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14

CODING POTAWATOMI COSMOLOGIES

Elements of Bodwéwadmí Futurisms

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Coding

Bodwéwadmimwen is the language spoken by Potawatomi peoples whose diaspora originated in the Great Lakes region and is grouped into the larger Algonquian language family which extends throughout much of what is now called Canada and the East Coast of the United States. More than this, Bodwéwadmimwen is a tool for future work or “futuring”—carving space to manifest Indigenous desires centered on healthy kin relations. Described as a “dialect of dreams”, the many languages of Anishinaabemowin, of which Bodwéwadmimwen is a part, help us imagine an otherwise to settler colonial violence and Indigenous erasure (Noodin). Bodwéwadmimwen contains ancestral codes that can be deployed to program an infinite number of Indigenous futures centered on healthy relations between humans, other Earth beings, spirit beings, and even machines.

“Coding” as a verb is more important for the purposes of this essay than the noun “code”. In its most basic sense, coding in sociolinguistic terms means “identifying analytic categories that reflect on the experiences of participants and henceforth, highlighting the significance of cultural events happening in the research setting” (Wan 1). However, there is coding that is done not just by researchers to understand large amounts of linguistic data. Coding is also done by Indigenous peoples in everyday processes of living, speaking, dreaming, and especially in “storywork” or telling stories for a specific political purpose. For example, the word for coffee in Bodwéwadmimwen is *gapi*. Because Anishinaabemowin in general is a very descriptive language, there are many ways to name things based off their appearances and behaviors. Another word for coffee is *mékadémshékéwabo*. Most words that end in “wabo” or “abo” are liquids—drinks, soups, etc. To the front of the word is *mékadé*, meaning “black”. And finally, in the middle of this word is *mshéké*, or “medicine”. Coffee in Bodwéwadmimwen is no longer a disassociated noun as it is in English. Promoted from some dark bitter substance adults begrudgingly consume to wake up to their lives, coffee in Bodwéwadmimwen is our “black medicine drink”. It therefore takes its place in the realm of other medicines used to heal mind, body, and spirit, whether those are tea, sage, or even aspirin. Thus, the descriptive nature of sentence structure and word formation in Bodwéwadmimwen is also a creative enterprise. To create and to name quite literally makes new meanings for Potawatomi speakers, and, as I argue, the capacity to imagine alternative futures.

The gist of coding in this chapter is borrowed from the computer sciences and related disciplines and is used to describe a process of creating instructions to program a language. Codes are the smallest bits of information that, when read and interpreted by a computer, allow apps, games, and websites to function properly. Like computer languages, the use of Bodwéwadmimwen allows the Potawatomi community to function properly and healthily. Ancestral, linguistic, and cultural coding are terms used interchangeably here. Put simply, Indigenous languages were developed, co-constructed, and evolved as a direct product of our ancestors' use of it (or lack thereof, when considering the cultural genocide of settler colonial states). Anishinaabemowin has been used in relation to speakers' own communities (or peoples speaking what they understood as their own language) as well as in relation to other communities speaking what they considered different languages. As linguists who study the Algonquian language family, of which Potawatomi is a part, have previously noted, Bodwéwadmimwen is highly influenced by Sauk-Fox and Kickapoo as well as Ojibwe and Miami through linguistic borrowing (Costa 195). Additionally, language and culture—while useful as separate concepts in specific discussions—are mutually influential and overlapping ideas that inform human identity and the larger organization of human societies. It is possible to refine the definitions and examples of each of these terms, teasing out the differences between ancestral, linguistic, and cultural codes, but doing so would inflate the theoretical discussion and depart from the larger argument I make about Indigenous futurisms. Lastly, the specific term “ancestral code” has gained traction in linguistic anthropology in the last decade or so and can problematically be used to associate one form of a language or dialect as more “authentic” or closer to what was used by a community's ancestors. Reaching for authenticity is dubious for many reasons, one being that cultural and linguistic authenticity, defined as recreating the conditions of an imagined past, is impossible, and ideas about what authenticity means are constantly renegotiated and changed over time. Social science and humanities scholarship also use the term coding or code, but in different ways. Linguistic anthropologists use the term “coding” or “code” to describe sociolinguistic phenomena. One example, “code-switching”, refers to the alternation between two or more different languages in an utterance. With this sociolinguistic definition of code, the language itself is the smallest bit of information considered. While the understanding of codes in linguistic anthropology is useful, it limits the development of a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous coding, and by extension, how these codes are (or can be) deployed into Indigenous futurisms. Instead, ancestral codes or atomized bits of traditional knowledge and Native science are being used to deploy Bodwéwadmimwen futurisms. This coding carves out much-needed Indigenous space in the future to imagine an otherwise to settler colonial futures imposed on Native peoples.

