The Role of Translation in Linguistic Standardisation across Inuit Nunangat

(Le rôle de la traduction dans la standardisation linguistique en Inuit Nunangat)

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ABSTRACT

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Noelle Palmer

The history of translation and the history of standardisation in Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit homeland in Canada, are closely intertwined. As the Inuit language varieties continually adjust to changing circumstances, translation has triggered standardisation; concomitantly, translators have proven active agents in the creation, implementation and rejection of standards. Missionaries used translation as a tool for religious conversion, and this was soon superseded by the assimilative non-translation policy of the federal government. Unfortunately, the exogenous domination over translation by these colonisers was to the detriment of the Inuit culture, inclusive of its language varieties. Now, as the Inuit have been regaining their intrinsic right to autonomy within a federation focused on French-English bilingualism, they are also confronted with a world increasingly dominated by English. To combat diglossia and revitalise their language varieties, the governments in Inuit Nunangat have been implementing demanding translation policies, and standardisation has emerged as central to their execution. The Qallunaat missionaries who first codified the way the Inuit spoke for translation purposes assumed control over the Inuit writing systems as they split the Inuit into orthographic camps along religious boundaries. Now the Inuit are reclaiming authority over their language varieties as they contemplate the possibility of a unified writing system that preserves their valued oral diversity. The relational dynamics inherent in translation studies proves a fruitful ground for considering the implications of translating the diverse Inuit writing systems into the traditionally Qallunaat concept of a written standard.

UUKTURAUN – ILAUQTAT IHUMAGIĤAQ

Mumiktitchiĥit Ilihimaqpaktuat Malirutaqĥangat Ikaaqhaaqlugu Inuit Nunangat

Translated into Inuvialuktun (Uummarmiutum) by Lillian Elias

Aipaarnihaqmumiktinniqaipaapakmumiktinikuniliĥaq Inuit Nunangatavugiiktuk. Inuit uqauhingatatlakayariiktut (uqauhiqqaqtutinmiktigun) atĥamikhimiraqtuthunahunauqautigikamiĥung, mumiktitchiniqunatikitkaatatauhimiktainiqtikitkaat; taitnaitkaluaqtilugu, mumiktitchiĥitnutqalaitchutmumiktitchiniku, iliĥivlutingihumamiktigunpiiqiĥaraqhutingilihimaqpaktuatmaliquĥanginnik. Ukpirniaqtitaturugaatkangiqitquvlugiukpirniarnimi, aquvatigun, malinagutigaatmumiktitchiĥitatungaiqługitmalirutalianunilivlugit Qaukłingit Kavamatunapitquĥanguqługuiłuaqhiniq. Aglaanmumiktitchiniqaulatararigaatatlat (Ilihimaniĥuattakpavanirmiut) iłuilikangit Inuit inuuniaruhingit, uqauhingitlu. Pangma, ahiin Inuit utiqtitchinagutiĥutihumamiktigualiqhutinguumaniIniqpangmiqaunagiĥani French Tanguĥarniluuqauhipayauĥat, tutqilipkararigaitpaaqłuktararigaitnunaaqhiqpaumtaniktunuqaqtualiqhuting. Paaqłaaglugiilihimaqpaktuat (nakiqtuangiluniuqauhit) taitnahutinguqauhitingavulługititarigaat, kavamat Inuit Nunvunganiilitquvialukaatmumiktitchiniqmalirutalianun, atautchikuuliquvlugitnalunaigiagutigaatpiyumaĥamingni. Ukuattanngitukpirniaqtuat, hhiuliuĥuataglaqapialaktuat Inuit qanuqatautchimuutingatuqauhitmumiktitchiniqihumagivlugit, ihumakamingataniqhulanahuikangat Inuit aglangningatiliĥaq. Una aglangniq (aglangniqiliĥangat) taitnahivuniĥiukangatavititquvlugi Inuit ukpirniarningatig. Pangmautiqchiniagaqhiĥutinmiktigunangalaninganikuqautchimingnikavulłiigingaĥuanikunahivun irivluguatauhimikaglangnirmikatulahitquvlugihinikhaqailihaqługiuqauhiqtinginuuniarutiktingliu qaqamingtutqiutikting. Aulaĥangatmumiktitchiĥuatilitchuriniaraqtutqanuququhitatĥigiingningat. Unailitchuripkaranaqihumakaptaluhimauhirluguaglangniqihumakigutigikput Inuit atauchikuuliqulvugitaglangnimik, ukuakaturkangaktaniktunfrenchtun.

ᐊᓪᓚᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᑦ – ᑕᑭᓂᕐᓴᓕᐊᖑᓯᒪᔪᑦ

ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᐅᑉ ᐁᑉᐸᖓᓅᔦᓂᐅᑉ ᐊᑑᑎᖓ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᓕᖓᑎᑦᓯᒍᑎᓄᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᖓᓂ

Translated into Inuktitut (Nunavik) by Ida Saunders

ᐊᑑᑎᕐᑲᑦᑕᓯᒪᔪᐃᑦ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᓂᕐᒥ ᐊᑑᑎᕐᑲᑦᑕᓯᒪᔪᐃᓪᓗ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᓕᖓᑎᑦᓯᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᖓᓂ ᐊᑕᐅᑦᓯᑰᕐᓯᒪᔫᓵᕐᑐ ᕐᑭᑦᓴᓘᑎᓯᒪᔪᕐᑎᑐᑦ. ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᕐᑳᒍᓯᖏᑦ (ᓇᓂᒥᐅᔭᐅᓂᕐᒥᒍᑦ ᐅᕐᑳᒍᓯᖏᑦ) ᑌᒪᙵᑦ ᐊᓯᑦᓵᓂᕐᑲᕐᐸᓕᐊᑎᓪᓗᒥᑦ ᒪᓕᑦᓯᑎᒃ ᐊᑑᑎᔭᕐᓂᒃ, ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᓂᖅ ᓄᐃᓚᕐᑭᑎᑦᓯᓯᒪᕗᖅ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᓕᖓᑎᑦᓯᒥᐊᕐᓂᒥᒃ; ᑭᓯᐊᓂ ᑌᒣᒐᓗᐊᕐᒪᑦ, ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᔩᑦ ᐱᓇᓱᐊᕐᑲᑎᐅᓯᒪᕗᑦ ᓄᐃᑎᓀᓂᕐᒥᒃ, ᐊᑐᓕᕐᑎᑕᐅᑎᑦᓯᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᕐᑯᔭᓈᕐᓯᓂᕐᒥᓗ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᓕᓀᓂᕐᒥ ᐱᐅᓯᐅᓲᓂᒃ. ᐅᑉᐱᓕᕐᑎᓯᒐᓱᐊᕐᑏᑦ ᑎᑭᒐᒥ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᑦᓯᑎᒃ ᐅᑉᐱᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᓴᖑᑎᑦᓯᒍᑎᕐᑲᑫᓱᐊᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑭᖑᓪᓕᕐᑲᑦᓴᐅᑎᒥᔭᕕᓂᐅᑦᓯᓂ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᑕᐅᙱᑐᒥᒃ ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ ᑲᕙᒪᖓᑕ ᒪᓕᒐᓕᐅᕐᓂᖓᓂᒃ ᐱᐅᓯᕐᒥᓂᒃ ᐱᐅᓯᕐᑖᓚᕐᑭᑎᑦᓯᒐᓱᐊᕈᑎᒋᑦᓱᒋᑦ. ᓲᑭᐊᖅ, ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᓂᖅ ᐊᐅᓚᑕᐅᓐᓂᑫᒥ ᑕᒪᒃᑯᓄᖓ ᐱᐅᓯᕐᒥᓂᒃ ᐱᐅᓯᕐᑖᓀᓴᐅᑎᑦᓯᒐᓱᑦᑐᕕᓂᕐᓄᑦ (ᓯᓚᑖᓂᑦ ᐱᔪᑦ ᐊᖓᔪᕐᕐᑲᐅᓵᕐᑐᑦ) ᓱᕐᓓᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐃᓗᕐᕈᓯᖓᓂᒃ, ᓱᕐᑫᑕᐅᕐᑲᑎᐅᑎᓪᓗᒍ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᖓ. ᑕᒐᑕᒐᐅᓕᕐᑐᖅ, ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᑎᕐᑎᓯᕙᓪᓕᐊᓯᒪᓕᕐᑎᓗᒥᑦ ᐱᔪᓐᓇᐅᑎᒥᒌᕐᓯᒍ ᐃᒻᒥᓂᕐᓯᒍᓐᓇᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᓄᓇᒥᓂᑦ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᒃ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓗᐊᙳᐊᑎᓪᓗᒥᒃ ᒍᐃᒍᐃᑎᑐ-ᕐᑲᓪᓗᓈᑎᑐᓪᓗ, ᓲᙵᔭᐅᕐᑲᑦᑕᓇᕗᑦ ᓯᓚᕐᔪᐊᒥ ᐊᐅᓚᒍᓯᕐᑲᓕᕐᐸᓕᐊᑐᐃᓐᓇᑐᒥᒃ ᕐᑲᓪᓗᓈᑎᑐᑦ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᕐᑲᕐᓯᓂ. ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓰᑦ ᓇᓪᓕᕐᑯᐊᓈᙱᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᓇᓪᓕᕐᑯᐊᓈᓕᕐᑎᑕᐅᑎᑦᓯᓕᐊᕐᓂᒧᑦ (ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓰᑦ ᐃᓚᑕᓇᔭᐅᓯᒪᓂᖏᑦᑕ ᐊᑦᓴᑮᙱᓂᖏᑦ) ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᒥᑕ ᐊᑦᓴᑮᙱᓕᓈᓐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᒥᐊᓪᓚᑎᑦᓯᓂᕐᒧᑦ, ᑲᕙᒣᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᓄᓇᖓᓂ ᐋᕐᕐᑭᓯᐃᕙᓪᓚᐊᓯᒪᓕᕐᑐᑦ ᒪᓕᒐᑦᓴᑕᓪᒪᓇᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᓂᕐᒨᓕᖓᓗᔪᓂᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᓕᖓᑎᑦᓯᒥᐊᕐᓂᖅ ᑐᙵᕕᒥᔭᐅᐸᓗᑦᓯᓂ ᑕᒪᒃᑯᐊ ᑲᔪᓯᑎᑕᐅᓂᖏᓐᓄᑦ. ᕐᑲᓪᓅᑦ ᐅᑉᐱᓕᕐᑎᓯᒐᓱᐊᕐᑎᕕᓃᑦ, ᐊᓪᓚᓯᒪᔪᓕᐅᓇᐊᙵᑐᕕᓃᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᑌᒎᓯᖏᓐᓂᓗ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑑᓕᕐᑎᓀᓂᖅ ᐱᑦᔪᑎᒋᑦᓯᒍ, ᐃᓯᒪᒍᓯᕐᑲᕐᓂᒪᑕ ᐊᐅᓚᑦᓯᒍᓐᓇᕕᕐᑲᕐᑐᓇᑦᓯᑎᒃ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᓪᓚᒍᓯᖓᓂᒃ. ᐊᓪᓚᓯᒪᔪᓕᐅᕈᓰᑦ (ᐊᓪᓚᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓲᑦ) ᓄᐃᑎᕐᑕᕕᓂᖏᑦ ᐃᓄᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᕕᑦᑎᓯᔭᕕᓃᑦ ᐅᑉᐱᓂᖅ ᒪᓕᑦᓯᒍ. ᑕᒐᑕᒐᐅᔪᕐᓕ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑎᒍᓯᒥᐊᓪᓚᓚᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᖓᔪᕐᕐᑲᐅᕕᕐᑲᕈᓐᓇᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᕐᒥᑕ ᐊᑦᓴᑮᙱᓕᓈᓐᓂᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐃᓯᒪᑦᓴᓯᐅᕐᓂᒥᓂᒃ ᐊᓪᓚᒍᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᓕᖓᑎᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᒥᒃ ᐃᓪᓕᓐᓇᓴᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᕐᑳᓂᒃᑯᑦ ᐊᑦᓴᑮᙱᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐱᐅᓕᐊᑦᓯᐊᑐᒥᒃ. ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓯᐅᑉ ᐁᑉᐹᓅᔦᓂᐅᑉ ᐃᓚᓐᓂᐊᑎᑦᓯᒍᑎᐅᓂᖏᓐᓂᑦ ᕐᑭᒥᕐᕈᒥᐊᑦᓴᓗᑎᑭᓯᐊᓂᐅᕗᑦ ᕐᑲᓄᖅ ᐅᕐᑲᐅᓰᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᑎᒌᒻᒪᕐᑳᑕ. ᑕᒪᓐᓇ

ᑕᑯᒥᐊᑦᓭᐊᑎᑦᓭᐊᖅ ᐃᓯᒪᑦᓴᓭᐅᕈᑕᐅᓂᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᖃᐅᓄᖅ ᓯᖅᖁᓂᓗᐅᑐᐃᑲᓐᓇᕆᐊᓕᖅᓂᖅ ᐊᓯᑦᔨᑐᐃᐊᔪᖃᖅᓂᐸᑦ ᐊᒥᓯᐃᓕᓴᖏᑲᓂᖅ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᑦᓕᒍᓯᖏᓐᓂᖅ ᐊᑕᐅᓭᐅᓂᓗᒍᑦ, ᑌᒪᑦᓴᓇᖅ ᖃᐅᑦᓗᓀᑎᑉᑐᑦ ᒍᐃᒍᐃᑎᑉᑐᑐᐃᓗ ᐊᑕᐅᓭᐅᓕᖏᓚᑎᑕᐅᓭᑎᑎᖅ ᐊᑦᓕᑕᐅᒍᓭᖃᖏᓚᑎᖅ.

RÉSUMÉ

Le rôle de la traduction dans la standardisation linguistique en Inuit Nunangat

Noelle Palmer

En Inuit Nunangat, la patrie des Inuit au Canada, l'histoire de la traduction est intimement liée à celle de la standardisation linguistique. Tandis que les variétés de la langue inuite s'adaptent continûment aux circonstances, la traduction entraîne la standardisation; en outre, les traductrices et les traducteurs ont toujours tenu un rôle important dans la création, la mise en œuvre et le refus de tels standards. Les missionnaires utilisaient la traduction comme un outil pour la conversion religieuse, ce qui était suivi par une politique d'assimilation et de non-traduction de la part du gouvernement fédéral. Malheureusement, cette domination exogène de la traduction par les colonisateurs a nui à la culture inuite, ses variétés de langue incluses. Aujourd'hui, les Inuit reprennent leur droit intrinsèque d'autonomie dans une fédération axée sur le bilinguisme français-anglais et doivent faire face à un monde de plus en plus dominé par l'anglais. Afin de combattre la diglossie et de revitaliser leurs variétés de langue, les gouvernements en Inuit Nunangat sont en train de mettre en œuvre des politiques de traduction exigeantes, et la standardisation s'est révélée centrale à leur exécution. Les missionnaires qallunaats qui ont codifié la parole des Inuit pour faciliter la traduction ont aussi régenté leur façon d'écrire, en divisant ainsi les Inuit dans différents camps orthographiques selon leurs religions. Aujourd'hui, les Inuit rétablissent leur autorité linguistique alors qu'ils songent à la possibilité d'un système d'écriture unifié qui conserverait la diversité orale qui leur est chère. La dynamique relationnelle qui fait partie intégrante de la traductologie est une terre fertile pour examiner les implications de la traduction des systèmes d'écriture divers des Inuit vers un standard écrit qui ressemble davantage à une langue qallunaate.

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TABLES

Abbreviations

AIP: Agreement-in-Principle

AIT: Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq

COPE: Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement

DNANR: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources

GNWT: Government of the Northwest Territories

ICC: Inuit Circumpolar Council

ICI: Inuit Cultural Institute

ICNI: Inuit Committee on National Issues

ICRC: Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre

ILC: Inuit Language Commission

ILPA: *Inuit Language Protection Act*, SNu 2008, c 17 (CanLII)

IQ: Inuit Qaujimanituqangit or Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit

IRC: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation

ITK: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

IUT: Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit

JBNQA: James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

KIA: Kitikmeot Inuit Association

KRG: Kativik Regional Government

KSB: Kativik School Board

LIA: Labrador Inuit Association

LILCA: Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement

LIC: Labrador Inuit Constitution

NCIE: National Committee on Inuit Education

NRBHSS: Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services

NRG: Nunavik Regional Government

NTI: Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated

OLA: Official Languages Act

1. Introduction

1.1 What the Inuit Use for Speaking[1]

> "No civilization but has its version of Babel, its mythology of the primal scattering of languages" (Steiner 1998, 59).

Told throughout the Canadian Arctic, the multiple accounts of the Sea Woman with a Dog Husband provide one explanation for the splintering off of different races, cultures and languages from the Inuit (Sonne 1990, 19-21). In a version told by Orulo[2] of Iglulik, a woman gave birth to both human-like and dog-like children (Rasmussen 1930, 63). After her husband's tragic demise, she placed the former on the under layer of a boot sole and sent them drifting towards land; they became the Chipewyan (ibid., 64). The latter, the dog-like children whose skills in weaponry were preordained, were placed in a boot sole and sent far out to sea; they became the Qallunaat[3] (ibid.). When the Inuit later came into contact with the Qallunaat who had voyaged to the land of the Inuit, it seemed logical that these beings would no longer speak "the Inuit way"[4]; they instead spoke a language befitting of their European nature (Dorais 2010, 89).

Before the arrival of these Qallunaat, however, the Inuit's ancestral kin had themselves dispersed. Their manner of speaking had diverged, and different varieties had evolved independently of each other (Dorais 2010, 88). "The vast distances and geographical particularities of each region meant each group of Inuit, depending on where they settled, developed their own unique vocabulary, pronunciations, and expressions" (Quinn 2014, 188). According to ethnolinguist Louis-Jacques Dorais[5], the "Inuit"[6] can be considered as those peoples speaking a common language that is heard from north-western Alaska to Greenland

[1] Direct translation of ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ *(Inuit uqausingit)* (Dorais 2010, 4).

[2] This is only one episode as recounted by Orulo in "The sea spirit Takánâluk arnâluk: The Mother of Sea Beasts" (Rasmussen 1930, 63-8).

[3] Qallunaat (singular Qallunaaq, dual Qallunaak) is a common transcription of a name given to the Europeans who arrived on the Inuit's shores; it is also spelled, for example, as Kallunât (Nunatsiavut) or Qablunaat (Inuvialuit Region). Often literally translated as "outstanding eyebrows" (Dorais 2010, 88), some suggest it may have signified "pale-skinned ones" (Sonne 1990, 20). The term, however, does not now refer to skin colour, but rather to "a certain state of mind" (Sandiford 2006). Although originally used to refer to Europeans and Euro-Canadians in general, the "real" Qallunaat, the *qallunaatuinnait,* of contemporary Inuit Nunangat are considered to be Anglo-Canadians.

[4] The Inuit tend to identify languages using the aequalis (simulative) case. As such, their manner of speaking can be back-translated as "the Inuit way" (i.e. Inuktitut = like the Inuit; Inuktun = like an Inuk).

[5] Dorais is considered to be "Canada's foremost academic authority on the Inuit language" (Johns 2010, 185).

[6] The word Inuit (singular Inuk, dual Inuuk) also signifies "human beings" in many Inuit language varieties.

