# KISIMA INŊITCHUŊA (NEVER ALONE) AS CULTURAL SURVIVANCE

*The Potential of Video Games to Support Indigenous Well-being*

JENNIFER C. STONE

Like many places, Alaska has a difficult history in which Indigenous cultures, communities, languages, and belief systems have been disrupted by colonial forces. As part of the ongoing struggle for sovereignty and cultural revitalization, Alaska Native communities have been working to reclaim the knowledges and ways of being that have been threatened by Western economies, educational systems, religious beliefs, media, and language practices. As I discuss elsewhere, new media and digital texts like *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa (Never Alone)* have the potential to support linguistic and cultural revitalization as parts of larger networks of resources and experiences (Stone, 2018).

In *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* (2014), a girl named Nuna and a fox search for the source of a blizzard that threatens the well-being of their village. Along the way they learn about spirit helpers, the dangers of the Arctic, and the values and beliefs that have supported strong communities in the north for over 10,000 years. Players progress through the indie side-scrolling adventure game by figuring out how to use Nuna's and Fox's abilities to solve problems rooted in the narrative and natural world around them. As player-characters move through the game, they unlock a series of "cultural insights" where elders and other Iñupiat

culture bearers explain the significance of various aspects of the game (see Massanari, 2015, for a detailed overview of the game). *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*, which has won numerous awards, has been lauded as the first of a new genre of "world games" that use video games to revitalize cultural knowledge, create positive representations of Indigenous people, and resist stereotypes (E-line Media, 2016). In short, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* illustrates the potential of video games for supporting Indigenous well-being.

Below, I unpack how the *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* game (2014) and the *Never Alone: Foxtales* expansion (2015) incorporate traditional Iñupiat values and literacy practices into a contemporary video game format. Although the notion of "thriving through gameplay" examined in this issue evokes ideas of individual well-being, I argue that *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* represents a significant attempt to engage Iñupiat young people, Alaskans, and the broader game-playing community in a form of collective cultural well-being that exceeds any individual player. Within the Iñupiaq community *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* supports the transmission of culture and language from one generation to the next, while outside of the Iñupiaq community *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* promotes intercultural communication and appreciation for Iñupiaq culture. In so doing, the game responds to a series of longstanding historical traumas by engaging players in Iñupiat stories of resilience in the face of adversity.

## HISTORICAL TRAUMA

The roots of contemporary, widespread historical trauma among Alaska Natives can be traced to the development of an (American) English educational system in the 1880s. After the purchase of Alaska, missionaries became interested in the project of "civilizing" the inhabitants of the area. Informed by national movements toward English-only and enforced Western education, missionary educators began the process of eradicating local languages and knowledge systems from Indigenous

communities. Indeed, the original organizers of American education in Alaska sought to replace Indigenous languages and belief systems with English and Western Christianity. The early infrastructure developed by missionaries formed the basis for widespread cultural disruption in the region (Williams, 2009).

The educational attempt at cultural genocide was exacerbated by widespread epidemics of influenza, tuberculosis, and other diseases in the early 1900s that killed about 60% of Alaska Native people (Napolean, 1996). As Napolean (1996) explained, the Great Death upended traditional belief systems, created opportunities for expanded Christian and Western intervention, and resulted in widespread historical trauma. Although Napolean's work discussed Yup'ik communities, his observations are relevant to other Alaska Native communities that experienced similar trauma, including the Iñupiat people of the northernmost regions of Alaska. Napolean argued that the trauma created by the Great Death can explain many of the problems faced by contemporary Alaska Native communities.

The overlapping forces of destructive educational practices along with the destabilization of families, communities, and belief systems by the Great Death set the stage for two generations of widespread cultural disruption through boarding schools and homes. During this time, as described by Easley, Kanaqlak, LaBelle, and Smith (2005), children as young as five years old were either forcibly removed from their homes or taken in as orphans to government-run boarding schools sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the U.S. Department of the Interior. Widespread testimony from students at the boarding homes and schools described physical and sexual abuse, as well as denial of access to family, language, and community ties (Easley et al., 2005). In short, boarding schools served as a mechanism for widespread cultural reprogramming.