Bodwéwadmimwen Futurisms

Each community's ideas of the future, collectively understood as a multiplicity of potential futures, are conceptual rejections of what has been previously understood by anthropologists and other social theorists as “revitalization”. Revitalization, whether it is cultural, linguistic, or ecological, is problematic because it describes a process of cultural necromancy, or reanimating something that has died or been brought close to death. Of course, Neshnabé peoples, like many Indigenous communities around the world, have been subjected to settler colonial policies that did in fact aim to disappear Native languages. As a result, there is so much work to be done to recover language and traditional knowledge understood not to be lost or dead, but “sleeping”.

But where did this term revitalization come from, and why is it deficient? Cultural anthropologists have always thought about Indigenous peoples in temporalizing ways. Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1985) posited three stages of cultural evolution, from Savagery, to

Barbarism, to Civilization. Placing human societies on a linear scale, Native peoples in North America were seen as relics of the past or contemporary groups of peoples living as one might expect Western peoples to have lived centuries earlier. Of course, this was an inaccurate and racist hierarchy of categorizing and organizing humanity that anthropology has long since rejected. Despite this more recent rejection, as the field of cultural anthropology developed in the United States, salvage ethnographic projects grew. These scholarly and political projects aimed to collect and preserve linguistic and material culture from Indigenous communities with the pervasive assumption that Native Americans would not exist in the future.

Despite decades of rigorous scholarship and an institutional rebuff of understanding human diversity in terms of biological evolutionary principles, Indigenous peoples are still negatively affected by these racist temporalizing theories because they have programmed the ways in which non-Native peoples see us and represent us in policy, scholarship, film, and other media. As a result of these scholarly and colonial projects, insolent ideas of “primitive” versus “modern” cultures permeated peoples’ understanding of non-White communities for decades, denying Native peoples a place in modernity or the future. These dubious understandings of cultural difference legitimized policies aimed at “civilizing” Native American peoples. The calamitous effects of policies of cultural genocide, such as Native American boarding schools, and land theft, by means of policies like the Dawes Act of 1887, on Native Americans cannot be overstated. Because much has been published on this topic, the purpose of this chapter is not to add to this important discussion. Rather, the point is that the concept of Indigenous futurisms is a refusal of cultural revitalization, as the latter framing is bound up with traditions of salvage anthropology. It is no surprise from this brief return to history that even today, Indigenous peoples are seen and represented by non-Native agents as so backwards, primitive, and antithetical to modernity that we cannot exist in “the” singular future (as if there were only one way to imagine it).¹

Adversative to revitalization, Indigenous futurisms are a conceptual rejection of theoretical, institutional, and political projects that placed Native peoples and cultures in the past and denied them a place in the future. Since scientific or scholarly research incarcerated Indigenous peoples in an imagined past or framed Indigenous peoples as trying to rectify their place in the modern present through the rhetoric of revitalization, the concept of Indigenous futurisms is centered on Indigenous traditional knowledge systems instead of just Western science. It is used to reclaim Indigenous space while leveraging Indigenous stories and traditional languages used to tell those stories.

Instead of language and story work being described as revitalizing aspects of some idealized past, when seen as Indigenous futurisms, these same language and story work projects actively create spaces for Indigenous peoples in the future. Imaginations and speculations about the future help guide the momentum and efficacy of Indigenous futurism work. Because all speculative fiction already imagines potential futures most commonly through literary and visual works, forms of Indigenous futurisms have also been understood through the multiple lenses of Indigenous visual art,² dance,³ filmmaking,⁴ storytelling,⁵ and activism.⁶ Indigenous futurisms have been defined by others as the creative works and intellectual theorizations produced by Native peoples which imagine a multiplicity of potential futures through wedding the latest scientific understandings with Indigenous traditional knowledge.⁷ This definition is not meant to reinforce the dubious binary between Western science or empirical inquiry and those of traditional knowledge. Rather, because these two knowledge systems are differentially deployed along lines of unequal relationships of power and representation, Indigenous futurisms must still address these politicized differences in the respective intellectual traditions. Baudemann defines Indigenous futurisms as “Indigenous storytelling about the future” (117). So, what stories are Neshnabé peoples telling, and why?