(Dorais 2010, 3). This Inuit language, along with the Yupik[7] languages and the now extinct Sirenikski[8] language, would then together form the "Eskimo" languages; with the addition of the Unangax (Aleut) language, these would make up the "Eskaleut" (or Eskimo-Aleut) linguistic world (ibid., 9). These languages are all polysynthetic in nature, languages "in which there is a pattern of incorporation [and] in which […] affixes realize a range of semantic categories beyond those of synthetic languages in e.g. Europe" (Matthews 2007). Words are formed by adding postbases (affixes[9] and endings) to a noun or verb root and can often be translated into Indo-European languages by an entire sentence[10] (Dorais 2010, 9). Although stemming from a common Proto-Eskaleut language, these linguistic forms are not considered to be mutually intelligible, whereas the varieties within "the Inuit language" are linguistically similar enough to be deemed forms of a single language constituted of a continuum of dialects (ibid., 27 and 101).

Despite these linguistic differences, however, a 1975 grant submission by the Inuit Circumpolar Council[11] (ICC) claimed that "We Eskimo are an international community sharing *common language*, culture, and a common land along the Arctic coast of Siberia, Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Although not a nation-state, as a people, we do constitute a nation[12]" (ICCC 2015a, under "ICC's Beginning", emphasis mine). The ICC has since replaced its use of the term "Eskimo" (a broader term, linguistically-speaking) with "Inuit". The ICC defines the Inuit as the "indigenous members of the Inuit homeland recognized by Inuit as being members of their people and shall include the Inupiat[13], *Yupik*[14] (Alaska), Inuit[15], Inuvialuit[16] (Canada), Kalaallit[17]

[7] The Yupik/Yupiit also call themselves the Yupiget, the Yupiat, the Cupiit and the Sugpiat (Dorais 2010, 15). For consistency, and following the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), the term Yupik will here be favoured.

[8] The Sirenikski language died with its last speaker in 1997 (Dorais 2010, 298).

[9] The affixes are all suffixes except for the prefix "ta-" which is used to differentiate something in context from a new object being introduced into a discussion (Mallon 2000, sec. E). These affixes are sometimes referred to as "infixes", notably in the *Dictionnaire des infixes de la langue esquimaude* of Fr. Lucien Schneider, translated into English as *Inuktitut Infixes* by Dermot Collis (Schneider 1998).

[10] For example: the Inuktitut word *illu**liu**qati**gi**laaq**tara*** means "I shall have him/her as mate for building a house" (Dorais 2010, 9) or "she/he will build the house with me".

[11] Formed in 1977, the ICC is a circumpolar organisation whose principal goals are to: "strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region; promote Inuit rights and interests on an international level; develop and encourage long-term policies that safeguard the Arctic environment; and seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions" (ICCC 2015a).

[12] The United Nations has recognised the Inuit's right to self-representation as a distinct polity by awarding the ICC with Consultative Status II (Shadian 2014, 196, and ICCC 2015a).

[13] The Inupiat (or Iñupiat) live in Alaska. Their self-designation means "human beings *par excellence*" (Dorais 2010, 139). For consistency, and following the ICC, the term Inupiat will here be favoured.

(Greenland) and *Yupik* (Russia)" (ICCC 2015a, under "Charter", emphasis mine). This comprehensive definition therefore includes circumpolar indigenous peoples who refer to themselves as Inuit, who refer to all human beings as Inuit (the Inupiat, Inuvialuit and Kalaallit) and who do not even have the word "Inuit" in their language (the Yupik) (Dorais 2010, 3). Although retaining the right[18] of their members to refer to their ethnic groups by their own designations, "Inuit" has here been adopted to signify the united circumpolar nation represented by the ICC, replacing the generally proscribed term of "Eskimo"[19].

Table 1. The Eskaleut world and the Inuit of the ICC

Family	Branch	Sub-Branch	Language	
Eskaleut	Aleut	Aleut	Unangam tunuu (Unangax)	
	Eskimo	Inuit-Inupiaq	Inuit	**Inuit of the ICC**
		Yupik	Central Alaskan Yup'ik	
			Alutiiq	
			Central Siberian Yupik	
			Naukanski	
		Sirenikski	Sirenikski (extinct)	

Source: Adapted from Dorais (2010, 9).

The ICC's inclusive definition of the "Inuit" indicates a social, cultural and political endorsement of defining these indigenous circumpolar peoples, who have a common ancestry, as a unified people and nation. Regardless of the differentiation in their ways of speaking, whereby

[14] The Yupik live in Alaska and Russia. Like the Inupiat, their self-designation means "human beings *par excellence*" (Dorais 2010, 139).

[15] To differentiate themselves from other human beings, some Inuit prefer the title Inutuinnait or "the only real people" (Dorais 2010, 139).

[16] The Inuvialuit live in the Inuvialuit Region of the Northwest Territories. Their self-designation means "big human beings *par excellence*" (Dorais 2010, 139).

[17] Kalaallit is how the Inuit of Greenland identified themselves to the Danish missionaries; it is projected that the term is derived from the Norse referring to them as "*skrællingar*" (pagans/savages) (Dorais 2010, 139).

[18] According to Article 33 of the Universal Declaration on Linguistic Rights: "All language communities have the right to refer to themselves by the name used in their own language" (UNESCO 1996, 10).

[19] Although the word "Eskimo" is proscribed in Canada, the indigenous peoples of the Alaskan Arctic (who do not identify themselves as "Inuit" per se) tend to accept the term "Eskimo" (Kaplan 2011). The term "Alaska Native" is also used (see CITC 2016), although Dorais refutes the continued tendency to favour this more comprehensive form of Aboriginal identification (2010, 274).

English usually serves as the lingua franca at the ICC meetings[20] (Dorais 2010, 334), the ICC members emphasise the commonalities in their manner of speaking, which appears reflective of the ideology of "one language, one nation" (see s. 5.1). The Inuit language(s)[21] can thus be defined as the combination of linguistic forms used by a historically-related circumpolar nation[22]; conversely, the Inuit language can be a linguistic method of demarking who the Inuit are, to the exclusion of their ethnic kin (Dorais 2010, 3).

Within their definition of an "Inuit language" that is distinct from its Yupik counterpart, language specialists have established four main groups: Greenlandic Kalaallisut, Eastern Canadian Inuktitut, Western Canadian Inuktun and Alaskan Inupiaq[23]. These have been further broken down into numerous dialects and subdialects (see Appendix 2) (Dorais 2010, 28-9). Despite this multitude of speech varieties, however, Dorais states that "the Inuit speech clearly consists of only one language" (ibid., 25) where "all Inuit speakers, whether they live in northern Alaska, Canada, or Greenland, share a common means of communication and, with some adjustments, can understand each other" (ibid., 27). This conclusion of mutual intelligibility has, nonetheless, often been called into question. At a 2010 language conference in Iqaluit, for example, the speaker's Inupiaq speech caused such difficulty for the regionally-diverse interpreters that defeat finally had to be admitted (Quinn 2014, 185-6). This demonstrates how it is difficult to establish the boundaries of a language; further, "the line between language and dialect is determined as much by social, cultural and political factors as it is by purely linguistic factors" (Tulloch 2005, 12).

The greater Inuit homeland of the ICC spreads across four countries (see s. 1.2), within which further regions exist under separate governance (see Appendices 1 and 4). Some legislation currently considers "the Inuit language" as a singular entity (e.g. Nunavut's *Official Languages Act*[24]) while others name these communication forms as separate languages (e.g. the

[20] There may be other reasons for using English as a lingua franca at these meetings, including the low vitality of some Inuit language varieties and the need to communicate with non-Inuit organisations and governments.

[21] The ICC refers to the Inuit language varieties both as "the Inuit *language* in its representation in various Inuit areas" and as "the Inuit *languages*" (ICCC 2015c, emphasis mine).

[22] The Inuit are not alone in the Arctic; the ICC is just one member of the Arctic Council (see Arctic Council 2015).

[23] Although it is hypothesised that the ancestors of the Inuit migrated from West to East (Dorais 2010, 95-101), European language contact, and the ensuing translation, generally moved westwards, as does this paper (ibid., 217-223). For brevity, these terms shall hereafter be referred to as Kalaallisut, Inuktitut, Inuktun and Inupiaq.

[24] *Official Languages Act*, SNu 2008, c 10 (CanLII) [*OLA (Nunavut)*].

Northwest Territories' *Official Languages Act*[25]). Added to these political divisions is the complication of diverse writing systems created through ecclesiastical translation[26] (see section 3.1). Further research into the Inuit's perception of language as well as the acceptance of any future standardisation are important factors for the Inuit to consider if they decide to quantify the way that they speak (Tulloch 2005, 13, and Byron 1976, 42).

There is no definitive quantitative demarcation inherent in the way that the Inuit refer to their overall manner of speaking. ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ[27] back translates to "what the Inuit use for speaking", although it is usually translated in English as the ideologically-laden term "the Inuit language" (Dorais 2010, 4). Labelling how the Inuit express themselves as a static number of quantifiable languages could influence someone's perception of the feasibility of standardisation. To avoid this and to recognise the plurality inherent within the speech and writing forms used by the Inuit, I will favour the term "Inuit language varieties". By using the term "varieties" as opposed to "dialects", I hope to circumvent any unwarranted stigma associated with the latter when referring to a language form commonly associated with a particular region (see Haugen 1966, 924-5) or linked to a certain epoch, age-group or gender[28]. I also hope to avoid any implication that the linguistic forms used by the Inuit are all sub-categories of a solitary language. Linguist Richard A. Hudson has defined a variety of language as "a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution" (1996, 22)[29]. This broad definition of "variety" encompasses what are habitually referred to as languages, dialects and registers, thus acknowledging "that there is *no* consistent basis for making the distinctions concerned" (ibid.,

[25] *Official Languages Act,* RSNWT 1988, c O-1 (CanLII) [*OLA (NWT)*].

[26] The term "ecclesiastical translation" here refers to the translation of a text "of or pertaining to the church" (*OED* 1989, s.v. "ecclesiastic", A.1.a.). It is used to include a wide range of sacred texts beyond the Bible, such as prayer and hymn books. This term is not meant to imply the transfer of a bishop or minister (ibid., s.v. "translation", I.1.a.).

[27] *Inuit uqausingit: Inuit* – "the Inuit's": plural, relative (possessive) case of *Inuk*; *uqausingit* – "what they use for speaking": word base *uqau-* "to talk"; *-sit-* an instrument for*; -ngit* plural, basic case as possessed by the 3rd person plural (the Inuit). *Uqausiq* ("the instrument for talking") is also a translation for "word" (Schneider 1985, 460). This orthography is the Roman transliteration of ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ (ᐅᖃᐅᔨᓴᖏᑦ), from the Inuktitut of Nunavik and Nunavut; it can also be written, for example, as *Inuit uqauhiat* in Inuinnaqtun (Nunavut, Pitquhiliqiyikkut 2012*)*.

[28] To avoid a similar stigma, I have rejected the term "what the Inuit use for speaking" as this might not award what the Inuit speak the respect given to a "language". The foreignness of this term or the use of Inuit Uqausingit might also distance the English reader.

[29] A more descriptive and pointed definition of language variety is offered by the linguist Charles A. Ferguson: "any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description *and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all formal contexts of communication*" (quoted in Wardhaugh 2010, 23, emphasis mine).

23). The term "Inuit language varieties" is thus here used to represent both the *common* ancestry of those indigenous peoples who consider themselves Inuit and also the *diversity* of their voices.

Further, although the categories which have been expertly set out by linguists according to such empirical factors as phonological distance or percentage of shared lexical affixes (see Dorais 2010, 54-65) may be extremely relevant from a linguistic viewpoint, the translative distance between these language varieties is highly affected by the writing systems used, political boundaries and social factors. For example, in the Kitikmeot region of Nunavut, the linguistically defined dialects are Natsilingmiutut and Inuinnaqtun, which both fall under the Western Canadian Inuktun language group; however, the Natsilingmiutut variety uses the syllabic writing system commonly associated with Inuktitut and is often named as such by its speakers. Correspondingly, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association states: "There are two Inuit languages in the Kitikmeot, Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut" (KIA 2016). In order to take the general consensus of the speakers into account, I will be following the naming practices for the regional language varieties as most commonly used, gathered from the policies and documentation of the Inuit and territorial governments, from newspapers and from the websites of the Inuit organisations which regionally represent the speakers of these varieties of language (see Appendix 4).

1.2 Inuit Nunangat

> "But even if it is happening slowly, our language is at risk, just like our homeland is from global warming" (Kusugak 2014a, 39).

The Inuit homeland, known as Inuit Nunaat, stretches over the circumpolar region from the Strait of Denmark across the Bering Strait. This territory currently lies within the political boundaries of Kalaallit Nunaat[30] (Greenland), northern Canada, parts of Alaska and Chukotka[31] (Russia). Although the term Inuit Nunaat is still used by the Inuit in Canada to refer to the greater Inuit territory, the term "Inuit Nunaat" was changed to "Inuit Nunangat[32]" with reference to the territory within Canada at a general meeting of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami[33] (ITK) in 2009 (ITK 2008). The Inuit in Canada thus re-named their specific territory using a native language form,

[30] Greenland is officially known as Kalaallit Nunaat, which signifies "the land of the Kalaallit" (Dorais 2010, 47).

[31] The term Inuit Nunaat thus includes the linguistically-separate Yupik.

[32] Inuit Nunangat is often translated as "the Inuit homeland".

[33] Founded in 1971 as the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the ITK is the Inuit's national advocacy organisation.

instead of continuing to use the Kalaallisut term "Nunaat", since they felt that their indigenous term better encompassed the sea-ice and water which are integral parts of their Inuit homeland along with the land itself (ibid.).

Inuit Nunangat is presently comprised of four politically distinct regions: Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador), Nunavik (northern Québec), Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Region[34] (northern Northwest Territories and the Yukon North Slope) (see Appendix 1). The multiplicity of these regions' histories has impacted how the language of the Inuit is spoken and written throughout this vast territory, and these histories have also diversely affected the vitality of the Inuit language varieties (see Appendix 5). The four regions of Inuit Nunangat are each under separate land claims agreements, which grant their governing systems differing levels of sovereignty, linguistic and otherwise. Correspondingly, the ensuing translation policies, explicit and implicit, do not grant equitable translational justice to the inhabitants of these regions (see section 4.1.2). This pluralistic past and the present variance in speech and writing across Inuit Nunangat are central to the question of standardisation and its relationship with translation in this area.

"Languages contain complex understandings of a person's culture and their connection with their land" (Australia 2012, 7). Beyond geographic particularities influencing vocabulary in different regions of Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit language varieties as a whole continue to be closely linked to their territory, both in terms of cultural and political identity. Within the Inuit homeland there are two main, overlapping territorial domains: the "land" and the settlement (Patrick 2008, 94). While the former continues to be closely tied to traditional Inuit language and knowledge, the latter is a multilingual arena, where the Inuit way and the Qallunaat way are in a continual state of contact (ibid.). "In border spaces, distinctions between the 'original' and 'foreign' cultures tend to disappear, for cultures tend to be both simultaneously" (Gentzler 2008, 145). As community life on this border becomes the norm, the Inuit identity and language resists assimilation, as it searches to demonstrate a plural and dynamic nature which may not always be recognised as authentic or whole (ibid.) (see s. 5.2).

The Inuit in Canada have begun re-indigenising the maps of their territory as communities choose to readopt traditional names reflective of the community, even when an

[34] Also referred to as Nunaqput or Inuvialuit Nunaat, I have chosen to use the title "the Inuvialuit Region" following the ICC (Canada), the ITK and the name of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC).

"official" name in both Inuit and non-Inuit language varieties already exists[35]. This is an important step for the Inuit, whose linguistic philosophy recognises naming as the ability for an Inuk to "reach" the world (Therrien 1987 in Dorais 1996, 94) and to symbolically own that which is named (Correll 1974 in Dorais 1996, 95). Communities have become principal territorial reference points for the Inuit, and speakers often associate their variety of language with their home community (Tulloch 2005, 14). The different governmental structures, meanwhile, have led to a more regional attachment. Language also acts as a symbol of territorial and political rights (Dorais 2010, 258), and the creation of a standard orthography or language for all of Inuit Nunangat, or even Inuit Nunaat, would thus bestow these Inuit homelands with a more unified linguistic front.

1.3 Standards and Norms

> "Standardisation, then, is the exception rather than the norm" (Schreier 2012, 355).

According to linguist Einar Haugen, there are four overlapping steps in the standardisation process: selection and acceptance within a society, alongside the codification and the elaboration of the selected language (see table 2) (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013, 12). This sociolinguistic process, however, is laden with ideologies of superiority, coercion and uniformity (ibid., 7-12). Standardised languages are often linked with "official" languages, endowed with the "authority and legitimacy" of the linguistic corpus which supports it (Leclerc 1992, 197). The higher status awarded to a standard language represents an important component in the current vision of a standard Inuit language or orthography (see ss. 4 and 5).

Table 2. Haugen's model of standardisation

	Form	**Function**
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration

Source: Haugen (2003 [1966], 421) in Hickey (2012, 18).

[35] For example, the community's designation of ᑰᒑᕐᔪᒃ [Kugaaruk] ("Little Stream") has become the official name of the area once known as Pelly Bay, whose "official" Inuktitut name was formerly Arviligjuaq ("Place of many bowhead whales") (Nunavut Tourism 2016, under "Kugaaruk", and McKibbon 1999).

Normalisation, as opposed to standardisation, will here refer to an increase in the "normality" of a language's use, that is, to its spread throughout a society (Leclerc 1992, 197). This implies that a language or language variety may become the "norm" (selected and socially accepted), even if it is not a fully standardised (codified and elaborated) or official language. Unlike a prescriptive, top-down standard, norms are considered to be guidelines gathered from the "general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate" (Toury 1995, 54-5). Norms are pluralistic and can also fluctuate along with societal shifts: someone's "idiosyncrasy" may gain acceptance and enough support to become a norm, even one as "binding" as a standard or rule (or vice versa) (ibid., 54). Translation can impact the construction and implementation of linguistic or orthographic norms through translators favouring certain terminologies or orthographies (see s. 2.2). Literary norms are liable to be highly affected by translators when translation is into a nascent or peripheral polysystem[36] or one where a "literary vacuum" exists[37] (Even-Zohar 2000, 193-4).

Normalisation can be facilitated by the standardising process of linguistic codification (Leclerc 1992, 197). "La *codification* est une intervention politique qui consiste à élaborer et à produire un appareil de références des usages linguistiques; ceux-ci sont alors rassemblés, fixés, recommandés ou prescrits par des spécialistes en matière de langue" (ibid.). A language's codification may include the creation of a writing system, dictionaries, grammar books and pedagogical materials. Similar to the concept of a standardised language, the codification of a language is often linked to status, purity, stabilisation and language acquisition (Jaffe 1999, 136, and Leclerc 1992, 197).

Elaboration is another important aspect in the creation of a standardised writing system. *Elaboration* of function allows a standard language to function within a wide range of domains; for example, the "modernisation" of the Inuit language varieties would allow them "to take on contemporary, non-indigenous fields of study and discourse which will ensure the relevancy of

[36] The polysystem theory of the Tel Aviv School considers literature to be a polysystem, or "system of systems", which interacts within other polysystems (Weissbrod 1998, 2). As such, the Canadian Inuit literary polysystem functions within both the literary polysystems of the Inuit and of Canada; all of these literary polysystems also interact within a global polysystem. The literary polysystems further function within their relative cultural and linguistic polysystems, which also lie within more global polysystems.