Although forced boarding schools ended with the settlement of

the *Tobeluk v. Lind* case in 1976 (see Cotton, 1984), and many of the overtly colonial educational practices are no longer acceptable, legacies of cultural assimilation continue to affect people's lives today. As Easley et al. (2005) described, trauma from the Great Death, educational practices, and related abuses has resulted in high rates of alcoholism and substance abuse, domestic violence, murder, and suicide; patterns of trauma have been passed on to later generations. While legacies of historical trauma do not figure directly into the gameplay of *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*, they provide a catalyst and context for the game. Indeed, the game responds to these legacies; and many of the profiles of elders and culture bearers who contributed to the game include discussions of traumatic experiences and their results, while also framing the game project as a way to pass cultural knowledge on to younger generations and teach the world about the Iñupiaq culture.

## SURVIVANCE

In response to contemporary trauma-based issues that are rooted in colonial legacies, scholars of Indigenous theory have begun to think about how to move forward with projects of cultural healing and reclamation, both internationally and within Alaska. Work on Indigenous well-being, along with the broader Indigenous intellectual movement, has emphasized "a (re)focus on traditional knowledge systems—as providing a critical foundation for contemporary application of Indigenous approaches to self-determination" (Galla, Kawai'ae'a, & Nicholas, 2014, p. 194, para. 1). The shift toward traditional knowledge provides a backdrop for conceptualizing games as a potential source of "thriving through gameplay" as explored in this issue.

One productive theoretical approach to Indigenous well-being comes from Vizenor's concept of "survivance" (2008). Although a number of scholars have used survivance in various ways, Vizenor and subsequent Indigenous scholars have used

survivance to understand how communities resist narratives of dominance, absence, and victimhood. Survivance asserts Indigenous communities as an active sense of presence, where stories, world views, languages, and cultural knowledge resist colonial legacies. Here, I use survivance to understand the significance of the *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* game. Although the game has reached a global market, its real power lies in how it engages Iñupiat young people in traditional learning, how it educates other Alaskans about Iñupiaq culture, and how it promotes games as a medium for cultural survivance to a global audience.

It is important to recognize that *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* was created out of a participatory game design model as described by Massanari (2015). The game was developed collaboratively between Iñupiat community members, game developers, and the Cook Inlet Tribal Council. As such, the game is an example of "responsible" game design that aligns with "Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing" as proposed by Kirkness and Barnhardt (2001) and further developed by Carjuzaa and Fenimore-Smith (2010) and Galla et al. (2014). The game production process as well as the game itself provides direction for communities and developers concerned with Indigenous well-being.

## TRADITIONAL IÑUPIAT VALUES AND LITERACY PRACTICES IN *KISIMA INŊITCHUŊA*

The larger project of cultural survivance among Alaska Native communities has involved identifying cultural values for each major cultural group. In the 1980s, each of the major cultural groups in Alaska identified traditional values to emphasize (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 2006). Iñupiat Ilitquisiat (wisdom and lessons of the Iñupiat people) attempted to "assert and validate Iñupiat ethnic identity, reactivate and preserve Iñupiat skills, and solve pressing social problems" (McNabb, 1991, p. 65). The values are regularly used to guide the work

of institutions such as schools, corporations, and other organizations (Stern, 2010). For example, when I attended a land use and language camp a few years ago through a tribal college in Utqiaġvik, the Iñupiat values were stressed throughout the experience. The values are also woven into the Iñupiaq education program in the North Slope Borough School District (2015). In short, the values provide a foundation for cultural survivance in Alaska and are reflected in *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*. While many other Iñupiat values are embedded in the game, values related to language, cooperation, spirituality, respect for nature, and humility play central roles in various aspects of *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* and the *Foxtales* expansion, including the gameplay mechanics, puzzles, storylines, narration, graphics, reward structure, and supplemental media.