Story Work

By surveying old stories transcribed hundreds of years ago as well as reviewing recently produced Indigenous science fiction and fantasy, we can see these forms of story work in terms of their smaller parts or language codes with specific attention to Potawatomi cosmological narratives. Story work is telling stories that catalyze social change. Deploying narratives centered on lived experience and curated by community peer review are the most effective way Indigenous peoples have to leverage their knowledge systems in diverse settings—often settings not of their own choosing, with oppressive power structures that operate to erase them. Stories have the capacity to inform, entertain, inspire, and influence behavior in small instances and large contexts.

The capacity to dream, imagine, and aspire to alternative (read: better) futures is no small matter. Indeed, in *The Marrow Thieves*, an award-winning novel by Métis Canadian writer Cherie Dimaline, the apocalypse is brought on by a sudden and complete inability to dream by non-Indigenous peoples. The desperation this incites for non-Native peoples leads them to renewed organized violence against Indigenous peoples—the only humans who can still dream. Living as refugees hiding in the woods and constantly on the move, Indigenous peoples are hunted for their bone marrow. It is painfully syphoned off from their bodies for its enigmatic dream-inducing matter, distilled into a serum, and injected into non-Natives. This corporeal solution is leached from the marrow of Native peoples so that non-dreamers can experience temporary moments of reprieve. The stealing from and killing of Natives in *The Marrow Thieves* mirrors the lived experiences of First Nations in Canada as well as other settler colonial states around the world. It is clear that the ability to dream, to imagine, and to aspire is a vital element of survival.

Anishinaabemowin also plays an important role for the Indigenous peoples in *The Marrow Thieves*, as it is not just biology or genetics that make them who they are. Described as a candy that melts in and coats the mouths of speakers, the children hold tightly to the few welcomed instances in which elders share their knowledge, savoring the sweet experiences of uttering their Native language well beyond the moments in which the auditory waves of spoken Anishinaabemowin settle in the air. For the main character, Frenchie, this plays out in his first description of Rose, his love interest: “having been raised by old people, she spoke like them. It made us feel surrounded on both ends—like we had a future and a past all bundled up in her round dark cheeks and loose curls”. She speaks like them, those old ones, not just in her peculiar mannerisms, but in her knowledge of Anishinaabemowin. It is no coincidence that this description of Rose lends to the actual word in Anishinaabemowin for old folks, *ankobthegen*. Ancestor or *ankobthegen* also means “grandchild” in Anishinaabemowin, so context is important for comprehension. More specifically, *ankobthegen* translates to “tied to through the generations” in English—a description of the webs of kinship Indigenous peoples recognize and value. “It made us feel surrounded on both ends”. The kinship envisioned and lived by Neshnabék extends through time in both directions. Bodwéwadmí futurisms can be actualized only by honoring the gifts of our ancestors and using them appropriately into speculative and cocreated futures.

Neshnabék see their relations and responsibilities not only to humans who have existed in the past, who are alive in the present, and who may exist in the future, but to all animate or sentient beings. Much has been published on the animals, or more appropriately, “other-than-human beings” that Indigenous peoples relate to and honor, but also machines⁸ and, as I argue, spirit beings. Phenomenology informs Neshnabé ecological relationships to the (super)natural world specifically through stories. Fantasy and speculative fiction are not the only sites of Indigenous futurism work. There are multiple ways to theorize Neshnabé stories. Jill Doerfler

et al. identify two main typologies of Neshnabé storytelling. First, *Aadizookaang* are sacred texts, and are facilitated by mnedowèk, or spirit beings who have never lived as humans (Doerfler et al. xvii). Stories identified as *Aadizookaang* instruct Neshnabék in the ways of living a good life and are linguistically classified in *Bodwéwadmimwen* as animate beings. The second form of Neshnabé storytelling is *Dibaajimowinan* and is understood to mean history or news (Doerfler et al. xviii).