[37] Translation into a "central" (dominant) literary polysystem is liable to favour acceptability by supporting the existing norms in the target language, whereas translation into a "peripheral" (minor) system often favours adequacy (cohesion to source text norms) and may create new literary norms in the target language (Even-Zohar 2000, 193-5).

Inuktitut for future generations" (Arnakak 2014, 59). This elaboration is seen as a means to combat the diglossia which persists between the indigenous and colonial language varieties by encouraging the normalisation of Inuit language varieties in all domains of life in Inuit Nunangat (see s. 4.1). It also, however, may result in one variety's encroachment into areas where another variety of the language is normally used (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013, 17), such as the use of the purported women's language variety when out on the land, where it seems a particular men's variety was traditionally used (see s. 3.1.2). In Inuit Nunangat, elaboration is closely associated with the related fields of terminology creation and translation.

At the 2014 "Pre-Summit Workshop on Inuktut[38] Language Writing Systems Standardization", the negative connotations of the word "standardisation" was broached. When speaking with Inuit communities, it appeared that standardisation was seen as a "forced measure" and a "form of assimilation" (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10). In fact, the step in the standardisation process that is termed *acceptance* "implies the more or less coercive imposition of the standard, most obviously through compulsory schooling" (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013, 13). Nunavut's indigenous standardisation effort, not wishing to be associated with the Inuit's colonial history and the detrimental effects of a foreign language forced upon them through the federal school system (see section 3.2.2), has needed to find new words that better resonate with the people that this effort is intended to represent (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10). Consequently, by the August 2015 gathering, the discussion revolved around the "Unification of the Inuit Writing System" (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 1).

Linguistic unification recalls nineteenth-century European nationalism and its emphasis on an isomorphic language, nation and state (Akinnaso 1994, 140). Unification also expresses the Inuit's social value of cooperation, which is reflected in two of the guiding principles of *Inuit Qaujimanituqangit* (IQ or "Inuit Traditional Knowledge"): *Piliriqatigiingniq* (developing a collaborative relationship or working together) and *Aajiqatigiingniq* (consensus decision-making)[39] (Nunavut, Department of Education 2007, 33-5). The concept of a unified Inuit

[38] The term "Inuktut" has been adopted by the Government of Nunavut to stand for both Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun, the varieties named in the *Inuit Language Protection Act*, SNu 2008, c 17 (CanLII) (Nunavut, CH 2012, 11). This term does not seem to have gained ground elsewhere in Inuit Nunangat.

[39] Inuit Qaujimanituqangit is also called Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit, although this latter term implies an unwarranted passivity (-jaq-) (Arnakak 2002, 35). Other guiding principles of IQ are: *Inuuqatigiitsiarniq*, *Tunnganarniq, Avatimik Kamattiarniq, Pilimmaksarniq, Qanuqtuurunnarniq* and *Pijitsirniq* (Nunavut, Department of Education

Nunangat with a "unified" written language has been acknowledged as one of the reasons behind language standardisation (Olsen 2014, 100, and Grey 2014, 109). However, although standardisation can gather together diverse language varieties to create one standard language, it can also prove a divisive act. Standardisation implies *selection*, and the notion of a "standard" carries with it an inherent value judgement. As such, the socially-dominant standard may be considered superior (or authentically inferior) to the non-standard (Hickey 2012, 6, and Jaffe 1999, 245). Thus, although the creation of a standard may unify languages across a geographical space, it can also produce a sociolectal division, separating those who have learnt the standard from those who continue to use their own non-standardised variety.

The national standardisation effort underway is in many ways a unification of regional standardisation (see s. 5.1). However, the 2015 Unification of the Inuit Writing System Summit's report has simply used "unification" as a euphemism for "standardisation" (see Amaujaq NCIE 2015). Although the use of the word "unification" has its place in the community where (potentially unwarranted) prejudice to the term standardisation may exist, the Inuit nonetheless intend to achieve this unity through the creation of a written standard. This is thus a process of *standardisation*, involving the selection of a standard (albeit a potentially "flexible" one [Palluq Cloutier 2014, 138]), encouraging acceptance of this standard, the codification of the standard in grammatical and educational material and its elaboration through the creation of consistent neologisms. In the context of this academic paper, standardisation is a "strong word which has an appropriate meaning – being strong to save one's language, fighting for it, enforcing standards" (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10).

1.4 Translation in Polyphony, Polyphony in Translation

> "When we have an international meeting, we usually have about five interpreters. If I listen to them one at a time, to each of them talking in *an* Inuit language, I am able to understand them all. That makes me wonder why we need to have five interpreters when we all speak *the* Inuit language" (Kusugak 2014a, 34, emphasis mine).

2007, 33-35). For a list of other Inuit concepts relating to the creation of a unified writing system, see Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10.

The Inuit language varieties used throughout Inuit Nunangat have been linguistically divided into two major groups[40], ten dialects and twenty-three subdialects (Dorais 2010, 27-9) (see Appendix 3). There also exists a close attachment between communities and their language varieties, a political regional affinity with language and ties between orthography and language; as such, variation can be noted at the community level, accordingly to administrative regions and through orthographic affiliation. The need to translate and transliterate to communicate between some of these varieties is currently a fact of life for the Inuit in Canada[41], as well as for collaboration throughout greater Inuit Nunaat.

Significant language contact arrived with the Qallunaat[42]; since then, translation has played, and continues to play, an important role in the standardisation of the language varieties of Inuit Nunangat. The assumed necessity of translation has contributed to past exogenous (missionary and Federal) and more recent endogenous (Inuit) standardisation efforts; concomitantly, past and present translators, willingly or unwittingly, have affected the implementation of linguistic standards.

The adoption of demanding translation and language promotion policies has accompanied the Inuit's reclamation of their lands and their right to self-governance. The national Inuit organisation ITK's task force, the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq[43] (AIT) aims to create a standard Canadian Inuit orthography which will assist in the fulfilment of these policies and their intrinsic goal of revitalising the Inuit language varieties; this writing system further aims to ease circumpolar communication between all Inuit. The Inuit, however, are not only concerned with keeping one "Inuit language" alive; they also recognise their role as guardians of the continuum of varieties with which they identify themselves and their connection to their land.

[40] There is also one variety used in the Inuvialuit Region (Uummarmiutun) which is classified as Alaskan Inupiaq (Dorais 2010, 30-1). At the beginning of the twentieth century, many Alaskan Inuit from the inland traversed to Canada for its fur-trade; there, the Alaskan Inupiaq North Slope variety came into contact with several other idioms, including the Siglitun variety of Inuvialuktun and Dene, and this gave birth to Uummarmiutun (ibid.).

[41] Seventy-eight percent of Inuit in Canada reside in Inuit Nunangat (NCIE 2011, 8). This thesis focuses on the Inuit living within this territory, although it is noted that standardisation could have a significant impact on those Inuit who have emigrated to the south. For example, standardisation could foster community-building through a common language; conversely, the Inuit who learn writing informally in the south could face difficulties in returning to Inuit Nunangat because their method of writing the Inuit language varieties will not be the standard.

[42] Prior to the arrival of the Qallunaat, there was some minimal contact between the First Nations and the Inuit living along the northern edge of the Boreal forest (Dorais 2010, 215).

[43] Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq signifies "one writing system for Inuktut" (*Nunatsiaq News* 2014).

Standardisation is both heralded as the saviour of their language and resisted as a reduction of their individual/community/regional voices into a "Queen's Inuktitut"[44].

Many Inuit recognise the potentiality for standardisation to be "assimilative" (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10) and regard it as "the English way" (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 151); standardisation can thus be viewed as an attempt to translate the Inuit conceptualisation of language into dominant Qallunaat linguistic ideologies. Conversely, standardisation can be seen as unifying, an attempt to undo the divisive havoc that Qallunaat translation has wrecked upon the Inuit and their language varieties. The increasing requirement to translate the multitude of Inuit voices has incurred recurrent standardisation efforts; the resulting translation of this harmony remains to be seen.

[44] This term is from Kusugak's article "Creating a 'Queen's Inuktitut'" (2009). It was written based upon his 2008 speech at the Arctic Indigenous Languages Symposium in Tromsø (Norway), which was given in support of linguistic standardisation (Kusugak 2009, 50).

2. The Role of Translation Studies

2.1 At the Periphery

> "I would find these civilized measures of linguistic superiority fascinating if they weren't so inconsiderate of original peoples of the land, who are neither English nor French!" (Nungak 2014, 180).

Translation studies in Canada has long revolved around the federation's official French-English status. This exclusionary linguistic binary has left speakers of indigenous and immigrant languages out of "discussions characterizing social and cultural policies [that define] the country" (Gentzler 2008, 41). This fascination with the federal languages of Canada has pushed other languages to the peripheries of the translation studies domain, thus perpetuating the myth of a bilingual Canada in an academic field devoted to linguistic and cultural relations. Like other minority-language speakers, the Inuit who look "into the disciplinary mirror of translation studies can also experience the troubling absence of the undead" (Cronin 2003, 139). The extensive academic and governmental documentation written about the Inuit language varieties are here combined with translation studies approaches concerning history, linguistic relationships and translation policy. This interdisciplinary approach helps to expand the limited place that Inuit translation has so far found within Canadian translation studies, while it also adds to the presence of indigenous languages on the global stage of this academic domain.

In the *Routledge Encylclopedia of Translation Studies,* the section dedicated to the "Canadian Tradition" first delves into the history of interpretation between the First Nations and the Qallunaat under French Rule (Delisle 2011). When the overarching emphasis on French-English translation begins, some of the important translators and interpreters working with First Nations' languages[1] are also noted in the section on English Rule, although not post-Confederation (ibid.). There is a conspicuous relegation of translation with Aboriginal languages to the past, and the history of Inuit interpretation and translation is simply absent[2]. Although the

[1] The Aboriginal peoples or Fist Peoples of Canada include the Inuit, the Métis and the First Nations. In the "Canadian Tradition", the generally proscribed term "Indian" is used to reference the First Nations peoples and their languages, potentially as a translation of the French term *amérindien* (Delisle 1998 and 2011).

[2] Delisle notes that, beyond the majority French-English population in Canada, "there are also a number of large minorities which include the original inhabitants (Indians […] and the Inuit who speak Inuktitut)" (2011, 362). In

Inuit encountered a colonial repression and cultural appropriation akin to the First Nations', the Inuit's story is distinct[3] and is deserving of its own representation. Indeed, even within Inuit Nunangat, the effects of past and present translation policies have resulted in different experiences at the regional, community and individual level.

Yet, "the world's indigenous populations belong to a network of peoples", and they can thus share their experiences with one another and benefit from a united international front (Smith 1999, 6-7), including in the domain of translation studies. This ostensible tension between benefiting from a larger network and retaining distinctness can be viewed as analogous to the balance sought in the current standardisation movement (see s. 5). Overall, North American indigenous languages are increasingly finding representation in translation studies (Mezei, Simon and von Flotow 2014, Cardinal 2004, Elder 2006, Swann 2011, amongst others), and this shift has happily also included several articles pertaining specifically to translation with Inuit language varieties (Clas 1993[4], Arnakak 2012, McCall 2004, and Nevo and Fiola 2002). Translation studies can help corroborate the multilingual nature of the Canadian federation, inclusive of the Inuit language varieties, its diverse Aboriginal languages and the vast array of minority languages which resonate within its borders. The inclusion of these experiences may also prove beneficial to speakers of other indigenous and minority languages around the world.

While translation studies works about the Inuit are limited, articles penned by Inuit scholars in their indigenous language varieties remain a remarkable rarity in this domain[5]. My interpretation of the history of translation in Inuit Nunangat and its relationship to linguistic standardisation is necessarily told in my own voice: that of a Canadian Qallunaaq with limited,

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the biographical section of the "Canadian Tradition" which appeared in the first edition, the section dedicated to James Evans also mentions that his syllabic system was adapted and used for Inuktitut translations (1998, 364).

[3] The Inuit's resistance to being subsumed into the broader category of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada is demonstrated, for example, by the Inuit branching off from the Indian and Eskimo Association in 1971 to form the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (see s. 3.2.2).

[4] This 1993 issue of the translation studies journal *Meta* was devoted entirely to translation and interpreting in Canada's North. It appears an exceptional precursor to the recent inclusion of Aboriginal languages in Canadian translation studies.

[5] A notable exception is "ᖃᐅᔨ ᓴ ᕐ ᓂᖅ: ᐅᑉ ᐱᕐ ᓂᓕᕆᓂᐅᕚ ᐅᑦ ᕙᓗ ᑐᑭ ᓯ ᓇᓱ ᒃ ᓂᐅᕙ? [Science: Theology or Knowledge Seeking]" written by Jaypeetee Arnakak and published in York University's annual translation studies journal, *Tusaaji: A Translation Review* (2012, 93-98). This review takes its name from a popular Inuit translation for interpreter/translator: *tusaajii*, or "one who listens carefully" (RGTTC 2016). Several of the articles in the *Meta* issue edited by André Clas, *La traduction et l'interprétation dans le nord du Canada* (1993), were also penned by Inuit scholars, although all the articles are published in English or French.

outsider experience in Inuit Nunangat and a minimal knowledge of the Inuit language varieties. This account is interpreted for an academic audience and written from the perspective of a translation studies scholar who believes that true decolonisation requires the collaboration of both those who are still suffering the effects of colonisation and those who are still reaping its benefits, and that this collaboration can only be attained through the respectful, reciprocal exchange of ideas that bidirectional translation encourages.

This translation history is gathered from collaborators who herald from a variety of fields and who bring with them their diverse backgrounds. In interpreting these authors, I have strived to consider their works as individually subjective and not representative of the opinions of any one domain or ethnicity. I have incorporated a wide variety of voices into this thesis; it nonetheless remains dominated by the written standards of academia. Although well-intentioned in my decision to rely on secondary-sources[6], I recognise an absence of non-institutionalised and oral[7] perspectives. I also note that my reliance on English and French has limited my access to and interpretation of Inuit sources. This is, unfortunately, representative of the current linguistic situation in Inuit Nunangat, where communication with the Qallunaat and the federal government demands that the Inuit translate their words into Qallunaat ones.

Just as French and English bilingualism dominates governmental translation in Canada, so does this language pair dominate the country's translation studies. Yet, the reality of a multilingual Canada[8] can work to reconfigure translation studies within its borders, where the Inuit language varieties and its other Aboriginal languages coexist with languages from around the globe. The Inuit are working towards revitalising their language varieties by placing them in the same domain as the federal official languages, thus upsetting the current linguistic power dynamics. It is in this "'world of continuous relational adjustments' that minority languages will finally have a major role to play in the discipline of translation studies" (Cronin 2003, 156).

[6] Given the significant bulk of data to be sifted through, it seemed unnecessarily intrusive to conduct field research. Financial and linguistic restraints also prevented me from pursuing a necessarily broad study of the current linguistic situation and the attitudes towards standardisation and translation which exist across Inuit Nunangat.

[7] I refute an oral/written dichotomy that does not consider oral history to be "on an equal footing" with the written and places these sources at odds with each other (McCall 2014, 430-7). I consider my reliance on written perspectives as unintentionally discriminatory towards individuals who favour other forms of expression.

[8] Twenty percent of Canadians had neither English nor French as their first language in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2010).

2.2 At the Centre

> "Translation theory is not, however, a luxury that only major languages can afford. On the contrary, it is a vital necessity for minority languages in Europe and elsewhere that they understand in historical and contemporary terms the theoretical implications of inward and outward translation policies" (Cronin 2003, 149).

Although underrepresented in translation studies, the Inuit language varieties have been extensively studied by linguists and anthropologists. Moreover, the historical role of the translator and interpreter in Inuit Nunangat (Cancel 2011, Harper 1983a, and Laugrand 1997) and issues of power dynamics and standardisation (Dorais 2010[9], and Cancel 2011[10]) have been investigated to some extent. The current matter of standardisation of the Inuit language varieties has also been broached through governmental studies (Tulloch 2005) and in academic collections (Palluq Cloutier[11] and McComber 2014). The interdisciplinary and relational nature of translation studies is productive ground for the cross-fertilisation of these sources and the emergence of a history of Inuit translation that recognises the reciprocal relationship between shifting translation policies and the dynamism of these languages varieties.

Translation history is a broad domain which studies both translation practice and theory from complementary microhistorical and transnational viewpoints (Woodsworth 1998, 101 and 104, and Rundle 2014, 6). Like other historical studies, translation histories can be framed in chronological eras that are often marked by significant changes in translation theory or practice, or by the production of important translations (see Baker 1998, 295-582). This study on translation practices and policies begins with the ecclesiastical translation that preceded the meagre governmental translation of the colonial era[12]; the next section broaches the implementation of supportive translation policies that accompanied the Inuit's fight for

[9] Dorais offers an in-depth study of the Inuit language varieties from their projected origins to their standing in 2010, including issues of diglossia, the impact of language contact and formal education, and the creation and standardisation of the present writing systems (2010).

[10] Cancel examines diachronic power relations and the emergence of institutional terminology creation (2011, 2).

[11] Jeela Palluq-Cloutier/Palluq Cloutier penned a Master's of Education thesis entitled *The Standardization of Inuktut in the Education System in Nunavut*; it was not yet available at the time of writing this thesis (Hooper 2016).

[12] Language contact and writing before the arrival of the Qallunaat was minimal, as was interlingual translation (see s. 3.1). For an overview of the linguistic history of the ancestors of the Inuit, see Dorais 2010, 95-101.

independence and gave rise to the current translation environment; lastly, this thesis broaches some of the questions that arise in charting the future of Inuit translation. Ecclesiastical translation and pragmatic translation have taken centre stage since literary translation with the language varieties used in Inuit Nunangat rarely takes a written form (Dorais 2010, 205-6). Further, instead of focusing on translators and texts as historical subjects of study, this history has here been expanded to "uncover the role translation has played in so many different times and settings" (Bastin and Bandia 2006, 3). In observing translation's role in linguistic standardisation in Inuit Nunangat, the accent has thus necessarily been on the written language forms and not on the history of interpretation.

While translation history originally centred on "first" world languages and a descriptive recounting of events as "historical facts", recent shifts in translation studies has opened the field to interpretative portrayals inclusive of minority languages (Bastin and Bandia 2006, 2). This shift in translation history reflects the various cultural, sociological and power "turns" that translation studies as a discipline has taken to better incorporate the fact that "language cannot be divorced from the context of situation and culture where it is produced" (Saldanha 2009, 149). Sociolinguistics, "the study of language in relation to society" (Hudson 1996, 1), and its complementary sociology of language, "the study of society in relation to language" (ibid. 4), have been vital to the study of the power dynamics which inescapably affect translation. The present translation history incorporates this relativity as it recognises a call to shift "attention away from the dominant metropolitan cultures and canonical subjects to include those marginalised cultures that have been consigned to the periphery by forces of imperialism and colonisation" (Bandia 2014, 117).

The marginalisation in translation history of the Inuit language varieties in relation to English and French is reflective of current translation practices, where Inuit language varieties find themselves bestowed with a minority status on the global and federal level. Their status, however, is dynamic, being dependent upon the diachronic[13] and spatial[14] relationships that exist between languages (Cronin 2003, 144). The shifting power dynamics that have resonated within

[13] "The *diachronic* relation that defines a minority language is a historical experience that destabilizes the linguistic relations in one country so that languages find themselves in an asymmetrical relationship" (Cronin 2003, 144).