**Iñupiuraallaniq (Knowledge of Language)**

Iñupiuraallaniq (knowledge of language) is a central value expressed in *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*. The main stories of the game and expansion are told entirely in Iñupiatun, which is incredibly significant. As of 2007, there were 2,144 speakers of Iñupiatun out of a population of 15,700 Iñupiat people living in Alaska, most of whom were over the age of 40 (Krauss, 2007). That number has continued to decrease over the past decade. The language is classified as "threatened" on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Simons & Fennig, 2017b, para. 7). According to Simons & Fennig (2017a, para. 11), in threatened language communities, "intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language…Since parents can still use the language, it is not too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission in the home." Throughout Alaska, intensive work is being done to revitalize languages and increase numbers of speakers.

James Mumiġan Nageak, an elder who grew up in Kaktovik, AK,

narrates the story of Nuna and Fox. Subtitles are available in multiple languages, including English, but the central language of the game is Iñupiatun. As such, players are immersed in the sounds, words, and grammar of the language, which can provide exposure and encouragement for learning the language. As Nageak states in his profile, "I believe that through this game, somebody might get interested in the language. It could give them a spark of the possibilities in the Iñupiaq language" (E-line Media, 2014, para. 5).

Other parts of the game, including quotes between chapters and "cultural insights" that are unlocked throughout the game, are primarily in English. However, significant Iñupiat words are woven into these segments in instances of "translanguaging" (Garcia & Wei, 2014). In the game, Iñupiat words are incorporated strategically into the flow of English to (1) express ideas that would be impossible to express otherwise, (2) emphasize the persistence of Iñupiatun, and (3) assert Iñupiat values. For example, in the cultural insight, "Siḷa has a Soul," the Iñupiaq word siḷa is explained but not translated. It is a complex concept that incorporates the outside, weather, and atmosphere with the spiritual connectedness between all living creatures and the land. In another instance, Ronald Aniqsuaq explains that in the winter, people would build temporary shelters out of snow. He states, "In Canada, they call them igloo, but here in Alaska, we call them apuyyaq." His use of apuyyaq not only maintains an Iñupiaq word but also corrects a common misconception about Alaska. As these instances of translanguaging illustrate, Iñupiatun can be used as a powerful language resource and can promote the cultural value of knowledge of language, even in the flow of a primarily English-language text.

**Paamaaåigñiq (Cooperation)**

Another Iñupiaq value centers around paamaaåigñiq, or cooperation. In small communities with some of the harshest

climates in the world, cooperation is critical to survival. *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* requires players to cooperate as part of the Nuna-Fox team. Nuna has abilities that Fox does not have, such as moving objects, throwing a bola, and paddling an umiak, whereas Fox has abilities that Nuna lacks, such as crawling into small places, jumping higher, scrambling up vertical surfaces, and guiding spirit helpers. Together, Nuna and Fox must cooperate to be successful. Two players can choose to play together in local co-op mode or a single player can switch between controlling Nuna and Fox. Either way, the value of cooperation is built directly into the game's mechanics.

For example, Fox is first introduced when Nuna is chased by a polar bear. As she runs from the terrifying creature, a fox-shaped wisp follows her until she is trapped by a cliff that is too tall for her to climb. At that point, players can enter co-op mode or switch back and forth between characters as a single player. Fox lures the polar bear away from Nuna to nearby thin ice where it collapses, and Nuna and Fox are able to escape. As the storyteller states, "She would have died had she been alone." The connection between Nuna and Fox is perhaps most deeply felt whenever one of them dies. Although the characters quickly respawn at the nearest save point, the cries of Nuna and Fox when they lose each other are heartbreaking and indicate their closeness and reliance on each other.