Dibaajimowinan is linguistically classified as inanimate and often includes family histories, stories from long ago, and stories from just yesterday. Interestingly, Neshnabé prophesies often blur the lines between both categories. It is not necessarily the case that *Aadizookaang* are untrue or are “myths” while *Dibaajimowinan* are accurate accounts. Instead, Neshnabé stories often oscillate between both categories. As Doerfler et al. eloquently explain, “These live, change, and grow through continuous retellings, constituting a dynamic narrative practice and process by a people” (xviii).

To this point, in the winter of 2019, I had the opportunity to hear Jim Thunder, a first-language Potawatomi speaker from Forest County Band in Wisconsin, orate several stories in a community event marketed as “traditional storytelling”. Two of the most notable stories/histories he told were about how a group of Potawatomis escaped Indian agents during the removal era (early to mid-1800s). These stories are also published in a book, *Wete Yathmowinen: Real Stories: Potawatomi Oral History* (2018), by Jim Thunder Sr. and Mary Jane Thunder. The first is a shorter narrative describing how Neshnabék prayed on the forces of fog and mist to mask their escape. The direction in which they fled and the route of their tracks were inundated by wafting particles of moisture overwhelming the air, blinding the pursuing Indian agents. Not only did the Potawatomis survive, but they ultimately established a community on the U.S.-Mexico border of Mexico near the state of Texas (currently the Mexican Kickapoo [Tribu Kikapú]):

Wabansi wgi yonawa gode neshnabek egi webiwewat ezhi Mexico.
I ga zhe widmagoyan ge ni nmeshomes, nneneyem wdedeymen.
Egi webiwewat wi ye i ga yowat egi ndedmewat I wabansi, ebwa wabmegwat node wa ndo
nsegwathen she zhna yedek.
Gode keweziyek wgi *mnedokazwek* se zhna wi ye i ga yowat ode wensi.
Wi ye i ga yowat na ewebiwewat ge winwa.

The Neshnabe people used fog when they were on the run to Mexico.
That’s what my grandfather told me, my mother’s father.
When they were on the run, that’s what they used, they asked for fog, so that they
wouldn’t be seen by those who were trying to kill them.
Those old men did *ceremonies*, that’s how they used the fog.
That’s what they used when they escaped.
They were far away when whoever it was that wanted to catch them woke up.
And so when those ones woke up, the other ones weren’t there; they were far away.
When those ones got up hoping to catch those Potawatomi.

In this story, Potawatomis escape capture by calling on mnedowèk. The root word for “ceremonies” or *mnedokazwek* is *mnedo*, referring to ceremonies as a space where spirit beings are called to conduct a specific purpose. The word *mnedo* has also been translated as “those who go about causing change”. In this case, *mnedo* could change the environment through conjuring fog. This story also demonstrates the use of both *Aadizookaang*, or stories about mnedowèk

and drawing upon traditional teachings and ceremony to live a good life, and Dibaajimowinan, or historical accounts, in Neshnabé storytelling to share the circumstances of an event that occurred 200 years ago when Neshnabék were being forced west of their traditional homelands or being hunted and killed.

Neshnabé stories have been recorded by anthropologists, folklorists, and hobbyists for centuries, but researchers have mostly failed to theorize how these stories evolve to articulate contemporary experiences, let alone imagine the future. As an alternative ethic and methodology of research, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (1997), James Clifford extends this discussion of Bodwéwadmí futurisms to other Indigenous communities in North America. He reflects on his consultation experience in the Portland Art Museum in Oregon, which, at the time, was planning to reinstall an exhibit of Indigenous Northwest Coast artifacts. A group of Tlingit elders was invited to participate in the planning. Despite the Museum's expectations of learning the purpose and origins of the objects, the Tlingit elders used these items as catalysts for memoir, politics, and moral discussions. Initiating songs and stories from a deeply felt appreciation for the works of their relatives and ancestors, these items were entangled in an Indigenous matrix of history, law, and "myths". What became clear, Clifford writes, is that "from the elders' viewpoint, the collected objects were not primarily 'art', (but) 'records', 'history' and 'law', inseparable from myths and stories expressing ongoing moral lessons with current political force" (190). This exchange Clifford calls a "contact zone", whereby items in a collection were used as texts to read and understand contemporary and perhaps future political relationships between museums, Indigenous communities, and beyond (8).