[14] "The *spatial* relationship is intimately bound up with diachronic relationships but […] those languages […] find themselves in a minority position because of a redrawing of national boundaries […]" (Cronin 2003, 144-5).

Inuit Nunangat and their corresponding linguistic repercussions are crucial to this recounting of translation practices and policies.

The term "translation policy" has been used in Translation Studies for both institutional regulations and individual practices (Meylaerts 2011b, 163). In its strictest sense, and for our purposes, however, a translation policy will be considered as "a set of legal rules that regulate translation in the public domain: in education, in legal affairs, in political institutions, in administration, in the media" (ibid., 165). Translation policies are often embedded within the language policies which entail their existence (Meylaerts 2011a, 744). Linguistic rights, such as a citizen's ability to communicate with the authorities, are thus inherently linked to the fulfilment of fair translation policies which support translational justice (ibid., 753).

In order to classify official translation policies, the following institutional translation strategies have recently been proposed within translation studies: complete monolingualism (non-translation), monolingualism with occasional translation, complete multilingualism (with obligatory multilateral translation), official multilingualism with unidirectional translation into minority languages and monolingualism at the lower level combined with institutional multilingualism at the superior level (Meylaerts 2010, and Lane-Mercier, Merkle and Meylaerts 2014, 472). This last category has included both India and a "bilingual" Canada[15] (Lane-Mercier, Merkle and Meylaerts 2014, 472-3); however, the translation policies arising from these examples appear to diverge. The former has only "multidirectional obligatory [French-English] translation at the superior (e.g., federal) level" (Meylaerts 2010), while the latter has inter-governmental translation through a link language, with the onus of translation falling to the lower level of government[16]. This latter translation policy thus includes the potentiality for a greater or different multilingualism at the lower level than at the superior level.

To take the implications of this difference into account, I would, therefore, suggest that translation policies could here be broadly laid out as follows:

1. Complete monolingualism (non-translation);

[15] Canada's situation is considered only from a federal-provincial viewpoint in the articles.

[16] In India, for example, states such as Gujarat, which has neither of the federal official languages (Hindi and English) as a state language, or such as Punjabi, which has a federal language and another official language (Punjabi and Hindi) as state languages, communicate with the federal government and other states and receive communications from them only in the federal official languages (Lane-Mercier, Merkle and Meylaerts 2014, 473).

2. Monolingualism with occasional translation;
3. Complete multilingualism (with obligatory multidirectional translation);
4. Official multilingualism with unidirectional translation (principally into minority/peripheral languages);
5. Official multilingualism at the superior level combined with one or more of these languages at the lower level (obligatory multidirectional translation at the superior level); and,
6. Official multilingualism/monolingualism at the superior level combined with a dissimilar multilingualism/monolingualism at the lower level (translation between levels via link language[s]).

This final and divergent category is crucial to the study of Inuit Nunangat, as this is more representative of the reality of Canada when the translation policies of its diversely multilingual territories and Aboriginal lands are included.

Translation studies scholar Gideon Toury has designated the preliminary norm that governs the choice of a text to be translated at a particular time into a particular language as a "translation policy" (1995, 58). He goes on to note that "such a policy will be said to exist inasmuch as the choice is found to be non-random" (ibid.). Preliminary norms are one of several types of norms which Toury discusses in *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*[17] (ibid.). Toury views translation as a "norm-governed activity" where the translator operates along an axis of the source and target language-culture norms, which he brands respectively as adequacy and acceptability (ibid., 56-7). The level of adherence to source or target norms is called the initial norm; the non-random choice of text (or "translation policy") and directness of translation are labelled as preliminary norms; and, matricial[18] and textual-linguistic norms are considered as operational norms (ibid., 56-59). Thus, Toury's "translation policy" is, in fact, a norm, whereas translation policies will here include only the legislated and official rules governing translation.

[17] Some Translation Studies theorists, such as the functionalists Reiss and Vermeer, refer to "conventions" instead of "norms", as the latter can be considered "prescriptive" (*normative* in French) (Schäffner 2010, 235). "Conventions, however, as a broader category embody preferences and can more easily change than norms" (ibid.).

[18] Matricial norms may affect the completeness, location and segmentation of the source-text material in its translation (Toury 1995, 58-9).

Toury's "translation policy", the regular (non-random) practice[19] of text choice, shall herein be considered as a "regular" translation practice as opposed to a translation policy. Since norms are considered to be socio-culturally specific, unstable and evidenced through observable regularities, regular translation practices evidence the translation norms of a specific society at a specific time (Toury 1995, 62, and Schäffner 2010, 238-9). The instability of translation norms means that they change over time, and translators not only react to these changes but can be active players in bringing them about (Toury 1995, 62). Textual-linguistic norms, which "govern the selection of material to formulate the target text in, or replace the original textual and linguistic material with" (ibid., 59), can thus fluctuate according to general translation practices. The distinction between translation policies and practices is important since they do not always coincide; for example, financial restraints or a shortage of translators can hinder a translation policy from being put into practice. This gap is one of the purported reasons behind the current standardisation effort of the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq (see s. 5.1).

Translation policies can be implicit or explicit. They are put into place to regulate translation, an act that "is never a benign process per se" (Cronin 2003, 142). Translation can be seen as both a threat and a saviour for minority languages. The paradoxical relationship which minority languages have with translation lies in the necessity to translate to survive in an increasing multilingual arena while translation simultaneously threatens the specificity of these same languages (ibid., 146). The continual pressure of major languages and cultures threatens to internally assimilate minor languages until "there is nothing left to translate" (ibid., 141); conversely, translation can assist in the revitalisation and development of a minor language so that it can better resist such "incorporation" (ibid., 142). For minority languages, therefore, "it is precisely the pressure to translate that is a central rather than a peripheral aspect of experience" (ibid., 146).

These two faces of translation represent an interesting parallel with the overt standardisation which is currently underway in Inuit Nunangat: the Inuit resist translating their language varieties into a Qallunaat norm, yet they also perceive a need to adopt standardisation so that their language varieties might enter into the same domain as English and French (see s. 5). In resisting assimilation into the current dominant norms, minority languages and cultures

[19] "The actual application or use of an idea, belief, or method, as opposed to the theory or principles of it" (*OED* 1989, s.v. "practice, *n.*", 2.a.).

risk being idealised as static relics of the past. “For speakers of majority languages, the tendency can be to view the minority language from an ‘antiquarian’ perspective. The minority language is an heirloom, a relic from another distant, non-urban age” (Cronin 2003, 150). Modernity is not at odds with indigenous languages; nor does the “modernisation” of a language necessarily equate to its assimilation. Minority languages can both expand and retract from what they absorb from majority languages (ibid., 141). The Inuit language varieties are not only capable of expressing the Inuit life of the past but are used by an Inuit voice that is “mediated, plural, cross-cultural, and in transition” (McCall 2004, 42).

Translation can be viewed “*both* as a historical object in its own right and as an approach to interpreting other historical subjects” (Rundle 2014, 7, emphasis in the original); here, the complementariness of these roles is demonstrated (Bandia 2014, 112). Drawing from historical, anthropological, political, linguistic and governmental sources and combining them with translation studies theories of historical subjectivity, minority-majority language relations and translation policies, this depiction of the role of translation in the standardisation of Inuit language varieties helps fill a significant lacuna in the history of the Canadian tradition of translation, while offering insight into the translation process that is now central to the experience of the Inuit language varieties.

3. Standardisation in the Colonies

3.1 Ecclesiastical Translation

3.1.1 Introduction to Qallunaat[1] Ways of Writing

> "We were stupid. We should have thought of writing on sealskins"
> (Peter Pitseolak in Harper 1983c, 3).

The rich literature of the Inuit has traditionally been passed down orally and includes myths, legends, songs and magic formulas (Dorais 2010, 162). Historically, however, some socially-important or symbolic events were also physically recorded through tattooing and the ornamentation of tools and clothing (ibid., 172). Upon killing a whale, for example, Inuvialuit hunters wrote down this feat by tattooing a cross on their shoulder, while murderers in this region were identified by tattoo stripes on their face (ibid.). Tattoos have further been used to identify women who are of childbearing age (ibid.).

Beyond tattooing, the Thule, the Inuit's ancestors who migrated across Inuit Nunangat from Alaska, had long been carving lines, dots and human and animal figures onto ivory and caribou (Crandall 2000, 19-20). By the nineteenth century, the scrimshaw carvings done by Qallunaat whalers working in Inuit Nunangat also began to have a major influence on the carvings being done by the local Inuit (ibid., 30). Although the "origins of scrimshaw are unknown […] it has been suggested that American whalers learned it from the Eskimo in Alaska and then reestablished it in the Arctic" (ibid.). Like their kin in Alaska, the Inuit in Inuit Nunangat thus began to use etchings on baleen or ivory to record their own histories and stories (Upper One Games 2014).

Unlike the graphism that the European missionaries would introduce to the Inuit, carvings and tattoos were a direct translation of thought into material form, without passing through the intermediary translation of these thoughts into individual words. The cross on the hunter's shoulder could be read by a fellow Inuk as the fact that he had killed a whale; yet, this cross did not necessarily represent any specific word or phrase and did not in and of itself have meaning outside of the specific context. Similarly, scrimshaw etchings could recount a tale

[1] Although the term Qallunaat now "primarily" refers to Anglo-Canadians in Inuit Nunangat (Schneider 1985, 281), it was originally used by the Inuit to designate the Europeans who had arrived on their shores (see s. 1.1, footnote 3).

without dictating the exact words that a storyteller should use to interpret it. The Inuit wrote down in these artistic carvings only the facts; the literature lay in the telling.

The Inuit were introduced to the Qallunaat version of graphism in 1721, when the Danish-Norwegian missionary Hans Egede arrived in Kalaallit Nunaat in search of Christian Norse settlements; physical and linguistic evidence of the Norse people's time in Kalaallit Nunaat was all that remained (Dorais 2010, 173, Egede 1763, 6-28, and Oslund 2011, 112). Egede, therefore, turned to codifying Kalaallisut in order to translate the Holy Scriptures of his Christian religion into this language and thus spread his faith to the Shamanistic Kalaallit whom he had encountered in lieu of the expected Norse (Dorais 2010, 173). Because of their previous experiences with graphism, the Inuit already had both the skills and the words necessary to describe and adapt to this new form of writing (ibid., 172). Although acknowledging regional and gender-based linguistic differences and the existence of a particular Shamanistic variety of Kalaallisut, Egede recognised the speech of these peoples as one language (Egede 1763, 125-6). Egede also noted: "La Langue des Grönlandois ne paroît avoir, ni affinité, ni rapport, avec aucune des Langues de l'Europe" (Egede 1763, 124). In fact, unlike the synthetic (inflective) and analytic languages[2] of the Indo-European family, the Kalaallit he encountered spoke a polysynthetic language with agglutinative features[3] (Hagège 2009, 15-16, and Dorais 2010, 9). Nonetheless, Egede began to develop a writing system using a Roman alphabet and that was based upon European concepts of grammar (Egede 1763, 127-32). His work was continued by his son Paul/Poul, and a Danish-Kalaallisut dictionary, a grammar for Kalaallisut and the first translation of the New Testament into an Inuit language variety were all completed by 1766 (Harper 1983c, 3, and Palluq-Cloutier 2012a).

This first translation of the New Testament was soon succeeded by two more versions: one by the Danish Lutheran Otto Fabricius in 1794 and one by the German Moravian

[2] Synthetic languages can be inflected or agglutinative (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 2016, s.v. "Synthetic language"). With an inflected language, the form of a word is altered "to mark such distinctions as tense, person, number, gender, mood, voice, and case." (ibid., s.v. "Inflection"). Some Indo-European languages, such as Danish and English, have tended to become increasingly analytic (Haugen 2009, 130). An analytic language "uses specific grammatical words, or particles, rather than inflection, to express syntactic relations within sentences" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 2016, s.v. "Analytic language").

[3] In agglutinative languages, "words are composed of a sequence of morphemes (meaningful word elements), each of which represents not more than a single grammatical category" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 2016, s.v. "Agglutination").

Johan/Johann Conrad Kleinschmidt in 1822 (Harper 1983c, 3). The translation efforts of the former, who briefly lived "as the Inuit did", were also accompanied by an improved grammar and an expanded dictionary (Harper 2010a and 2010b). The work of the German Kleinschmidt, meanwhile, resulted in a translation that diverged from the earlier versions of his Danish counterparts (Harper 1983c, 3). These missionaries were gathering the language of the Kalaallit from the speakers that they encountered near their colonies in order to translate it into their own alphabets for use by the Qallunaat and the Qallunaat-educated Kalaallit (Egede 1763, 170-1, and Harper 1983c, 4). These translators took it upon themselves to create and modify Kalaallisut orthography according to their own individual preferences, religious affiliations and linguistic backgrounds.

Since the divergence of these writing systems did not reflect the plurality of language varieties spoken by the Kalaallit, but instead the diversity of the missionaries' interpretations of Kalaallisut, they created a source of confusion (Harper 1983c, 4). By the mid-1850s, Samuel Kleinschmidt, Johan Kleinschmidt's son, began a linguistic reform and standardisation (ibid.). Although born of German parents, Samuel Kleinschmidt had spent most of his life in Kalaallit Nunaat and had grown up speaking the Kalaallisut of the West; his grammar claimed to be the first to describe the language "on its own terms" (Oslund 2011, 113). He was little concerned with linguistic variation within this land, focussing instead on creating a "practical" common orthography for all Kalaallit (ibid., 114). His orthography was accepted until a considerably called-for reformation in 1973 (Dorais 2010, 174). The resulting reformed orthography is "compulsory" and the West Greenlandic variety stands as the official language of Kalaallit Nunaat[4] (ibid.).

Samuel Kleinschmidt was also interested in the variation between his native tongue of Kalaallisut and the language spoken in Nunatsiavut, which he learnt about principally through his fellow Moravian missionary Ferdinand Kruth (Oslund 2011, 113). The Inuit of Nunatsiavut had been interacting with Qallunaat missionaries for some time before Kleinschmidt's standardised orthography was implemented in Kalaallit Nunaat[5]. Having heard of the cultural

[4] Danish retains some rights and there exist local, "semi-official" orthographies for the varieties of East Greenlandic and Thule (Dorais 2010, 174). The impact of one variety being chosen for a standard is discussed in s. 5.2.

[5] Since the 16th century, the Qallunaat had been entering into some areas of Inuit Nunangat (Cancel 2011, 50). The first contacts were not particularly amiable and most of the communication was non-verbal (ibid.). However, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a semi-regular relationship had arisen in Nunatsiavut between the Inuit and

and linguistic similarities between the indigenous populations of northern Labrador and Kalaallit Nunaat, the German Moravian John Christian Erhardt established a mission south of Davis Inlet that only lasted the summer of 1752 (Whiteley 1974). Then, in the 1760s, Jens Haven, a Moravian Qallunaaq who had spent four years in a Greenlandic mission, arrived with three other missionaries, including a Kalaallisut speaker (Hiller 1979). In 1771, drawing upon a 100 000 acre land grant from the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Moravians set up a permanent mission in what is now Nain (ibid.).

Kalaallisut-speaking Qallunaat missionaries were sent to Nunatsiavut, where they began translating hymns, prayers and catechisms from this region's language varieties into the "varied and inconsistent" writing systems of pre-standardised Kalaallisut (Martin in Harper 1983c, 5). The missionaries in Nunatsiavut were less fluent in the language than their Greenlandic counterparts, and their translations used orthographies that often verged on erroneous (Dorais 2010, 175). Orthographic accuracy was further impeded as the "demonstrably different" language of Nunatsiavut was assimilated into the written language of the Kalaallit instead of being independently analysed (Harper 1983c, 5). Nonetheless, the first books of the Nunatsiavut Bible were printed in 1821, with the Scriptures completed in 1843 (Dorais 2010, 175).

Before missionaries arrived and began to establish themselves in Nunavik, the Inuit had independently begun to import the Christian religion westward (Laugrand 1997, 170-1). Then, in the mid-1850s, two Anglican missionaries working along Hudson's Bay, Edwin A. Watkins and John Horden, came up with the idea to adapt James Evans' syllabic writing system[6] to translate sections of the Bible into Inuktitut (Dorais 2010, 176). James Evans, "the man who made birchbark talk", was a Wesleyan (Methodist) Qallunaat missionary who preached in what is now Ontario and who also acted on the committee that the Methodist Church had created to form a writing system for the Ojibwe (Harper 1983c, 8-11). He believed that the Roman alphabet was unsuited to this language, and so he modified Pitman shorthand[7] into an Ojibwe syllabic system (ibid., 8-9). After this orthography was rejected by the bible society in Toronto, Evans went to

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whalers, fishermen and traders of Basque, Breton and French origin, resulting in a very limited pidgin composed of Inuit, French, Innu and Basque elements (Dorais 2010, 219).

[6] In a syllabic writing system, "each sign [stands] for a complete syllable" (Dorais 2010, 176).

[7] Pitman shorthand is a phonographic writing system invented by Sir Isaac Pitman in the 1830s to practically record the sounds of the English language (Pitman 1919, v-viii).

New York and had his translated hymns and scriptures, along with a *Speller and interpreter, in Indian and English, for the use of the mission schools,* printed there in 1837 (Hutchinson 1988).

In 1840, Evans was transferred to Norway House, learnt the native Cree language and modified the Ojibwe syllabics to this other Algonquian language (Harper 1983c, 8-9). Evans then began translating religious texts and teaching the Cree to read. This shorthand writing system was quickly picked up and passed along by the Cree, spreading all the way to the Rocky Mountains (ibid., 9-10). Not restricted to paper and pen, Cree syllabics were etched onto river banks and carved into wood, as well as being written on birchbark with ink made of soot and fish oil (ibid., 10-11). Despite its use in diffusing God's word, however, the Anglican Church was wary of this communication tool because it did not allow for an easy transition to English and thus represented an obstacle to further assimilation (ibid., 11). Nonetheless, the Anglican and Catholic Churches eventually opted to adopt this popular script, and the first Cree Bible was published using syllabics in 1861 (ibid.).

Meanwhile, by 1851, Horden had begun his missionary work in Moose Factory[8] (Ontario) (Long 1990). Since "every wise missionary wishes his people as soon as possible to have the Bible […] in their own tongue", ecclesiastical translation into Cree was a priority for Horden (Buckland 1900, 51). At the mission, he also had began to learn the language of the Inuit, who were there as "servants"[9] and, later, as traders and settlers (Laugrand 1997, 177-80). From 1858 onwards, Horden began voyaging into Nunavik, travelling both to Kuujjuarapik and Qilalugarsiuviup Kuunga[10] (Laugrand 1997, 180). In 1862, for example, he was accompanied on a successful evangelical mission to the latter by his interpreter and language teacher, G. Lutolf/Leutolf (Buckland 1990, 48, and Laugrand 1997, 181). Beyond his linguistic abilities, this young Inuk from Nunatsiavut was already familiar with some of the Moravian texts and hymns; his combined linguistic and religious background proved very valuable for Horden's task of conversion on this mission (Laugrand 1997, 180-1, and Buckland 1900, 47).

[8] Moose Factory was then called Moose Fort.

[9] These "servants" were Inuit that had been captured by First Nations and bought by the Hudson's Bay Company (Laugrand 1997, 177).

[10] Kuujjuarapik, along with the Cree village of Whapmagootsui, was called Poste-de-la-Baleine by the French; Qilalugarsiuviup Kuunga has been called Petite Rivière de la Baleine (Little Whale River) by the Qallunaat.