The cooperation between Nuna and Fox culminates in two difficult boss battles in the original game and an additional battle in the expansion. First, they must defeat the Manslayer who destroyed Nuna's village. Nuna and Fox must work together to avoid getting hit with the Manslayer's fireballs and use the abilities of the bola to drop a branch, breaking the ice and sending the Manslayer into the frozen waters below. As the narrator explains afterward, "using everything they had learned, the girl and Fox had finally defeated the terrible one." Then Nuna and Fox locate the source of the blizzards—a giant man who

is knocking snow off a mountain and shoveling it into the air. The pair must steal and break the giant man's adze to stop the blizzard. Here again, Nuna and Fox must engage in complex coordination as they climb the giant man, avoid getting crushed by his movements, and steal his adze. In the *Foxtales* expansion, Nuna and Fox must work together to defeat a giant mouse that lives in a lake near Noatak and kills all who enter the lake. In the story, "The good swimmer [Fox] distracted the giant mouse, and then the good fighter [Nuna] grabbed it by its tail." Neither could have defeated the giant mouse alone. As these examples illustrate, the value of cooperation is woven throughout the narrative and mechanical structures of the game.

### Ukpiqqutiqaåniq (Spirituality) and Qiksiksrautiqaåniq Iñuuniaåvigmun (Respect for Nature)

The related values of ukpiqqutiqaåniq (spirituality) and qiksiksrautiqaåniq iñuuniaåvigmun (respect for nature) are also deeply embedded in the game. As the polar bear chase scene illustrates, humans are not hierarchically above nature. Like all living beings, humans are at risk from the dangerous environment and are equal to all living things. Deep crevasses, open water, high winds, the aurora borealis, and polar bears threaten the lives of Nuna and Fox as they attempt to find the source of the blizzard in the original game. Similarly, players must learn to read the movement of ice floes and currents in the water in the *Foxtales* expansion. To succeed, players need to respond in careful and respectful ways to natural obstacles—jumping over open water, ducking under high winds, and running from hungry polar bears.

The *Foxtales* expansion is based on a central story about the implications of disrespecting nature. In their excitement for the end of winter, Nuna and Fox forget to respect nature and chase a mouse into the sea. They lose track of the mouse and finally make their way to the mouth of the Noatak River, where they

remember a story about a giant mouse in a lake off the river that would eat everyone who went into the lake. Nuna and Fox venture to the lake, where the giant mouse tries to kill them. Nuna and Fox must learn to use the guidance of the spirit helpers to change the water currents and knock down the bank of the lake to bury the giant mouse. Returning home, they find that their mouse friend has survived and they learn an important lesson about respect for animals.

The game also illustrates the related spiritual belief that all things in nature are alive. As Amy Fredeen explains in the cultural insight, "Siḷa has a Soul," "It's not one way of seeing things, it's one way of knowing you're connected to everything." Throughout the game, players interact with and learn about their interconnected relationship with siḷa. As a visual manifestation of this, spirit helpers in many forms assist Nuna and Fox traverse dangerous situations. One of Fox's abilities points out and guides spirit helpers to Nuna, whereas Nuna can activate spirit helpers with her bola. Each type of spirit helper provides different assistance to Nuna and Fox. For example, the salmon helpers jump from open water to provide safe passage over otherwise deadly areas, whereas the loon spirit helpers can lift and move Nuna and Fox up steep cliffs.

Additionally, the game illustrates how animal spirit helpers may reveal themselves in human forms. For instance, after Nuna finds her village destroyed, an owl follows her and Fox as they look for the source of the blizzard. He reveals himself to her in human form and asks her to help him find his drum. Nuna and Fox traverse a network of underground passages and outsmart the little people who have stolen the owl-man's drum. In return for recovering the drum, he gives Nuna a magical bola to help on their journey. Later in the game, after Fox is killed, he reveals himself in human form to Nuna and continues to help her on the journey. This ability of animals to shapeshift and reveal themselves as helpers is common in many Iñupiat stories.