Other-than-human beings played a central role in one of the stories shared by elders in the basement of the Portland Art Museum. In one instance, a headdress with representations of an octopus was brought out. The story that was shared by one of the Tlingit elders as a result recounts how a huge octopus with its appendages blocked the bay, keeping all the fish from reaching the shores. A Tlingit hero had to kill the octopus so that his community didn't starve to death and the salmon could reach their spawning grounds. "And by the end of the story the octopus has metamorphosed into state and federal agencies currently restricting the rights of Tlingits to take salmon according to tradition" (Clifford 190). The evidence for Indigenous storytelling, as seen in Clifford's accounts, are not new or rare. Indeed, they have been recorded in many works, but they have been theorized in terms of traditional accounts "surviving" to the contemporary moment or Indigenous attempts to "revitalize" the stories of their ancestors. But rarely have these stories been viewed in light of their application to present-day issues, as Clifford's example exemplifies. More rarely still have these traditional stories been theorized to understand Indigenous conceptions of the future. Before embarking on a discussion of how these stories about other-than-human relatives and "mythical" beings imagine Neshnabé futures, I first situate scholarly theorizations of humanity's entanglements with other-than-human relatives.

Neshnabé Ecology

Indigenous ecology is best understood through the lens of kinship and relationality. In the summer of 2018, I helped conduct interviews with my tribe, the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi. Assisting the Pokagon Department of Natural Resources (DNR), I interviewed tribal members about their experiences of climate change through a grant-funded project called the Forestry Understory Project. Tribal members were interviewed in the communities represented in the Intertribal Council of Michigan that includes all 12 federally recognized tribes in the state.⁹

Most participants from the Pokagon Band whom I interviewed along with two nontribal employees from the Pokagon Band DNR included those identified as “possessing traditional ecological knowledge”. I was not a part of the grant proposal process. My internship with DNR that summer was simply a serendipitous opportunity for the DNR project, as I was the only tribal member employed in the department at that time. So, at the request of the DNR director, I helped with community outreach to encourage community members to participate. In the interviews, most interviewees explained how their foraging practices have changed in the past decade or so as harvesting times for various natural resources significantly changed or decreased. Many of their observations paralleled those made by climate change scientists and ecology experts. For example, Potawatomi citizens included in the interviews noted that harvesting times for various plants and medicines seemed to be occurring later in the year and had a significantly shorter duration. It seemed as though these interviews were simply a qualitative buttress to what scientists already knew to be true about understories in the Great Lakes region.

However, one interview foregrounded Neshnabé ecological interpretations which included a space to talk about nonhuman relatives or spirit beings. The interviews were not designed to identify or examine participants’ cosmological interpretations about climate change, *per se*. One participant, Jefferson Ballew Jr., nonetheless offered some of his interpretations.

Jefferson: We have guardians out there. It’s why you put tobacco out there. Because then *pa’isék* will get you. The Little People will get you. They’re—they’re put out there because if we’re going out there to be naughty, they’re going to deter you. They’re going to move the trees so you get lost. They’re gonna move the trail. They can do that you know ... That’s what their magic is all about.

Jefferson is explaining here about *pa’isék*, or Little People. A shared belief of many tribes throughout the United States and Canada, Little People may be considered harmless or malevolent, but at the very least, they are tricksters. They’re sometimes known to steal things from humans. So, when you can’t find your car keys or seem to have misplaced something, it’s typical in any Neshnabé household to offer something to the Little People, such as candy or something shiny. However, they’re sometimes known to steal children as well. As a result, some tribal members are really scared of them. Another Pokagon citizen, Kyle Malotts, has also explained to me that Little People were once human children, but they crept off in the woods and never came back. Neshnabé relationships with Little People are therefore also biological.

Jefferson continues his description of Little People in our interview. He’s explaining *pa’isék* to me, but also to the two other interviewers who are non-Native. Instead of understanding changes in the availability of some natural resources as simply the result of anthropogenic climate change, Jefferson makes a connection between our lack of respect and beliefs in these other-than-human relatives to global changes in ecology:

Jefferson: The people don’t believe in that anymore. Why doesn’t England have flowers and trees anymore? Why aren’t their vines growing like they used to?