In 1852, his co-religious Watkins came to take Horden's place, but Watkins was instead transferred to a new mission in Chisasibi[11] (Québec), so as to convert the Cree and Inuit traders there to Christianity (Long 1990). Watkins compiled a Cree dictionary and, noting that the Inuit were interested in the syllabic writing system, decided to adopt the Cree orthography to write their language (Harper 1983c, 12-13). Watkins recruited the bilingual (Inuit-English) Peter Okakterook to act as a linguistic and religious intermediary between the Inuit and himself (Cancel 2011, 69-70). Okakterook and Watkins translated several passages of the Bible and sent them to Horden in Moose Factory, who printed a small book of scriptures for them upon his press (Harper 1985, 141).

The Cree syllabics, however, were ill-suited to represent the unrelated language[12] spoken by the neighbouring Inuit. Watkins and Horden met up in London in 1856 to discuss how to suitably adapt this system to Inuktitut, seemingly without the Inuit interpreters who had played an "indispensable" role in their recent ecclesiastical translation[13] (Harper 1983c, 13, and Laugrand 1997, 180). Although the advice and experiences of their Qallunaat peers were considered, there seems to have been little opportunity at this distant meeting for the Inuit to directly voice their own opinions about how to accurately write down their language. As such, "the system they developed filtered Inuit sounds through English ears, and we [Inuit-speakers] are still struggling with the infelicities that flowed from that" (Mallon 2000, sec. A).

For the Qallunaat Church, however, the fabrication of a new Inuit orthography was not as important as the religious conversion of the Inuit, which itself was tangential to their preaching to the Cree and other First Nations (Laugrand 1997, 181). The creation of the Inuit syllabic orthography is often attributed to the Anglican Reverend Edmund Uqammak[14] Peck, whose preaching was truly centred on Inuit conversion. Peck joined Horden in Moose Factory in 1876 after an Atlantic voyage spent studying Kalaallisut and the Inuit language varieties of

[11] The Qallunaat referred to Chisasibi as Fort George at the time; this Cree island settlement has since been relocated to the nearby mainland.

[12] Although historically unrelated, both the Algonquin language varieties and the Inuit language varieties are polysynthetic languages. The resulting potential for lengthy words in these languages can make the relative brevity of syllabics appealing.

[13] For a history of Inuit translators and interpreters see Cancel 2011 and Laugrand 1997.

[14] Edmund James Peck, who studied Inuktitut six hours a day for seven years, earned himself the name of Uqammak or "the one who speaks well" (Harper 1983c, 15).

Nunatsiavut through Moravian textbooks (Laugrand 2005). Peck was soon transferred to Qilalugarsiuviup Kuunga (Nunavik), and, in 1894, he established the first permanent mission on Baffin Island (Nunavut) (ibid.). Peck relied upon the assistance of several Inuit from eastern Inuit Nunangat to act as interpreters and to help him expand his knowledge of the Inuit language, such as Adam Lucy, John and Moses Molucto/Melucto, Edward Richard and Anoat/Annuraaq (Cancel 2011, 81, and Laugrand 2005). Peck transcribed the Bible and many other religious works into the syllabic system, and he and his confreres offered classes; however most Inuit learnt to write from their parents and not from within an institution (Harper 1983c, 25). The syllabic system and the Anglican religion quickly spread eastwards as the Inuit passed down their ability to read alongside these religious translations (Dorais 2010, 177).

Yet, by the end of the nineteenth century, Catholic missionaries were also busy vying for Inuit souls in north-western Canada (Dorais and Saladin d'Anglure 1988, 501). Furthermore, by 1912, they had managed to establish the first Catholic mission in the Eastern Canadian Arctic, in Igluligaarjuk (Nunavut) (Harper 1983c, 25). Although taking up the syllabic writing system, the Catholic missionaries in this region used a somewhat different style[15] than the Anglicans (ibid., 32). The Catholics, who did not have the same financial backing from the English traders and the Hudson's Bay Company as the Anglicans did, relied more on oral instruction than their Protestant competitors, and their translations consequently often lacked the "variety and richness" of their rivals (Cancel 2011, 87).

The clash between the Catholics and Anglicans in Inuit Nunangat arose not only between communities but also within them: "In [Iglulik], where there was only one street, the Anglicans all lived on one side of town and the Catholics all lived on the other side" (Kusugak 2014a, 35). The missionaries' codification, translation and teaching of the syllabic systems were based upon a religious competition for denominational allegiance, not on the proliferation of literacy. This is exemplified within the narrative *Sanaaq*[16]:

[15] For example, the Catholics did not use a dot over a syllabic character to symbolise a long vowel but wrote the same vowel out twice; thus, writing ᐊᑕᐊᑕ (a**taa**ta) instead of ᐊᑖᑕ (Harper 1983c, 32).

[16] Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk started writing *Sanaaq* in the 1950s (George 2004). The first known novel to be written in Inuktitut syllabics, it was first published in 1987, then translated into French in 2002, and, finally, translated from French into English in 2014. Nappaaluk began *Sanaaq* when a Catholic Oblate missionary named Robert Lechat encouraged her to write about daily life using "as many terms as possible" (Saladin d'Anglure in Nappaaluk 2014, viii-ix, and George 2004). She also translated Catholic prayer books into and between Inuit language varieties and worked with Father Lucien Schneider to produce his Inuit-French dictionary (ibid.).

> […] the minister offered [Qalingu] a book, without saying what it was… Qalingu took it back with him, thinking it to be nothing important, that is, he was told nothing about the book and was taught nothing, so he clearly had no idea what it was. Nonetheless, the *ajuqirtuiji* [Anglican minister] did tell him what he thought of the *iksigarjuaq* [Catholic missionary].
>
> 'You must not listen at all to people like him, for they are big liars! […]' (Nappaaluk 2014, 114)

The division arising from these contradictory syllabic systems and their use in ecclesiastical translations throughout Nunavik and Eastern Nunavut was significantly compounded by the introduction of a Roman system in the northwest of Canada, where syllabics had not yet reached. By the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries, trappers and traders had already introduced the Roman alphabet to the Inuinnait[17] and the Inuvialuit, who speak Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun, respectively (Dorais 2010, 178). In the 1860s, the French Roman Catholic priest Émile Petitot arrived in the northwest of Canada, where he preached to the Dene and prepared a dictionary which compared three of their language varieties (Moir 1998). He twice voyaged into the Inuvialuit Region (ibid.), and he studied Inuvialuktun with a young Inuk named Arviouna in Teet'lit Zheh (Fort McPherson) (Petitot 1887, 279-80). Arviouna stayed with Petitot for the summer of 1870, which allowed the missionary to work on an Inuit dictionary and to translate some prayers and hymns into a Roman orthography of his own creation (ibid., 279). Anglicans, as well as Catholics, continued to publish divergent translations in the western Arctic using divisive, non-standardised writing systems, being more concerned with converting the Inuinnait and Inuvialuit to their religious sects than with linguistic accuracy (Dorais 2010, 178).

A handful of Yupik and Inupiat in Alaska also independently created pictographic writing systems in the late nineteenth century, which they used as memory aids in learning the Bible (Dorais 2010, 183, and Harper 1983c, 5-8). For example, in the Kotzebue Sound region, Kiloraq Ruth Ekak (Egak/Eyak) and her daughter Lily Ekak Savok, created a pictographic writing system that later split into two versions which were used throughout the area for several decades (Ray 1971, 20). The Ten Commandments and some Bible verses were transcribed in this system (ibid., 21-2). Nine types of symbols were generally used: rebus, metonymy, synecdoche, action figures,

[17] Qallunaat formerly referred to the Inuit who call themselves the Inuinnait (or "genuine humans") as "Copper Eskimos" (Dorais 2010, 33 and 139). The Inuinnait live in western Nunavut and in Ulukhaktok in the east of the Inuvialuit Region (ibid., 33).

realistic forms, schematic diagrams, mnemonic motifs, mnemonic letters and Christian symbols (ibid., 22). This pictographic system can be seen as reflective of the more traditional scrimshaw, whereby the biblical story was outlined through written memory aids, to be orally interpreted by the individual Inuk. Further, similar orthographic inventions continued into the 1940s, but they are no longer used and were never adopted in Inuit Nunangat (Harper 1983c, 6-8).

3.1.2 Religious, Cultural and Linguistic Conversion

> "And what distinguishes one language from another, anyway, in a region of the world [South Africa] where a fluidity of closely related dialects exists – dialects that were standardized into languages almost arbitrarily by missionaries beginning in the 18th century […]" (Baker 2009, 139).

Before the arrival of the Qallunaat missionaries, the language forms used in Inuit Nunangat appear to have been divided according to historical migration patterns, age and gender (Dorais 1996, 34-6, and Dorais 2010, 95-101). There was also a specific variety used for the Inuit religion of Shamanism, whose symbolic vocabulary reinforced the distance between the Inuit world and the spirit world (Dorais 1996, 37). However, when the Qallunaat arrived, they reorganised the Inuit language varieties according to their own religious boundaries. Further, they brought with them their various languages and their way of life; these infiltrated the language of the Inuit and created new varieties. The creation of these boundaries and this hybridisation were made concrete through the divisive codifications of Inuit language varieties that the Qallunaat produced as they spread their different varieties of Christianity across Inuit Nunangat.

Between 1 000 and 800 years ago, certain Thule, the ancestors of the Inuit, headed out from Alaska into Inuit Nunangat and Kalaallit Nunaat, with different groups of Inuit branching off into multiple directions (Dorais 2010, 99 and 105). Their language also diverged along these routes, which did not follow a straightforward East-West progression. The regional linguistic variance, however, is presumed to have been minimal until the arrival of the Qallunaat: "Variation seems to have been accelerated, if not provoked, by historical factors linked to the Euro-American presence in the Arctic" (Dorais 2010, 65).

Although there was little regional variation, it is suggested that there was a notable difference between the speech of the Inuit men and that of the Inuit women and children[18] (Dorais 2010, 128). While the men's language would have been highly articulated, with consonant groupings retaining their individual phonemes, the speech of the women and children would have tended towards consonant assimilation (gemination)[19] and the "softening" of certain stops[20] (Dorais 1996, 34). The men's language would have been associated with hunting and being out on the land as the women's language was tied to domestic activities and being in camp (Dorais 2010, 129). Since hunting was highly valued, the men's more articulated language would have been considered as more prestigious than the "relaxed" variety used by the women (ibid.).

When Qallunaat researchers arrived in Inuit Nunangat, it was often the Inuit men who acted as their interpreters and "informants" (Dorais 2010, 129). Thus, the men's method of pronunciation would have been considered to be the norm by these Qallunaat, although the "particular" pronunciation of the women was also remarked by certain missionaries (e.g. Egede 1763, 125-6). However, as missions and trading posts were established, the Inuit became more dependent upon these for their religious and material needs, and so they became increasingly sedentary (Dorais 2010, 129). The pronunciation linked to camp life, which would traditionally have been associated with the women and children, would actually become the norm, although not necessarily the standard[21] (ibid., 129-30). This process would not have occurred simultaneously throughout Inuit Nunangat, however: the geminated pronunciation is the norm in Nunatsiavut; in the Inuvialuit region, bilingualism would have arisen before sedentarisation occurred and so the norm is closer to the men's speech; finally, the process is still underway in Nunavik and Nunavut, where a traditional lifestyle has continued to be the norm longer than elsewhere in Inuit Nunangat (Dorais 1996, 34-5). Overall, the rate of germination is "directly proportional to the length of sedentarization" (ibid., 34). The decrease in acceptable consonant

[18] This is a well-grounded hypothesis for the current variation in consonant assimilation as put forth by Dorais (1996, 34-5, and 2010, 127-30). For a review of other explanations that have been put forth, see Dorais 2010, 128.

[19] For example, the men would have pronounced this Inuit word for "snowy owl" as *u**kp**i**gj**uaq*, while the women and children would have pronounced this word as *u**pp**i**jj**uaq* (Dorais 1996, 34).

[20] For example, the men would have pronounced this Inuit word for "I hear" as *tusa**q**tunga*, while the women and children would have pronounced this word as *tusa**r**tunga* (Dorais 1996, 34).

[21] As Inuit language varieties spiralled off in different directions, the notion of the traditional men's pronunciation as the preferred variety appears to have remained throughout much of Inuit Nunangat (see s. 5.2).

clusters as one heads eastwards is counted amongst the most important differentiations between language varieties across Inuit Nunangat[22] (Dorais 2010, 116).

The arrival of the Qallunaat would thus have emphasised an East-West continuum of linguistic differentiation following the Inuit's increasingly sedentary lifestyle. This variation was further compounded by the elaboration of the Inuit language varieties. This included, but was certainly not restricted to, the adoption of loan words from Qallunaat language varieties[23]. The prominence of this linguistic borrowing seems to follow the same pattern as the normalisation of the geminated language, with a significantly higher percentage of Indo-European words adopted in the Inuttitut of Nunatsiavut, for example, than in Inuvialuktun (Dorais 2010, 152).

It is not only the quantity of loan words adopted that varies, however, but the Qallunaat language variety of these words. In 1872, in his work *Apersûtit kigutsillo,* Theodor Bourquin analysed lexical borrowings from German in the Nunatsiavut Bible (Cancel 2011, 86). He noted 94 occurrences which he divided into 12 categories: biblical names; Testament titles; biblical characters; places of worship; interjections; divinities from other beliefs; currencies and precious metals; biblical and foreign animals; trees and their sap; flowers; wine, cultivated grains and exotic fruits; and, temporal references (ibid., 86-7). For example, the time and the days of the week in Nunatsiavut are, still today, often designated in German (Nochasak 2014, 124); elsewhere in Inuit Nunangat, English is habitually used to indicate this Qallunaat conception of time[24], although Inuit numbers can also be used.

Qallunaat vocabulary played an important role in the ecclesiastical translations. The word *Guuti*, borrowed from the Danish *Gud*, is used to refer to the Christian god in many of the ecclesiastical translations in Inuit Nunangat[25], following Hans Egede who used it in Kalaallisut;

[22] Another important aspect is the "law of double consonants" which disallows two double-consonant clusters to immediately follow one another (e.g. *illu**kk**ut* [through the house] becomes *illu**k**ut*) (Dorais 2010, 68-9). This phenomenon developed after the arrival of the missionaries and exists in Nunatsiavut, in Nunavik and, to some extent, in the Siglitun variety of Inuvialuktun (ibid., 69). This is often considered to be a form of "consonant weakening" or simplification, alongside consonant assimilation (ibid., 118 and 134).

[23] *Qallunaatitut* now refers to the English language in Inuit Nunangat, whereas French is commonly named *uiguititut*. The term Qallunaat, however, originally designated people of European descent; here, their various languages are being referred to. Ecclesiastical translation and contact with Qallunaat missionaries brought about significant neologistic activity. For an analysis of Inuit neologisms from this epoch, see Cancel 2011, 63-94.

[24] Time has been conceived by the Inuit to be "an extent of space through which one is moving rather than as a succession of events whose dates of occurrence can be measured with numbers" (Dorais 2010, 146).

[25] Some Catholic texts use the term *Anirnialuk*, meaning "The Great Breath" (Dorais 1996, 48).

contrariwise, Egede used the Inuit term of *Tuurnaarsuk* to refer to the Devil[26] (Dorais 1996, 48). By 1771, the Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg had written to the missionaries in Nunatsiavut and urged them:

> Make no use of this and the other Word of the Esquimaux which often have wrong ideas annexed to them, when you speak of God and Christ. Use the words God, Christ, Jesus, Saviour and such Words and carry them into the Esquimaux language for you cannot find such Words in their language (quoted in Cancel 2011, 86).

The lexical borrowing of *Guuti* for *Gud* conveys the Church's belief in an incompatibility between the Inuit and Christian faiths (Dorais 1996, 48) and the necessity to leave the term untranslated so that it could retain its purity (Rafael 1988, 29). For the Qallunaat, Latin had long been considered as having a "close relation to God's own language", with translation into the vernaculars sometimes proscribed (ibid., 28). This "belief in the intrinsic superiority of some languages […] over others in the communication of God's Word" (ibid., 29) was translated into new terms in Inuit Nunangat, as the Qallunaat language varieties took on Latin's privileged status and the Inuit language varieties were placed in the position of the once unworthy vernaculars that had become the Romance languages.

The Inuit language varieties were thus considered unfit to describe the god, but not the devil, of the Christian religion. By using the term *Tuurnaarsuk* ("the Great *tuurngaq*"), Egede, and the missionaries who followed suit, placed the *tuurngait* on the side of evil (Dorais 1996, 48). The *tuurngait* are spirits summoned by Inuit Shamans to assist them in their spiritual journeys and in healing the sick (Dorais 2010, 167). By translating these spirits into the Christian devil, the missionaries were translating Inuit Shamanism itself into devilry. This intentional mistranslation was used to convince Inuit to convert since it communicated a message beyond the original text: damnation threatened those who followed the Shamans (Dorais 1996, 48). As such, the place of the Shamanistic language was threatened by the encroachment of the Christian religion and its attempt to quench the Inuit's traditional spiritual beliefs.

Thus, while the presence of the Qallunaat missionary-translators instigated phonetic and lexical change, these outsiders were also actively tracing new linguistic boundaries throughout Inuit Nunangat based upon their faith and their linguistic backgrounds. Within each of these

[26] The term has since been changed to *Diaavulo* (from the Danish *Djævel*) in Kalaallit Nunaat, but not in the Eastern Canadian Arctic (Dorais 1996, 48).

Qallunaat boundaries, Inuit language varieties were selected according to the establishment of missions. The separation of these Inuit language varieties was then reinforced through diverse codifications; the varieties were also infused with neologisms reflective of the Qallunaat's linguistic and religious influence. Acceptance of these conflicting orthographies was then fostered by their translation and their teaching by Qallunaat missionaries. Different sects of Qallunaat missionaries, independent of each other, thus appear to have been working towards a pluralistic standardisation of the language of the Inuit. The varieties that the missionaries codified were being transformed into manageable entities that the Qallunaat could use for their own ends of religious and cultural conversion.

These new Qallunaat-defined divisions thus came to supersede the traditional variation of the speech of the Inuit. Inuit language varieties had been alienated from their speakers by Qallunaat missionary-translators, who had re-fashioned them, codified them and infused them with new words, before "giving" them back to the Inuit in their new alien forms (Rafael 1988, 38 and 213). The missionaries also claimed themselves to be the authorities on these written Inuit language varieties that they had fashioned and were teaching to the Inuit (Cancel 2011, 77). As the Inuit were instructed as to how they should use their own language, the missionaries' appropriated authority fostered the creation of new Inuit identities which were tied to their orthographies (Nowak 1999, 191-2). Ecclesiastical translation subjected the Inuit language varieties to a redefinition by Qallunaat missionaries whose attempts at codification focused more on the word of their god than on the words of the Inuit.

3.2 Intervention and Defiance

3.2.1 Governmental Intervention

> "Bodies were to be 'reduced' to centralized localities subject to the letter of the law, just as Tagalog [the indigenous language] was to be 'reduced' to the grammatical terms of Latin […]" (Raphael 1988, 90).

The initial Roman and syllabic orthographies in Inuit Nunangat were created by missionaries who were neither expert Inuit speakers nor linguists; beyond their inability to recognise certain phonological distinctions, the erroneous presumption that different varieties were essentially the same resulted in inaccuracies. The plurality of writing systems in place in Inuit Nunangat came

to the attention of the Canadian federal government in the 1950s as governmental presence began to significantly increase in the North (Harper 1983b, 36). It was no longer the words of a Qallunaat god which needed to be translated, but the words of a Qallunaat governing system. In order to facilitate the creation of their documentation for Inuit Nunangat, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR) in Ottawa decided that the writing systems of the Inuit language varieties within Canada needed to be fused and standardised (Harper 1983b, 36).