**Qiñuiññiq (Humility)**

A final Iñupiat value that is embedded in the game is qiñuiññiq or humility. According to the North Slope Borough School District (2006):

> Prior to Christian influence humility was believed to be essential for success and survival because all of nature's forces (weather, animals, and earth) responded positively to a person's humble attitude. If a person was prideful the animals would not give themselves to him. If a person was prideful the weather would show forth its greater power. Iñupiaq people recognized their dependence on forces outside of their control. (p. 3)

Humbleness is also incorporated into Nuna's role in the narrative of the game, as she stands up as a humble person against the Manslayer, the source of the blizzard, and the giant mouse.

As explained in the cultural insight about "The Manslayer," his character represents threats to community. In the game, the Manslayer chases Nuna and Fox, throws fireballs and tries to kill them, and endangers Nuna as an individual as well as her entire community. Ishmael Angaluuk Hope explains that, "What this humble person will represent who faces that Manslayer is a return to order, a return to true living in the community. And it just takes that one person." In this case, Nuna is the one humble person who stands up to the Manslayer— as well as the source of the blizzard and the giant mouse—and restores order to her community. When she returns to her family, they are happy to see her, but she is not hailed as a hero, nor is she boastful about her accomplishments.

**Iñupiat Literacies**

In addition to reflecting a number of Iñupiat cultural values, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* also foregrounds several important Iñupiat literacies, including scrimshaw carving, drumming, and

storytelling. The role of scrimshaw for documenting cultural histories is reflected in the aesthetic of the narrative cut-scenes throughout the game. As the storyteller speaks, scrimshaw-style images complement their verbal detail. As explained in the cultural insight, "Scrimshaw," the traditional art form used etchings on baleen or ivory to record stories, which could then be read by future generations. The reflection of scrimshaw style in the graphics of the game integrates the traditional literacy of scrimshaw carving into the contemporary game medium.

The importance of drumming (in addition to related activities of singing and dancing) also is embedded in the game. In the scene with the owl-man, the drum is foregrounded as a key material object. The cultural insight, "The Heartbeat of the Community," explains the symbolism of the drum as the life, vitality, and heartbeat of a community. The scene with the owl in the main game and the cultural insight include small excerpts of a much larger drum-based and song-based literacy. Also, the video shows several people engaging in dances. Each song and related dance tells a story that is encoded in the rhythms, words, and movements of the activity; there are many different types of story-songs that are used for various purposes and events (Pulu, Johnston, Sampson, & Newlin, 1979).

Finally, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* highlights the centrality of storytelling as an Iñupiaq literacy and engages players with several common stories. The main storyline for the game is based on the story "Kunuuksaayuka" told by Robert Nasruk Cleveland, where a young man leaves his village to find the source of blizzards that are interfering with his ability to feed his community. The game incorporates several other favorite Iñupiat stories, including the little people, the Manslayer, the aurora borealis, and the giant mouse. The little people, who show up in the mythologies of several Alaska Native groups, are tiny but extraordinarily strong humans who sometimes cause mischief, as in the case of stealing the owl-man's drum. The Manslayer stories reinforce the value

of community. The aurora borealis is described in traditional stories as the souls of dead children who are playing in the sky. If people do not wear their hats and the northern lights get too close it is said that they will play ball with your head. And the giant mouse is a story of teamwork in the face of adversity. Each of these stories and others are woven into *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* and the *Foxtales* expansion.

These and other stories are not just part of the narrative cut-scenes that frame each chapter of the game, but they also shape the action of Nuna and Fox's adventure. For example, players must figure out how to trick the mischievous little people to get the owl-man's drum back. When Nuna and Fox find the little people playing the drum in the underground tunnels, they start throwing rocks. Players must solve a puzzle to use the rocks to tip a platform up to reach the little people and recover the drum they took from the owl-man. The Manslayer provides heart-pounding chase scenes where Nuna and Fox must escape him and his deadly fireballs. The aurora spirits also appear several times in the game, swooping fancifully through the sky. Players must duck to avoid contact with the aurora or they are killed. In the *Foxtales* expansion, Nuna and Fox must engage in teamwork that builds on each character's strengths to defeat the giant mouse. As these examples illustrate, the game allows players not only to hear traditional stories, but also to participate in and learn from the lessons in the stories. Stories in Iñupiat and other Alaska Native communities provide an important vehicle for education about beliefs, values, and practices in traditional communities (Ongtooguk, 2000). They often include lessons that are entertaining as well as useful to listeners.

