	Mi'kmaq	21
Cree	756	Mohawk	88
Atikamekw	3	Mojave	1
Cree (unspecified)	99	Muskogee Creek	2
Cree (Bush)	43	Navajo	126
Cree (Northern East)	165	Nez Percé	1
Cree (Plains)	82	Northern Athabaskan	442
Cree (Moose)	156	Ahtna	4
Cree (Southern East)	1	Carrier	5
Cree (Swampy)	33	Chipewyan	76
Cree (Woodland)	46	Deg Xinag	3
Innu	95	Dena'ina	4
Innu (Labrador)	4	Dogrib	113
Innu (Mushuau)	5	Gwich'in	34
Naskapi	24	Hän	3
Crow	2	Kaska	15
Dakota	25	Koyukon	3
Eskimo-Aleut	276	Lower Tanana	2
Aleut (Unangan)	2	North Tutchone	13
Greenlandic	1	North Slavey	31
Inuinnaqtun	5	South Tutchone	20
Inuktitut	150	South Slavey	64
Inuktitut (Kivalliq)	2	Tagish	2
Inupiaq	1	Tanacross	2
Inupiaq (Kangiryuarmiutun)	10	Upper Kuskokwim	42
Inupiaq (Kobuk)	5	Upper Tanana	6
Inupiaq (North Slope)	13	Nuu-chah-nulth	8
Inupiaq (Siglitun)	11	Ojibwe	291
Inupiaq (Unalakeet)	1	Ojibwe	154
Inupiaq (Uummarmiutun)	11	Ojibwe (Algonquin)	4
Yupik	1	Ojibwe (Salteaux)	29
Yupik (Alutiiq)	21	Oji-Cree	104
Yupik (Central Alaskan)	17	Okanagan	4
Yupik (St. Lawrence Island)	25	Oneida	11
Eyak	1	Quechan	2
Gitxsan	5	Saanich	1
Haida	1	Sahaptin	1
Halkomelem	3	Salish	1
Havasupai	1	Takelma	1
Hidatsa	2	Tlingit	17
Hopi	8	Yaqui	1
Hualapai	1	Yavapai	1