Canada had obtained a large portion of Inuit Nunangat, along with the rest of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory[27], from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870; the Arctic islands moved from British to Canadian jurisdiction ten years later (Canada, LAC 2001b, under "Northwest Territories"). Except for the coast of Nunatsiavut, deemed to be part of Newfoundland, the Qallunaat considered Inuit Nunangat to be a part of the Northwest Territories of Canada (Canada, LAC 2001a, under "Map: 1898"). The federal government soon began to divide this vast land into administrative regions; it also ceded some of the territory to the provinces, such that Nunavik fell under Québec's jurisdiction in 1912 (Canada, LAC 2001b, under "Northwest Territories"). Included in this transfer was the inland portion of Nunatsiavut, although this land was under dispute with the Government of Newfoundland; the British Privy Council eventually declared that all of Nunatsiavut belonged to the latter (ibid., under "Key Terms: Labrador Boundary Dispute"). Nunatsiavut later came within Canada's jurisdiction when Newfoundland and Labrador joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949 (ibid.).

Thus, by the second half of the 20th century, Inuit Nunangat was mapped across two provinces (Québec and Labrador) and the Northwest Territories[28], with this territory being split into three distinct regions (Mackenzie, Franklin and Keewatin). Unlike the First Nations, the Inuit were not originally subjected to *The Indian Act*, *1876*[29], an Act which intended for the Canadian government to have almost complete control over the lives of the Aboriginal peoples

[27] Rupert's Land consisted of the area around Hudson's Bay, all of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan and a section of southern Alberta while the North-Western Territory was all of the Canadian land to the northwest of Rupert's Land (Canada, LAC 2001b, under "Key Terms: The North-Western Territory"). The invalidity of this "purchase" of Inuit land has resulted in the four land claims which have now been settled in Inuit Nunangat (see s. 4.1.2).

[28] There are no Inuit communities within the Yukon, although the northernmost tip is Inuvialuit land.

[29] *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians,* SC 1876, c 18 [*The Indian Act*, *1876*].

living within its domain[30] (Canada, INAC 2003, 1). In 1903, the Canadian government began to install itself in the North in order to protect the land that it claimed as its own, notably through the North-West Mounted Police and their successors, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police[31] (Cancel 2011, 95). By 1924, conflict arose concerning governance of the Inuit[32]. By 1939, the Qallunaat of the Supreme Court had ruled that the Inuit were counted amongst the "Indians" named in *The Indian Act*, *1876*, and that they were, therefore, the responsibility of the federal government; this Act was later amended to again exclude the Inuit in 1951 (Bonesteel 2008, vi).

Despite this ruling, the Canadian government continued to take charge of Inuit affairs (Bonesteel 2008, vi). The 1950s saw an increase in governmental presence, with the arrival of the Northern Service Officers who were later named Area Administrators (Cancel, 2011, 111). These government agents were to act as cultural interpreters for the federal government as pressure increased for the Inuit to be assimilated into the Qallunaat norm (Bonesteel 2008, vi, and Cancel, 2011, 111). This additional governmental intervention arose particularly from Cold War politics, as well as the government's awakening to the economic potential of Inuit Nunangat (Bonesteel 2008, vi). The Canadian government did not consult the Inuit about developing their programmes and services, such as the language standardisation which the government felt to be necessary in order to efficiently communicate with the Inuit that they were attempting to turn into Canadian citizens[33] (ibid., vi-vii).

With this increased governmental interest in the North, the 1950s also became a regretted period of relocation. The Canadian government actively rearranged many Inuit communities to ease the provision of the services that the Qallunaat deemed necessary[34] and also created new

[30] Prior to the *Indian Act, 1876*, *supra* note 29, the British Crown (1763), and then the Canadian Parliament (1867), had claimed themselves to be the sole authorities for Aboriginal land issues (Canada, INAC 2003, 1).

[31] On the role of the RCMP and the Inuit constables who acted as their guides and interpreters during this time, see Cancel, 2011, 95-103.

[32] "Various levels of government were uncertain if Inuit were Canadian citizens or if they were wards of the state, like First Nations" (Bonesteel 2008, 5). The Inuit's ability and right to self-govern was not at issue at this time.

[33] In order to better organise communication, the Qallunaat, who found the non-standardised spelling of Inuit names incompatible with their record-keeping, also decided in 1941 to label the Inuit with E-number discs; this dehumanising process was abandoned in 1968 (Bonesteel 2008, vii).

[34] For example, in 1959, the Inuit of three communities in northern Nunatsiavut (Hebron, Killinik and Nutaq) were forced to relocate to communities farther south (Nochasak 2014, 123)

communities to provide a stronger national presence in the High Arctic[35]. These Inuit were deprived of their native lands and were left divested of their ability to ably provide for themselves. Their subsistence lifestyle had always relied upon the information which was orally transferred to them by their fellow community members, and they did not possess any knowledge of this foreign land which the government forcibly declared to be their new home. The government seems to have treated the Inuit as interchangeable bodies to be relocated as best suited the Crown; similarly, they ignored the Inuit's attachment to their language varieties and orthographies as the government endeavoured to reorganise these individual voices into a scientific system for the purposes of governmental translation.

The DNANR took on the mission in the 1950s to convert the Inuit orthographies into a single writing system rooted in "systematic linguistic principles" (Dorais 2010, 179). At the time, the majority of Inuit in Canada were already literate in the inconsistent orthographies created by missionaries (ibid., 178). The overall writing systems being used can be categorised as follows:

Table 3. Inuit orthographies in the 1950s

Orthography	**Region**	**Regional Language Variety**
Roman alphabet (Moravian)	Nunatsiavut	Inuttitut[36]
Syllabics (Anglican and Catholic)	Nunavik and Nunavut[37] (Qikiqtaaluk[38], Kivalliq and eastern Kitikmeot[39] regions)	Inuktitut[40]
Roman alphabet (non-standardised)	Nunavut (western Kitikmeot region)	Inuinnaqtun
	Inuvialuit region	Inuvialuktun

Source: Adapted from Dorais (2010, 178).

[35] In the 1950s, the government shipped Inuit from Inukjuak (Nunavik) and Mittimatalik (Nunavut) to the High Arctic where, despite a loss of life and hardships, they managed to form the communities of Grise Fiord (ᐊᐅᓚᐅᑐᖅ) and Resolute Bay (ᖃᒃᑐᓴᐅᑐᖅ); the federal government officially apologised for this brutal relocation in 2010 (Canada, INAC 2010a).

[36] Inuttitut is the geminated form of Inuktitut; the language in Nunatsiavut is also referred to as Inuttut, notably in the Labrador Inuit Constitution.

[37] The present territorial and regional names are used throughout section 3.2 for ease of comprehension.

[38] The Qikiqtaaluk Region, which translates as the Baffin Region, is also called the Qikiqtani.

[39] The Kitikmeot region is also written as the Qitirmiut (ᖵᑭᑎᖏᑐᐅᑦ) (see Ogina 2014, 117-22).

[40] In those areas where consonant assimilation is the norm, Inuktitut is also called Inuttitut (see s. 3.1.2).

The DNANR hired a linguist from Montréal named Gilles Lefebvre to create a standard orthography that the government could use in communication with the Inuit, as well as to consider "the delicate question of this unification along the lines of the Greenlandic (Kleinschmidt) system" (Lefebvre 1957, i). Lefebvre worked not only towards the development of a single writing system based upon the Roman alphabet but also towards creating a standard literary language (Harper 1983b, 36). Like the Moravian missionaries before him, he looked to Kalaallit Nunaat for inspiration, even choosing to base his orthographic creation off of the language variety spoken in Inukjuak (Nunavik), which he considered to be the closest one to Kalaallisut (ibid., 37-9).

The DNANR published Lefebvre's *A Draft Orthography for the Canadian Eskimo* in 1957, but they considered it premature for implementation (Harper 1983b, 36 and 39). The department then hired Raymond Gagné to continue Lefebvre's linguistic efforts at creating a single written form of the Inuit's speech for the government to translate into (Dorais 2010, 179). Like Lefebvre, Gagné aimed to create a writing system with a one-to-one phoneme-to-symbol ratio using the Roman alphabet (ibid.). The result of both Lefebvre and Gagné's work was an orthography which corrected some of the errors of the missionaries (e.g. a lack of distinction between the sounds *k* and *q*) and strongly favoured geminates (ibid.). This reliance on a consonant-assimilative orthography was incompatible with the more western dialects which had retained a more accentuated pronunciation (see s. 3.1.2) (ibid., 323). The undeniable failure of this "scientific" writing system, however, was not only because it ignored the variation within the Inuit's speech forms, but notably because it ignored the Inuit themselves (ibid., 179).

Although Gagné relied upon the assistance of Inuit who hailed from various communities[41] and who were working with the Linguistics section of the DNANR, he had greatly underestimated the relationship that had grown between the Inuit and their writing systems, as had Lefebvre before him (Cancel 2011, 129, Harper 1983b, 39-46, and Lefebvre 1957, 4). Albeit that they were created by missionaries, these orthographies had become a part of the Inuit's history and their identity. The writing systems were now the possession of the Inuit who used them (Simeonie Amagoalik quoted in Harper 1983b, 47), and the work of a southern

[41] Some of Gagné's assistants were Elijah Erkloo and Mary Panegoosho of Mittimatalik (Qikiqtaaluk, Nunavut); Elijah Menarik of Nunavik, Abe Okpik (AivvalHa Ukpik) of Aklavik (Inuvialuit Region) and Joanasie Salomonie of Cape Dorset (ᑭᖖᒐᐃᑦ) (Qikiqtaaluk, Nunavut) (Harper 1983b, 40).

Qallunaat government to change them appeared irrelevant, as well as irreverent (see s. 3.2.2) (Dorais 2010, 179). The federal government had condemned the syllabic and Moravian styles of writing to extinction. Yet, contrary to Gangé's opinion that the Inuit were not as "sentimentally attached to their syllabics as many Englishmen and Frenchmen are to their spelling" (Gagné in Harper 1983b, 46), the Inuit related with their writing systems, and syllabics had grown to be a major identity symbol for the Inuit of Nunavik and eastern Nunavut (Dorais 2010, 179).

Although Gagné's orthography was praised by linguists, it never became the norm (Harper 1983b, 46). The only major text published using this orthography was *Qaujivaallirutissat* (*Things That May Serve for Increasing Knowledge*) (Dorais 2010, 323). This 300-page work was also published in syllabics and English; the government had intended to thus introduce Gagné's orthography to the Inuit (Harper 1983b, 44). Yet, the government programme to teach this Roman system to adults, which was to have accompanied this solitary translation, was sporadic and proved insufficient to foster acceptance and thus convert the various religiously-defined orthographic norms into a solitary governmental standard (ibid., 45-6).

Teaching the Inuit a new system of orthography for their manner of speaking was, after all, only of secondary interest to the Qallunaat government in Ottawa (Harper 1983b, 46). In the early 1950s, the federal government had encouraged the Inuit to settle into permanent communities, and a federal school system had been established throughout Inuit Nunangat that was more interested in teaching the Inuit the English language than a new orthography which would allow them to record their own language varieties (ibid.). Even those government officials familiar with an Inuit language variety were discouraged from regularly communicating with the residents in their own language[42] for fear that it would "jeopardize the educational programme" and because, with the advent of a wage-based economy, "a man's ability to earn his living will be directly related to his ability to communicate in English" (Canada, Ministry of Resources and Development, quoted in Cancel 2011, 113).

Before the federal government had taken over the school system, missionaries had already been educating the Inuit in their Qallunaat way. The first schools in Inuit Nunangat had been established in 1790 by the Moravians in Nunatsiavut (Dorais 2010, 192). Their basic

[42] Nonetheless, the government did recognise the need for flexibility and the value of their Qallunaat employees learning to communicate in the local language (Cancel 2011, 113 and 120).

curriculum was taught in Inuttitut, but this was replaced by English in 1949 when the new provincial government took charge (ibid.). Elsewhere in Inuit Nunangat, the federal government had begun to fund mission schools starting in the 1880s (Cancel 2011, 133). Since their principal goal was to propagate Christianity and since there already existed ecclesiastical translations in some of the Inuit language varieties, there was little pressure to teach English in Nunavik and Nunavut[43] (ibid., 134). In the Inuvialuit Region, however, the first mission schools were established in 1929, in the wake of rapid economic growth from trapping, and taught only in English (Dorais 2010, 192 and 222).

The number of mission schools in Inuit Nunangat greatly increased in the first half of the twentieth century, before being transformed by the federal government into unilingual[44] English-language day and boarding schools between 1949 and 1965 (Dorais 2010, 192-3 and 325). Instead of working towards literacy using a standardised Inuit orthography, these governmental schools followed the "fashion" of linguistic and cultural assimilation (Dorais 2010, 194). Rather than attempt to assimilate the ways that the Inuit spoke into a Qallunaat conception of a solitary written language, the Qallunaat government decided to simply force acceptance of their standard language of English[45] upon the Inuit. The federal government abandoned the idea of creating a standard language for translation and instead put into practice a policy of non-translation.

The federal government's attempt to establish a standard Canadian Inuit language clearly bore little fruit; their efforts to linguistically and culturally assimilate the Inuit into a Qallunaat norm was unfortunately much more successful[46]. "L'enseignement du contenu en anglais était à ce point efficace que les écoliers des pensionnats se mirent à parler couramment l'anglais et à

[43] Most of the students who attended these schools were Inuit-Métis or were students not in the care of their parents (Cancel 2011, 134). Although the Inuit language varieties were used in schooling, these schools' Qallunaat perspective ended up institutionalising their students and resulted in a loss of culture and traditional skills (ibid.).

[44] There were some bilingual teaching assistants who acted as linguistic and cultural intermediaries by aiding the Inuit in their understanding of the content of the lessons as well as of the school system (Cancel 2011, 137).

[45] The Québec government also established provincial elementary schools in Inuit Nunangat which taught in Inuktitut and French, the official language of Québec, starting in 1964 (Dorais 2010, 193). These provincial schools operated concurrently with the federal schools, enrolling less than 20% of the schoolchildren (ibid., 325).

[46] The Canadian government, in its "Statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools" has acknowledged that "two primary objectives of the Residential Schools system were to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture. […] Indeed, some sought, as it was infamously said, 'to kill the Indian in the child'" (Stephen Harper quoted in Canada, INAC 2008). Although the policies themselves were often open to interpretation and some officials fought against them (see Cancel 2011, 138-140), the federal government has admitted its past intention to exterminate the Aboriginal cultures, inclusive of their languages.

oublier l'inuktitut" (Cancel 2011, 137). The federal day and residential schools have left long and lasting marks on the vitality and status of the Inuit language varieties (see Appendix 5), as well as on the Inuit themselves[47]. In these schools, however, the Qallunaat government also unwittingly gave the Inuit the tools to work against Qallunaat dominance from within the Qallunaat system (Dorais 2010, 194). "L'anthropologue Francis Lévesque rappelle que ce même système scolaire, qui a désuni des familles entières, a aussi contribué 'à l'émergence d'une élite politique qui allait ensuite revendiquer une place pour tous les Inuit dans la société canadienne'" (Cancel, 2011, 140). The Inuit now entered the political field and began setting up organisations that could challenge the Qallunaat's presumed authority over the Inuit people, their vast land and their language varieties (Dorais 2010, 194).

3.2.2 Changing the Word of God and Government

> "I was told I would go straight to hell for changing Jesus' and God's writing system – people actually told me that. People were attached to the old writing system as the very symbol of our language and of their salvation. For them, what we were extinguishing was their access to heaven. Maybe I will go to hell, who knows? But it will probably be for other things, not because of my work on the writing system" (Kusugak 2014a, 37-8).

The federal government's attempt at creating a standardised Inuit orthography for Canada was unsuccessful; instead of considering the Inuit's perspective on the issue, the government had based this orthographic revolution on their own needs and had assumed that the Inuit would simply submit to their intervention. It was not the actual potential for unifying the writing of the language varieties, however, that was at issue. As the Inuit began to regain control of their land, this cause was again taken up, in an indigenous movement to standardise their orthographies so as to ease the creation of teaching materials, encourage communication between communities and reveal a united Inuit voice. The orthographic lines first drawn by the missionaries had taken

[47] "Inuit language, culture and spiritual beliefs were eroded as a result of the assimilation process. The effects on family and community have been numerous. Traditional Inuit education was passed on from adults to children and intertwined practical skills with cultural values. Traditional Inuit skills included hunting, meat and pelt preparation, sewing, building igloos and navigating the land and water. The rich tradition of oral storytelling, music, dance and craft and a respect for the environment that were an integral part of Inuit knowledge and way of life was eroded […]" (Pauktuutit 2016). Although not all Inuit attended residential schools, the federal day schools were also completely oriented to Qallunaat values and propagated contempt for the Inuit way of life (Dorais 2010, 325).

root, however, and the political lines of land claims also began to affect the possibility of a unified Inuit Nunangat, linguistically as well as politically.

By the 1960s, Inuit who had been educated in the federal assimilative system made their début onto the political scene, especially concerned with protecting their land from government-sponsored resource development (Dorais 2010, 194, and Bonesteel 2008, vii-ix). The Aboriginal assimilation policies which had been so rigorously applied post World War II climaxed in 1969 when the *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (The White Paper) attempted to repeal Aboriginal status but was instead greeted with an Aboriginal uprising (Canada, INAC 2003, 4). In 1971, seven Inuit met in Toronto and the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami[48] (ITK) was formed to represent a united Inuit voice distinct from the First Nations (ITK 2016b). The ITK looked to improve communication between the Inuit who were living in the five administrative regions of Inuit Nunangat of the time (Labrador, Québec, the Mackenzie, the Franklin and the Keewatin) and to support their fellow Inuit in reclaiming power over their own lives (ibid.). As Jacob Oweetaluktuk stated: "At this very moment there is [a] need for a close look at our own situation in our communities, because in the past only the government has been handling our affairs" (ibid.). In 1974, the ITK formed the Inuit Language Commission (ILC) to look at the present state of the language and plan for its future (Harper 1983b, 51-4). At its head was a young teacher from Rankin Inlet, Jose Kusugak (ibid., 54).

In the early 1970s, Kusugak had been working with linguist Mick Mallon to create a standardised syllabic system for educational purposes in the Keewatin (Kivalliq) region of Nunavut (Kusugak 2003, 20). His idea flowed from Lefebvre and Gagné's concept of a standardised writing system and Elijah Erkloo's[49] work on the syllabic system (ibid.). When the ITK visited his community, Kusugak demonstrated the inclusiveness of his system and its potential for use elsewhere in Inuit Nunangat, and he requested funding to continue this work

[48] The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami was then known as the Inuit Tapiriit of Canada (ITC), *Kanatami* signifying "in Canada". By 1970, the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) was already representing Aboriginal land rights in the western Arctic, including the Inuvialuit Region (Bonesteel 2008, viii). Other regional organisations were also springing up, including the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) in Nunatsiavut, the Northern Quebec Inuit Association in Nunavik and the Baffin Regional (now Qikiqtani) Inuit Association, the Keewatin (now Kivalliq) Inuit Association and the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) in Nunavut (ibid., ix). The three Nunavut associations formed the basis of the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (superseded by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated) (ibid.).