## *KISIMA INŊITCHUŊA* AS CULTURAL SURVIVANCE

By looking carefully at how *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* engages players with Iñupiat values of language, cooperation, spirituality, respect for nature, and humility, as well as with specific Iñupiat literacy

practices related to scrimshaw carving, drumming, and storytelling, the game becomes much more than just a successful commercial game. Rather, it becomes clear that *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* engages players in a game-based activity of survivance that challenges stories of victimhood, dominance, misrepresentation, or outright omission of Indigenous people. Nuna and Fox guide players through stories and challenges that build a positive and nuanced picture of Iñupiaq identity. Such acts of survivance are critical for the projects of sovereignty and cultural revitalization.

*Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* engages in survivance in relation to both internal and external audiences. The primary purpose for the game project grew out of the desire to harness the power of video games for young Iñupiat people. From the standpoint of internal Iñupiat cultural revitalization, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* provides a powerful mechanism for sharing Iñupiat values and literacy practices with younger generations. Although discourse in language revitalization communities often frames new media like video games as tools for further colonization that are antithetical to cultural reclamation, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* illustrates the potential for video games to support the transmission of language and culture to future generations and to address the lingering trauma of colonial practices. In the words of Tlingit elder Khaajakhwtí Walter Soboleff, "When people know who they are, they don't kill themselves" (Twitchell, 2013, para. 6). As I have argued elsewhere, a single video game or other new-media text will not stem the tide of several generations of colonial practices; however, a game like *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*, when used alongside culturally sustaining curricula in schools, community language classes, immersion opportunities, and other new-media interactions, can play a key role in cultural survivance (Stone, 2018).

Externally, the game engages in important cultural work, as well, by cultivating appreciation and understanding of Iñupiaq culture within Alaska and on national and global scales. In the first

cultural insight, Amy Fredeen states that, "one of the things I think a lot of people need to understand is, we aren't a museum piece. The Iñupiat people are a living people and a living culture." As the circumpolar north continues to be central to discussions on climate change and increasingly accessible through seaways, understandings of living Iñupiat cultures will be necessary for the continued survivance of Iñupiat people. Within Alaska, *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* provides an accessible and engaging way to learn about the history of people who have lived in our region for thousands of years and to develop cultural competence in relation to local Indigenous populations. The game also reaches a global audience and illustrates the potential of video games for engaging in acts of survivance in other contexts, and provides a model for how such games can be produced in respectful and responsible ways. Together, the internal and external focus on cultural survivance in *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa* provides guidance for how games might support "thriving through gameplay" with Indigenous communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Quyanaqpak to Etta Fournier, Paul Ongtooguk, and the 2017 International Seminar for Indigenous Well-being, (including Beth Leonard, Candace Galla, Richard Hum, Polly Hyslop, Keiki Kawai'ae'a, Sheilah Nicholas, Kathryn Shanley, Rosina Taniwha, and all of the students) for their careful teaching about Alaska Native and Indigenous values, education, and well-being that have shaped my understanding of *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa*. Also, thank you to interns Jacob Holly-Kline and Samantha Mack for feedback and editing.

REFERENCES

Alaska Native Knowledge Network. (2006). *Alaska Native values for curriculum*. Retrieved from http://www.ankn.uaf.edu/ANCR/Values/index.html

Carjuzaa, J., & Fenimore-Smith, J.K. (2010). The give away spirit: Reaching a shared vision of ethical Indigenous research relationships. *Journal of Educational Controversy, 5*(2). Retrieved from http://cedar.wwu.edu/jec/vol5/iss2/4

Cotton, S.E. (1984). Alaska's "Molly Hootch Case": High schools and the village voice. *Educational Research Quarterly, 8*(4), 30-43.