Ian: Because it’s been industrialized for so long and that’s just essentially all—

Jefferson: —Oh sure. That’s the White way of saying it, right? The Indigenous people will tell you, they stopped believing in their fairies. They stopped believing in their wood elves. They stopped believing in their leprechauns. Those are the individuals that take care of that out there. If you don’t believe in them, they’re not going to be there. Why is America still so lush? Because we still believe. Because we still believe that our wood elves are out there that those spirits, that those fairies—we still know. So, because we believe in it, it’s still here.

According to Jefferson, negative environmental conditions are caused by some humans forgetting about their kinship responsibility to spirit beings. Neshnabé ecology situates agency differently from Western science in ways that explain climate change as not just the result of poor ecological management strategies, but of larger issues of ontology or connectedness with nonhuman animate beings.

Conclusion

Deploying narratives centered on lived experience and curated by community peer review are the most effective way Indigenous peoples have to leverage their knowledge systems in diverse settings—often settings not of their own choosing, with oppressive power structures that operate to erase them. Stories have the capacity to inform, entertain, inspire, and influence behavior in small instances and large contexts. By surveying old stories transcribed hundreds of years ago as well as reviewing recently produced Indigenous science fiction and fantasy with specific attention to Potawatomi cosmological narratives, these forms of story work become visible. More than mere tapestries of the past, the Potawatomi language was coded over time by generations of speakers that are now being used to program a set of Bodwéwadmí futurisms. Coding is also done by Indigenous peoples in everyday processes of living, speaking, dreaming, and especially in “story work” or telling stories for a specific political purpose. This coding carves out much needed Indigenous space in the future to imagine an otherwise to settler colonial futures imposed on Native peoples. Adversative to revitalization, Indigenous futurisms are a conceptual rejection of theoretical, institutional, and political projects that placed Native peoples and cultures in the past and denied them a place in the future. These language codes, pixels, spirit beings, and more are elements of what I call Bodwéwadmí futurisms, or atomized bits of traditional knowledge and Native science. Rejecting problematic ideas of “revitalization” centered on pastness, these codes are deployed to program an infinite number of Indigenous futures centered on healthy relations between humans, other Earth beings, spirit beings, and even machines.

Notes

- 1 For more on this topic, see Isiah Lavender III's *Race in American Science Fiction* (2011), Lavender's collection *Black and Brown Planets: The Politics of Race in Science Fiction* (2014), and John Rieder's *Colonialism and the Emergence of Science Fiction* (2008).
- 2 See Kristina Baudemann's *Extrapolation* essay “Indigenous Futurisms in North American Indigenous Art: The Transforming Visions of Ryan Singer, Daniel McCoy, Topaz Jones, Marla Allison, and Debra Yepa-Pappan” (2016).
- 3 See Karyn Recollet's *Dance Research Journal* article “Gesturing Indigenous Futurities Through the Remix” (2016).
- 4 See William Lempert's *Visual Anthropology Review* essay, “Decolonizing Encounters of the Third Kind: Alternative Futuring in Native Science Fiction Film: Decolonizing Encounters of the Third Kind” (2014).
- 5 See David M. Higgins's *Extrapolation* article “Survivance in Indigenous Science Fictions: Vizenor, Silko, Glancy, and the Rejection of Imperial Victimry” (2016).
- 6 See Shelley Streeby's book chapter “NoDAPL Native American and Indigenous Science, Fiction, and Futurisms”, in *Stories through Theories/Theories through Stories: North American Indian Writing* (2009).
- 7 See Grace L. Dillon's collection *Walking the Clouds: An Anthology of Indigenous Science Fiction* (2012).
- 8 See Jason Edward Lewis et al.'s *Journal of Design and Science* article, “Making Kin with the Machines” (2018).

- 9 Little River Band of Ottawa Indians, Bay Mills Indian Community, Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Hannahville Potawatomi Indian Community, Keweenaw Bay Indian Community, Lac Vieux Desert Band of Chippewa Indian Community, Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians, Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians, Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi, Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, Saginaw-Chippewa Indian Tribe, and Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians.

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