[49] Elijah Erkloo was a dedicated teacher who had also assisted Gagné in his attempt to create a governmental Roman writing system (Harper 1983b, 40 and 45).

(ibid.). After a brief foray in land claims[50], Kusugak became Executive Director of the ITK's ILC and started working towards a pan-Inuit Nunangat writing system (Kusugak 2003, 20-2). Representatives from within the different regions worked together to investigate the vitality of the Inuit language varieties and make suggestions for their future (Harper 1983b, 54-5). It was determined that no one variety should prevail and that the syllabic system should be retained, at least for the present (Dorais 2010, 180). Thus, an interchangeable dual orthography known as ICI[51] Roman (or Qaliujaaqpait[52]) and ICI Syllabics (or Qaniujaaqpait) was created; after ten years, hypothetically, one of these two writing methods was to be chosen, although this never transpired (Kusugak 2003, 24).

This dual orthography followed Lefebvre and Gagné's one-to-one phonemic principle and their idea that one symbol could represent different sounds in different regions (Dorais 2010, 180). The addition of new characters resulted in the ai-pai syllabic column[53] being removed; it was deemed unnecessary and there was insufficient space for all the syllabics to fit on a keyboard at the time (Harper 1983b, 66). The new orthography also mandated the use of diacritics (finals[54]) (Dorais 2010, 180). The ICI orthography was unanimously adopted at the ITK's general assembly and was taken up by the Northwest Territories Education Department (Dorais 2010, 181, and Kusugak 2003, 24).

Despite this apparent approval, however, the dual ICI system did not become the national orthography of Inuit Nunangat. With some modifications (see Dorais 2010, 182), its Qaniujaaqpait system became the standardised writing system of only the areas now known as the eastern Kitikmeot (Natsilingmiut area), the Kivalliq and the Qikiqtaaluk regions of Nunavut (Dorais 2010, 182). After an initial partial acceptance in the western Kitikmeot (Inuinnait area), the Kitikmeot Inuit Association declared in 1991 that the only acceptable Roman orthography for

[50] Kusugak was flown to Ottawa by the ITK, where he was told that there was no funding for language work and was instead invited to work on land claims, something that he was not at all familiar with but which allowed him to visit different communities around Inuit Nunangat (Kusugak 2003, 22).

[51] By then, the ILC had fallen under the domain of the newfound Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) (Harper 1983b, 58).

[52] Qaliujaaqpait refers to *qaliit* (the marking or grain on rocks), whereas the Qaniujaaqpait system refers to the *qaniq* (mouth) (Harper 1983b, 57-8).

[53] The syllabic alphabet is usually written with its vowels (i/u/a/[ai]) in columns; these can then be combined with the consonants that are listed by rows. For example, the "p" row of the ICI system is read as "pi, pu, pa".

[54] Diacritics are consonants that follow a vowel, whereas the other syllabic characters represent an entire syllable (either a vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel). For example, the word Inuit (ᐃᓄᐃᑦ) contains the superscript ᑦ to represent the final "t".

the region was the "traditional" one (ibid., 181). Further west, the ICI's suggestions were also ignored; the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), which was representing the Inuvialuit in their land claims agreement, created their own language commission in 1981 (Dorais 2010, 181). With the assistance of linguist Ronald Lowe, the Inuvialuit region adopted their own Roman system that was somewhat similar to the ICI but more adapted to the language varieties of the region (ibid., 182). In the end, the ICI system was not suitable for writing either Siglitun or Uummarmiutun (both Inuvialuktun); it is also not considered to be able to accurately represent the syllabically-written Natsilingmiutut, which is nevertheless still written using the ICI Qaniujaaqpait system (Dorais 2010, 323).

Nunavimmiut[55] were also resistant to the system, which they considered exogenous to their own region and way of speaking (Dorais 2010, 182). The Avataq Cultural Institute, created in 1980, and their language commission recommended the reclamation of the original ai-pai column and changes in consonant groupings (see Dorais 2010, 182). Keyboard layouts and fonts have since been adapted to retain this fourth vowel column and it remains a part of their regionally standardised syllabic writing system (see KSB 2016).

In Nunatsiavut, the ICI system was completely rejected. Independent of the ITK, the Nunatsiavummiut were already working towards standardising their Moravian writing system and adapting it to better reflect their actual pronunciation (Dorais 2010, 176). The spoken language of Nunatsiavut had significantly changed since the Moravians had introduced their Roman writing system to them, and several young Inuit in Nain contributed to a phonemic dictionary that was published in 1976 (ibid.). Resistance arose from the Moravian Church and its supporters, however, and the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) passed a resolution that only the ancient Moravian script was valid in the early 1980s (ibid.). Rose Jeddore, who had worked towards orthographic reform with the same LIA in the 1970s, lamented:

> We have been accused of many things for stirring up this controversy over language and writing systems. We are accused of being Qallunaak because we have rejected the traditional Moravian system of writing for one that suits our needs better. We have been accused of bastardizing the Inuit language because we write the language as it is spoken today and not the way it was spoken two

[55] The Nunavimmiut ("of/from Nunavik") are the people of Nunavik, as the Nunatsiavummiut are the people of Nunatsiavut, and the term Nunavummiut (or Nunavungmiut) can be used for the people of Nunavut.

> centuries ago. We have been accused of trying to destroy the church […] (quoted in Harper 1983b, 60).

In the 1990s, a somewhat revised version of the Moravian system, known as the Nunatsiavut Inuit Standardised Spelling System, was finally adopted (Dorais 2010, 176 and 322). While maintaining certain specificities of the Moravian writing system[56], this orthography better reflects the Nunatsiavummiut's modern pronunciation (i.e. a high level of consonant assimilation) (ibid., 176).

Nunatsiavut was not the only region where orthographic reform was resisted because of an attachment to the written word of a god. The Anglican Church and the Catholic Church, who were working on new translations of the Inuit Bible, were supportive of the ILC's initiative in the 1970s, as they recognised that it could foster a better understanding of the new Inuit-language versions of their Holy Book that they were working on (Kusugak 2003, 24). There was, however, an important resistance on the part of their followers, who had developed strong ties with their religion and "thought that a Roman Catholic simply should never want to write in that Anglican way and vice versa" (ibid., 22). Because the writing systems had originally been used to translate the word of the Christian god, they had become religious symbols of denominational affiliation (Kusugak 2014a, 37-8). Although the regional orthographies that were eventually adopted throughout the 80s and 90s somewhat breached this denominational gap, an age-based orthographic gap began to grow within communities since the elders continued to use their traditional orthographies while the youth were taught the new writing methods at the Qallunaat schools (Kusugak 2003, 24).

The ITK's attempt to create a unified writing system across Inuit Nunangat actually ended up aggravating the orthographic divide between regions. According to Nunatsiavummiut Rose Jeddore:

> We did not like to be told our way of writing was a Qallunaak system. We did not believe that a writing system using geometric figures was a gift from God to the Inuit. If anything, the Language Commission firmly entrenched the traditional Moravian system in Labrador. The Labrador Inuit were not about to be dominated again, even if the dominant group this time were another group of Inuit (quoted in Harper 1983b, 60).

[56] In Nunatsiavut, the *q* of the ICI is written as *K*, and the *aa*, *ii* and *uu* of the ICI are as written *â, e* and *o* (Dorais 2010, 176).

While the central region of Inuit Nunangat had adopted the ICI systems, it was seen by the Inuit of other regions as yet another attempt at domination and assimilation, clearly demonstrating how standardisation "can be divisive despite unifying intentions" (Tulloch 2005, 25).

Although this era of orthographic change in Inuit Nunangat did not create a unified and standardised communication tool, it did, nonetheless, result in five regimented and broadly-defined regional writing systems with varying levels of standardisation and leeway within them[57]:

Table 4. Orthographies in Inuit Nunangat

Writing System	Region	Orthography	Regional Language Variety
Qaliujaaqpait (Roman)	Nunatsiavut	Nunatsiavut Inuit Standardised Spelling System	Inuttitut
	Nunavut: the Inuinnait area in western Kitikmeot	KIA traditional system[58]	Inuinnaqtun
	Inuvialuit Region	COPE standardised system	Inuvialuktun
Qaniujaaqpait (Syllabic)	Nunavik	Avataq standardised system	Inuktitut
	Nunavut: Qikiqtaaluk, Kivalliq and the Natsilingmiut area in eastern Kitikmeot	ICI Syllabics	

These past attempts by the federal government and the ITK to create a unified standardised orthography or language both lacked the societal acceptance necessary for success: the federal government had put little effort into enforcing its Inuit language standard, focussing instead on the imposition of English as the norm. Meanwhile, the dual ICI system was never made compulsory but was rejected nonetheless as yet another exogenous imposition (Harper

[57] Some Inuit choose to write using the orthographies they grew up with. According to the AIT, there are currently nine writing systems being used in Inuit Nunangat (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 1); according to *Nunatsiaq News*, there are ten: four syllabic and six Roman systems (Rogers 2015).

[58] The KIA had not created a writing system; instead, it had recommended the continued use of the non-standardised systems. The Nunavut Government's Translation Policy calls for the ICI Qaliujaaqpait system for Inuinnaqtun (see s. 4). As of 2003, it was still rarely used except for teaching Inuktitut as a second language (Harper 2003, 94-5).

1983b, 58). Further, the selection process in creating these writing systems favoured certain varieties and thus did not represent the speech of all Inuit equally well.

These past attempts took place during an enterprising period for the Inuit, when land claims agreements were being prepared and self-governance disputed, and before the implementation of many concrete translation policies (see s. 4.1). New semi-standardised orthographies arose from this period, based on regional rather than religious affiliation, and pluralistic elaboration has since been taking place (see s. 4.2). Despite the relative failure of the implementation of the ICI's dual system, the possibility of a single writing system across Inuit Nunangat has remained for many Inuit. In 1983, Arctic historian Kenn Harper stated, "Like the Inuit language itself, the process of orthographic reform in Inuktitut will not be static. The work of the Inuit Language Commission has not ended; it may have only begun" (1983b, 78).

4. Standardisation in Inuit Nunangat

4.1 Policies and Power in Inuit Nunangat

4.1.1 Translation Policies and Diglossia

> "Common wisdom in language planning theory holds that any language that gains prestige and access to the 'higher' societal domains enjoys better chances of survival" (Tulloch 2005, 3).

Before the institution of land claims in Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit were subjected to the translation policies established throughout Canada by the various Qallunaat who were attempting to translate their homeland into Christian colonies and a Commonwealth country. These translation policies were not always implicitly defined, but they were inherent in the actions of the missionaries and governmental officials. As the Inuit began to regain power over their land and its governance, so did they begin to legislate their own translation policies to support the use of their language varieties and promote their status, in the hopes of counteracting the years of assimilative policies that preceded these land claims (see Appendix 4).

The non-translation policy of the Canadian Government with regards to Aboriginal languages had climaxed in 1969, when The White Paper attempted to repeal Aboriginal status (Canada, INAC 2003, 1). Then, following the *Calder*[1] land claim decision of 1973[2], the Supreme Court of Canada "unanimously [recognised] the possible existence of Aboriginal rights to land and resources" (Canada, INAC 2010b) and the Canadian Government began to institute "modern" land claims procedures (Shadian 2014, 71). *The Constitution Act, 1982*[3], recognises "existing aboriginal and treaty rights"[4], including "rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired"[5]. A comprehensive land claim usually "constitutes the full

[1] *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia,* [1973] SCR 313, 1973 CanLII 4 (SCC) [*Calder*].

[2] The *Calder* case, *supra* note 1, was named for the Nisga'a chief Frank Calder. In 1968, the Nisga'a Tribal Council in British Columbia first brought their claim to land title to the British Columbia Supreme Court. The Final Agreement for the Nisga'a claim was signed on August 4, 1998 (Canada, INAC 2010b).

[3] *The Constitution Act, 1982,* Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (UK), 1982, c 11 (CanLII) [*Constitution Act, 1982*].

[4] *Ibid* at s 35(1).

[5] *Ibid* at s 35(3).

and final settlement of the aboriginal rights"[6]. In 1995, Canada's Inherent Right Policy finally acknowledged that the Aboriginal peoples also have an intrinsic right to self-government (Canada, INAC 2003, 32).

The past decision by the Canadian government to force the Qallunaat way of life upon the Inuit has been detrimental to the Inuit language varieties, especially because the federal day and boarding school systems had proclaimed that English was the language of the future. This has resulted in varying stages of diglossia arising throughout Inuit Nunangat, with the Inuvialuit Region and Nunatsiavut already experiencing its later stages (Dorais 2010, 249). Diglossia is a hierarchical relationship between languages or language varieties. It can occur when the dominant language varieties (here, English and, to a lesser extent, French)[7] are associated with the prestigious or so-called "high"[8] communicative functions and the dominated (Inuit) language varieties are restricted to fulfilling those communicative functions designated as "low" (Dorais 2010, 249). "High" functions are said to consist of "writing, reading, being schooled beyond grades 2 or 3, and communicating with official governmental or administrative bodies" (ibid., 336), whereas "low" functions can be considered as "private conversations, oral literature, and the lower school grades" (ibid.). Continued diglossia usually results in the dominated language being "swallowed" by the dominant language (ibid., 249).

As the Inuit regain their intrinsic right to self-government, they have been putting into place language policies to counteract this perilous situation and to encourage the use of the Inuit language varieties in all domains. "Yet, there is no *language* policy without a *translation* policy" (Meylaerts 2011a, 744), and the multilingual nature of the recently implemented and proposed policies entail a significant amount of translation, particularly into the Inuit language varieties (see s. 4.2.1). These policies require the Inuit language varieties to fulfil both the "high" and "low" communicative functions, thus mandating that these language varieties adopt certain roles which were previously foreign to them, especially in their written forms. These policies require

[6] Section 2.11.1(a) of the LILCA (2005) and s. 2.1 of the JBNQA (1975). See also s. 3(4) of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA 1984).

[7] Dorais suggests a further diglossia in Nunatsiavut between the written and spoken language (2010, 250) (see s. 5.2).

[8] The terms "high" and "low" clearly indicate a hierarchy which places a greater value on institutionalised and written communication than on individual and oral communication, a viewpoint reflective of the dominant language ideologies which are discussed in s. 5.2.

the Inuit language varieties to forge themselves a place in those institutionalised "high" domains that have been traditionally dominated by English and French.

Standardisation, tied to prestige and use in "high" communicative functions, is often considered to be a factor of language vitality (Tulloch 2005, 3). Sandra Inutiq, the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, suggests:

> Once a language is standardized, it is much simpler to set competency and proficiency targets that are universal for education at all levels, employment, professional, and practice standards. Most importantly, standardizing puts the language in the same domain as languages that have well-established standards of use, such as English and French (2014, 29).

The perceived benefits of standardisation are emerging as new translation policies are implemented that seek to increase the vitality of the Inuit language varieties in Inuit Nunangat by expanding their use and their prestige[9]. To fulfil these policies, language planners now find themselves forced to consider which language varieties to translate into (selection), how to best transcribe these varieties (codification), how to create terminology for the new domains that the Inuit language varieties are to be used in (elaboration) and how to best support these new standards (acceptance).

The four regions of Inuit Nunangat have separate land claims agreements which have drawn political boundaries across these lands. This has reified the borders between the language varieties spoken and written throughout this territory. These agreements grant differing levels of linguistic sovereignty to their beneficiaries, and the ensuing translation policies do not assure equitable translational justice throughout Inuit Nunangat. These translation policies have decreed the need for the Inuit language varieties to combat diglossia by acting on the national and international political stage of a Qallunaat-dominated world, and standardisation is seen as one method of expanding the role of the Inuit language varieties into this bureaucratic domain and thus ensuring the implementation of these translation policies. Yet, this process is inclined to be divisive, as the creation of separate governments has encouraged linguistic allegiance to separate political entities and fostered regionally-isolated standardisation.

[9] According to linguist Claude Hagège, "The loss of prestige does not seem to play a direct causal role [in language death]. […]. The loss of prestige is, in fact, one of the most common consequences of [economic, social and political] factors" (2009, 131). He also notes, however, that "prestige is capable of *reducing* the devastating effects massive pressure can have on the life of languages" (ibid., emphasis mine).

4.1.2 Land Claims and Translation Policies in Inuit Nunangat

> "Ominously enough, after the two laws were passed [Nunavut's *Official Languages Act*[10] and *Inuit Language Protection Act*[11]], the Canadian prime minister stated that his government would not necessarily recognize the official status of the Inuit language" (Dorais 2010, 247).

A) Nunatsiavut

In 1973, the same year as the *Calder*[12] decision, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) was formed (Nunatsiavut Government 2016a). By 1977, they had filed "A Statement of Claim to Certain Rights in the Land and Sea-Ice in Northern Labrador" with the Canadian Government[13] (ibid.). After significant negotiations, the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement (LILCA) was enacted through the *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*[14] in 2005. The LILCA mandated the establishment of an Inuit[15] regional government and local community governments through an Inuit Labrador Constitution (2005, s. 17.3.3(a) and s. 17.3.3(b)). The LILCA further bequeathed the nascent regional Nunatsiavut Government[16] with several important powers, including the ability to "make laws to preserve and promote Inuktitut and in relation to Inuktitut orthography and the certification of Inuktitut teachers, interpreters and translators", with this Inuit law prevailing in case of conflict with a federal or provincial law (2005, s. 17.25.1 and s. 17.25.2).

The LILCA had also entailed ratification of the Labrador Inuit Constitution (LIC), which had been adopted by a referendum in 2002 (2005, s. 17.3.1, and Nunatsiavut Government 2016a). Enacted as Schedule A to the *Nunatsiavut Constitution Act* of 2005[17], the LIC has

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[10] *Official Languages Act,* SNu 2008, c 10 (CanLII) [*OLA (Nunavut)*].

[11] *Inuit Language Protection Act*, SNu 2008, c 17 (CanLII) [*ILPA*].

[12] *Calder*, *supra* note 1.

[13] In 1980, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador was added (Nunatsiavut Government 2016a).

[14] *Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*, SC 2005, c 27, s 2.11.1(a) (CanLII).

[15] The LILCA includes long-term "Settlers" of Anglo-Saxon heritage amongst its beneficiaries, thus technically considering them as "Inuit" (Dorais 2010, 238 and 334). These Settlers comprise a significant portion of the Inuit population of Nunatsiavut (ibid., 238).

[16] The Inuttitut name of the Nunatsiavut Government is Nunatsiavut Kavamanga.

[17] *Nunatsiavut Constitution Act*, CIL 31-12-2012 N-3 [*Nunatsiavut*].

numerous provisions for language-use and translation[18]. Of particular note, it states that "Inuttut and English are the official languages of the Nunatsiavut Government and the Inuit Community Governments" and that all the regional government's "decisions, laws and policies" are to be published in both languages[19]. The Nunatsiavut Government thus falls within the category of complete Inuit-English bilingualism. The language provisions of the Constitution, however, guarantee translation only in relation to those services provided by the Nunatsiavut Government and do not relate to translation policies which currently fall under other jurisdictions (e.g. the administration of justice).