E-Line Media. (2014, Nov. 6). *James (Mumiġan) Nageak*. Retrieved from http://neveralonegame.com/cultural-ambassadors/james-mumigan-nageak/

E-Line Media. (2016). *World games*. Retrieved from http://neveralonegame.com/world-games-inclusive-development/

Easley, C., Kanaqlak (Charles, G.P.), LaBelle, J., & Smith, S.L. (2005). Boarding school: Historical trauma among Alaska's native people. Anchorage, AK: National Resource Center for American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian Elders.

Galla, C. K., Kawai'ae'a, K., & Nicholas, S. E. (2014). Carrying the torch forward: Indigenous academics building capacity through an international collaborative model. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 37*(1), 193–217.

Garcia, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism, and education*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirkness, V. J., & Barnhardt, R. (2001). First Nations and higher education: The four R's–respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. In R. Hayoe and J. Pan (Eds.), *Knowledge across cultures: A contribution to dialogue among civilizations*. Comparative Education Research Centre. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong.

Krauss, M. E. (2007). Native languages of Alaska. In O. Miyaoko,

O. Sakiyama, & M. E. Krauss (Eds.), *The vanishing voices of the Pacific Rim* (pp. 406-417). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Massanari, A. (2015). *Never Alone (Kisima Inŋitchuŋa)*: Possibilities for participatory game design. *Well Played, 4* (3), 85-104.

McNabb, S. (1991). Elders, Iñupiat Ilitquisiat, and culture goals in the northwest arctic. *Arctic Anthropology, 28*(2), 63-76.

Napolean, H. (1996). *Yuuyaraq: The way of the human being with commentary*. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.

North Slope Borough School District. (2006). *Iñupiaq values curriculum: Humility-qiñuiññiq*. Retrieved from https://www.nsbsd.org/site/handlers/filedownload.ashx?moduleinstanceid=3368&dataid=1357&FileName=Values%20Curriculum-Humility.pdf

North Slope Borough School District. (2015). *Iñupiaq learning framework*. Retrieved from https://www.nsbsd.org/Page/4542

Ongtooguk, P. (2000). Aspects of traditional Iñupiat education. *Sharing Our Pathways: A Newsletter of the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative, 5*(4), 8-12.

Pulu, T. L., Johnston, T. F., Sampson, R. R., & Newlin, A. from information provided by David Frankson and Dinah Frankson (1979). Iñupiat aġġisit atuutiŋich: Iñupiat dance songs. Anchorage, AK: University of Alaska.

Simons, G. F. & Fennig, C.D. (Eds.). (2017a). *Endangered languages. In Ethnologue: Languages of the worl*d (Twentieth edition). Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Retrieved from www.ethnologue.com/endangered-languages

Simons, G. F. & Fennig, C.D. (Eds.). (2017b). Inupiatun, Northwest Alaska. *In Ethnologue: Languages of the world*

(Twentieth edition). Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Retrieved from https://www.ethnologue.com/language/esk

Stern, P.R. (2010). *Daily life of the Inuit*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood.

Stone, J.C. (2018). *Digital stewards of Alaska Native languages and literacies*. Paper presented at the Modern Language Association Annual Convention, New York, NY.

Twitchell, L.A. (2013). America the multilingual. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/lance-a-twitchell/native-american-languages_b_2319510.html

Upper One Games. (2014). *Kisima Inŋitchuŋa / Never Alone* [Video game]. Anchorage, AK: E-Line Media.

Upper One Games. (2015). *Never Alone: Foxtales* [Video game expansion]. Anchorage, AK: E-Line Media.

Vizenor, G. (2008). *Survivance: Narratives of native presence*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Williams, M.S.T. (2009). The Comity Agreement: Missionization of Alaska Native people. In M.S.T. Williams (Ed.) *The Alaska Native Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (pp. 151-162). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.