The LIC also specifies that "the primary language of Nunatsiavut is Inuttut" and allows for measures to be taken to advance its use and status in compensation for past erosion[20]. The Nunatsiavut Government's Torngâsok Cultural Centre oversees this linguistic restoration (TCC 2013). In 2012, they released a fifty-year Inuit language preservation strategy, *Asiujittailillugit UKausivut,* which anticipates creating, implementing and promoting "language protection legislation" (TCC 2012, 11). Despite the preference afforded to Inuttitut, however, an official languages act supporting Inuttitut monolingualism in the region appears unlikely at present, especially given that only 24.9% of Nunatsiavummiut are able to conduct a conversation in an Inuit language variety (Statistics Canada 2011).

B) Nunavik

Canada's first comprehensive Aboriginal land claim agreement related to northern Québécois territory obtained by boundary extension acts in 1912 (see s. 3.2.1). The 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA)[21] was enacted through the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act*[22]. The Nunavimmiut's stewardship right to the majority of the territory north of the 55th parallel (JBNQA 1975, s. 24.13.3(a))[23] and some autonomy was

[18] See ss. 1.6, 2.4.2, 2.4.3, 2.4.26 and 2.4.27 of Schedule A of *Nunatsiavut*, *supra* note 17.

[19] *Nunatsiavut*, *supra* note 17, Schedule A, s 1.6.1 and s 1.6.2.

[20] *Ibid* at s 1.6.3 and s 1.6.5.

[21] The Agreement was made between the Crees as represented by the Grand Coucil of Crees (of Quebec), the Inuit as represented by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, Québec, the James Bay Energy Corporation, the James Bay Development Corporation, Hydro-Québec and Canada.

[22] *James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act*, SC 1976-77, c 32, s 3 (1) (CanLII).

[23] This territory was expanded in 2008 to include the Nunavik Inuit Settlement Area (the Nunavik Marine Region and the overlap with the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area) by the *Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act,* SC 2008, c 2 (CanLII).

awarded. Sections 12, 13, 15 and 17 of the JBNQA produced local governments ("municipal corporations"), the Kativik Regional Government (KRG), the Kativik Health and Social Services Council (now the Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services [NRBHSS]) and the Kativik School Board (KSB) (1975). An Agreement-in-Principle to combine these entities was signed between the Makivik Corporation (representing the Inuit[24]), Québec and Canada on December 5, 2007 (AIP 2007); however, the proposed Final Agreement was voted against in a referendum on April 27, 2011, and a new agreement has yet to be reached (Rogers 2011).

Unlike the LILCA, the JBNQA grants very little linguistic sovereignty to the organisations it created. Although it contains numerous provisions for use of the Inuit language varieties and allows for the Kativik School Board to establish Inuit language programmes and Inuit language teacher criteria (JBNQA 1975, ss. 17.0.64 and 17.0.74), overall, the JBNQA dictates rather than designates. This lack of independence could be attributed to the JBNQA being a forerunner in land claims and signed prior to the 1995 Inherent Right Policy. Yet, the rejected Final Agreement, which looked to create a Nunavik Regional Government (NRG) known as the Nunavingmi Aquvvinga[25], did not grant greater linguistic power-making abilities to this entity. The Agreement simply stated that "the languages used in the NRG shall be in keeping with the existing laws, legal rights and obligations that are applicable to KRG, KSB or NRBHSS" (FACNRG 2011, s. 3.19). In explaining the rejection of this accord, the Inuit's Makivik Corporation stated that "Nunavimmiut called for the protection and enrichment of our culture and language, as well as more substantial powers from both Québec and Canada" (Aatami 2011, 1).

Considering their modest linguistic sovereignty, it is unsurprising that the Nunavimmiut have yet to implement their own official language and translation policy. The JBNQA does, however, provide guidelines for language use within the local and Kativik governments, in

[24] Makivik, which means "To Rise Up", is the corporation "mandated to protect the rights, interests and financial compensation provided by the 1975 *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement* […] and the more recent offshore *Nunavik Inuit Land Claim Agreement*" (Makivik Corporation 2015).

[25] The Inuktitut title of *Nunavingmi Aquvvinga*, which can be translated as "Nunavik's Steering Body", is also used in Makivik's English documentation. In some publications, it is called *Nunavimmiut Aquvvinga* or "The People of Nunavik's Steering Body" (see, for example, Wessendorf 2006, 68).

schooling and in court decisions[26]. For both municipal and regional governmental affairs, the provisions for use of the Inuit language varieties are identical:

> The language of communication […] shall be in accordance with the laws of general application in Quebec; in addition, every person may address the [governments] in Inuttituut [sic] and the [governments] shall ensure that such person can obtain available services from and can communicate with it in Inuttituut; and, in the sittings of the council, whoever has a right to be heard may use Inuttituut at his option.
>
> The council *shall have the right* to make copies of the books, records, notices and proceedings of the [governments] in Inuttituut (JBNQA 1975, ss. 12.8 and 13.8, emphasis mine).

Although oral proceedings are multilingual, written translations are optional. This is particularly interesting in light of the sole Inuit language provision made for judicial proceedings[27]:

> The Minister of Justice of Québec must see to it that, *upon demand from any Inuit party*, the judgments with reasons of the courts, judges, tribunals, bodies and commissions that are not rendered orally and in open court, but in writing, are translated as of right into Inuttituut without cost, *for purposes of information only* (JBNQA 1975, s. 20.0.11, emphasis mine).

In terms of legal proceedings, where the right to an interpreter is already guaranteed by *The Constitution Act, 1982*[28], the written translations which are available "upon demand" do not hold any legal status.

Overall, with the exception of educational matters[29], the JBNQA guarantees only French monolingualism[30] (and French-English bilingualism for federal matters) combined with occasional translation into the Inuit language. The unification of the JBNQA's organisations into a newly formed, and theoretically more autonomous, Nunavingmi Aquvvinga could significantly

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[26] See ss. 12.8 (municipal corporations), 13.8 (KRG), 17.0.59, 17.0.64 and 17.0.74 (KSB), 20.0.11 (administration of justice), and 29.0.26 (training programmes) (JBNQA 1975).

[27] The JBNQA makes numerous provisions for the Cree language (1975, ss. 18.0.23(d), 18.0.28, 18.0.30, 18.0.36).

[28] *Constitution Act, 1982*, *supra* note 3, s 14.

[29] As mentioned previously, the Kativik School Board has some authority for language matters. The JBNQA also states: "The teaching languages shall be Inuttituut and with respect to the other languages, in accordance with the present practice in the territory. The Kativik School Board will pursue as an objective the use of French as a language of instruction […]" (1975, s. 17.0.59).

[30] The JBNQA makes reference to "the laws of general application in Quebec" (see, for example, 1975, s. 12.8). The *Charter of the French Language*, CQLR c C-11 (CanLII), enacted in 1977, makes specific exceptions and provisions for the JBNQA (see ss 88, 95 and 97).

change the present linguistic picture. Launched by the Avataq Cultural Institute[31] to provide the negotiators for this future government with information about language preservation, the Inuktituurniup Saturtauninga project seeks to support Inuktitut as the primary language of Nunavik (ACI 2016b, under "The Inuktituurniup Saturtauninga Project"). Their 2012 report, ᐃᓪᓕᕆᔭᕗᑦ, or *That Which We Treasure*, has stated that "it is essential to have a language policy in all workplaces in order to favour positive attitudes toward Inuktitut" (Nungak et al. 2012, 155), that the "Inuit desire to see legal protections and recognition for Inuktitut as an official language with adequate resources" (140) and that "Inuktitut needs to be recognized as an official language in order for its future to be assured" (164). In its 2001 report, the Nunavik Commission, formed to map out the creation of the Nunavingmi Aquvvinga, recommended official Inuit, French and English trilingualism (Daveluy 2004, 89-90). Since trilingualism is considered a "non-issue" on the federal side as well as a "normalizing process of a de facto situation" (ibid., 90), it seems a likely route for the proposed Nunavingmi Aquvvinga to take.

C) Nunavut

The *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act*[32] and the *Nunavut Act*[33] were passed in 1993. On April 1, 1999, the territory now known as Nunavut separated from the Northwest Territories (ITK 1993). Creating a majority-Inuit territory under the leadership of the Nunavut Government, this is considered to be Canada's most comprehensive Aboriginal land claim agreement to date (Shadian 2014, 76). Although a territorial entity, Nunavut's ethnic majority converts this de jure territorial government into a de facto Inuit one[34] (Loukacheva 2007, 40).

Since the Nunavut Government is territorial, it is under federal authority and is without the full constitutional powers of the provincial governments (Canada, Intergovernmental Affairs 2010)[35]. In the 1980s, however, when Nunavut still lay within the Northwest Territories, debates over French services had resulted in the implementation of territorial language acts (Canada,

[31] The Avataq Cultural Institute was born in 1980 to "protect and promote Inuit language and culture" (ACI 2016a).

[32] *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act,* SC 1993, c 29 (CanLII).

[33] *Nunavut Act,* SC 1993, c 28 (CanLII) [*Nunavut]*.

[34] The Inuit continue to be represented as an ethnic entity by Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, the organisation responsible for ensuring the fulfilment of the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, supra* note 32 (NTI 2016).

[35] Further devolution of powers for land and resources is under discussion in Nunavut (Canada, INAC 2014).

Parliament 2009, 5-7). As a result, the federal *Official Languages Act*[36] was amended to exclude territorial institutions, laws and ordinances from their federal counterparts and an *Official Languages Act (OLA)*[37] was enacted for the Northwest Territories (ibid., 7). A provision was concurrently added to the *Northwest Territories Act*[38] to specify that the Northwest Territories' newly-minted *OLA* would require Parliamentary concurrence to be altered (ibid.). Upon its creation, Nunavut inherited this legislation from the Northwest Territories, but with the *Nunavut Act* only mandating Parliamentary approval for amendments that "would have the effect of diminishing the rights and services provided for" in the original *OLA*[39]. After a year of senatorial debates, Nunavut's new *Official Languages Act (OLA)*[40] was approbated in 2009.

Nunavut's *OLA* recognises "the Inuit language" (now often referred to as Inuktut in Nunavut[41]), English and French as Nunavut's official languages, specifying that "to the extent and in the manner provided under this Act, the Official Languages of Nunavut have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in territorial institutions"[42]. Judicial proceedings, signs and the majority of public services are legislated as trilingual[43]. Nonetheless, printed legislative documents are exclusively mandated in English and French and only provided in Inuktut upon request, with these Inuktut translations becoming authoritative solely upon recommendation from the Executive Council[44]. The Languages Commissioner of Nunavut oversees execution of this Act.

In 2008, while Nunavut's *OLA* awaited Parliamentary approval, the *Inuit Language Protection Act (ILPA)*[45] came into force. Beyond clarifying that "the Inuit language" refers to

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[36] *Official Languages Act,* RSC 1985, c 31 (4th Supp) (CanLII) [*OLA (Canada)*].

[37] *Official Languages Act,* RSNWT 1988, c O-1 (CanLII) [*OLA (NWT)*].

[38] *Northwest Territories Act*, SC 1985, c N-27. Replaced by *Northwest Territories Act*, SC 2014, c 2, s 2 (CanLII).

[39] *Nunavut*, *supra* note 33, s 38.

[40] *OLA (Nunavut)*, *supra* note 10.

[41] In 2007, the term "Inuktut" was proposed to represent both Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun in Nunavut, the language varieties specified under the *ILPA*, *supra* note 11, s 1(2).

[42] *OLA (Nunavut)*, *supra* note 10, s 3(1) and s 3(2).

[43] *Ibid* at ss 8, 9, 11 and 12. There are some exemptions regarding mandatory trilingual services in regional offices (*OLA [Nunavut], supra* note 10, s 12(3) and s 12(4)).

[44] *Ibid* at ss 4(2), 5 and 7.

[45] *ILPA*, *supra* note 11.

both Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun[46], it expands upon the use of these language forms in governmental and educational spheres. It also established the Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (IUT), whose role is to "expand the knowledge and expertise available with respect to the Inuit Language, and to consider and make decisions about Inuit Language use, development and standardization"[47] (see s. 4.2.1).

Within its Department of Culture and Heritage[48], the Government of Nunavut also has a language bureau entitled Official Languages. Responsible for translation services, this office has implemented a specific translation policy which outlines the roles and responsibilities, eligibility, financial conditions and acceptable time delays in relation to governmental translation requests (Nunavut, CLEY 2009). This policy clearly states that translation is to be made available between Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, English and French and that "all Inuit language translations will be translated using ICI standardized orthography" (ibid., 1-3). Further, this policy emphasises the importance of the translations produced and the use of appropriate terminology: "By ensuring the proper terminology and usage of official languages in public documents we are adhering to the Inuit Societal Values of inclusion and respect" (ibid., 1).

D) Inuvialuit Region

The Inuvialuit Region is currently under the authority of the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT)[49]. An amended Inuvialuit Final Agreement was enacted in 1984 through the *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act*[50] and outlines the Inuvialuit territory, wildlife management, financial compensation and the formation of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) to manage Inuvialuit affairs (IFA 1984). In 1996, after the passing of the 1995 Inherent Right Policy, the IRC and the Gwich'in Tribal Council began negotiating for self-government, reaching an initial joint Agreement-in-Principle in 2003. In 2005, however, the Gwich'in Tribal Council requested to have a separate self-government agreement, which the federal and territorial governments agreed to (GNWT, IRC, and Canada 2015, 10). New negotiations opened

[46] *Ibid* at s 1(2).

[47] *Ibid* at s 16(1).

[48] The Department of Culture and Heritage was formerly the Department of Culture, Language, Elders, and Youth.

[49] Although the northernmost tip (the Yukon North Slope) is considered Inuvialuit land according to the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA 1984), there are no Inuit communities within the Yukon borders.

[50] *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act,* SC 1984, c 24 (CanLII).

up between the Inuvialuit, Canada and the Northwest Territories, with the Inuvialuit Self-Government Process and Schedule Agreement being signed in 2007 (ibid., 11). The Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement-in-Principle (AIP) was signed on July 21, 2015 (ISGAIP 2015).

The Inuvialuit AIP defines Inuvialuktun as "the language of the Inuvialuit and includes the Siglit, Uummarmiut and Kangiryuarmuit[51] [sic] ('Inuinnaqtun') dialects" (ISGAIP 2015, s. 1.1). The AIP specifies that, although the Final Agreement is to be written in Inuvialuktun, English and French, only the English and the French versions are to be considered as authoritative (ibid., s. 2.5). In a similar vein, a public registry of the Inuvialuit Constitution and laws is to be maintained in the authoritative English version, with an Inuvialuktun version only produced "at the discretion of the Inuvialuit Government" (ibid., s. 3.6.1(a)). These provisions clearly indicate that a higher status is being bestowed upon the federal languages than the indigenous language varieties. The agreed-upon Inuvialuit Government, however, will have the right to make laws relating to language use within the region[52], including through the naming of official languages and the teaching of Inuvialuktun (ibid., ss. 5.1.1, 5.1.3 and 15.1).

Until a Final Agreement is signed and a potential regional language law enacted, the Inuvialuit region is still subject to the *OLA*[53] of the Northwest Territories. Like the Government of Nunavut, the GNWT is a territorial government without the full constitutional powers of a provincial government, although an agreement for further devolution of power from Canada to the Northwest Territories was signed in 2014 (Canada, INAC 2013). At present, the GNWT still requires Parliamentary approval for any alteration to its *OLA*[54]. The GNWT's original *OLA* of 1984 had clearly differentiated English and French from the Aboriginal languages; by 1990, however, all eleven language varieties[55] were designated as official languages with equal status "to the extent and in the manner provided in this Act and any regulations under this Act"[56]

[51] The Kangiryuarmiut variety is called the Holman dialect by Dorais since it is spoken in the community of Ulukhaktok, which was previously called Holman (2010, 33).

[52] These powers are limited to the part of the Inuvialuit Region which lies within the Northwest Territories and does not include the Inuvialuit land in the Yukon.

[53] *OLA (NWT)*, *supra* note 37.

[54] *Northwest Territories Act*, SC 2014, c 2, s 2 (CanLII) at s 32(1).

[55] The *OLA (NWT), supra* note 37, refers to eleven languages: Chipewyan, Cree, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, North Slavey, South Slavey and Tåîchô (s 4).

[56] *OLA (NWT)*, *supra* note 37, s 5.

(GNWT, ECE 2015c). Three of these official languages are spoken by the Inuit: Inuktitut (heard principally outside of the Inuvialuit region), Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun.

This new *OLA*, however, still gives predominance to English and French as the link languages between Aboriginal societies and between the GNWT and Canada. The GNWT works with a two-tiered system whereby communication with the central governmental offices is guaranteed only in English and French, whereas regional offices must provide service in any of the other official languages when there is "significant demand" or it is "reasonable" to expect it[57]. In a similar vein, any document written by a territorial body and intended for the public must be published in English and French, and in the other official languages as prescribed by regional regulations[58]. In addition to this regionalisation of Aboriginal language use, the *OLA* favours the colonial languages in written legislation. Laws only need to be published in English and French[59], and legislative paperwork is authoritative in their versions and only available in the Aboriginal languages upon Executive Council demand or following a "reasonable request" for a sound recording[60]. Further, although any official language may be used in court proceedings, written decisions regarding "a law of general public interest or importance" must be written in English and French, with sound recordings made available in the other official languages[61].

The *OLA* of the Northwest Territories has allocated for a Languages Commissioner, an Official Languages Board, an Aboriginal Languages Revitalization Board and a Minister Responsible for Official Languages[62]. Unlike the accepted trilingualism of Nunavik, the GNWT has needed to respond to this territory's diverse linguistic situation and consider the feasibility of complete multilingualism at the territorial level. In 1998, the GNWT implemented an Official Languages Policy, whose manual specifies "designated areas" for governmental services in the "official languages of that area" (GNWT, Official Languages Unit 1997, 10). The multilingualism of the Northwest Territories' *OLA* thus consists of French-English bilingualism[63]

[57] *Ibid* at s 11(1) and s 11(2)

[58] *Ibid* at s 8 and s 34.

[59] *Ibid* at s 12.

[60] *Ibid* at s 7.

[61] *Ibid* at s 9 and s 10.

[62] *Ibid* at ss 20(1), 26(1), 28(1) and 30(1).

[63] Given that "the majority of the population of the NWT speak English" (GNWT, Official Languages Unit 1997, 8), there are only certain designated offices for French and the immediate provision of French documents is sometimes

at the superior level with a dissimilar multilingualism inclusive of regional Aboriginal languages at the lower level. A future and potentially further or different official multilingualism in the Inuvialuit Region depends upon the signing of a future accord for Inuvialuit self-governance and the subsequent creation of their own language laws.

4.2 Policies in Practice

4.2.1 Translation within a Federation

> "We are more than First Canadians, we are Canadians First!"
> (Mary Simon quoted in Shadian 2014, 77).

As it stands, the decision-making powers that the Inuit have regarding use of their language varieties are not equal; nor are they absolute. Beyond their own policies, all governments in Inuit Nunangat must also abide by those terms set out in the federal *Official Languages Act*[64], which focuses on French-English bilingualism[65]; Nunavik and Nunatsiavut must also abide by the linguistic practices of the provincial institutions in their regions. Since these four separately governed regions of Inuit homelands nonetheless remain within Canadian territory, the predominance of English and French on the federal and provincial levels has played an important role in drafting language policies in Inuit Nunangat. Canada's overall linguistic relationship with Inuit Nunangat can be understood as official French-English bilingualism at the federal level combined with a dissimilar multilingualism at the regional level (translation through link language[s]). This conveys that, although the Inuit language varieties are used in conjunction with the provincial or federal languages within the lands, any communication between the Inuit and the upper echelons of government can only occur in the federal and provincial languages.

In 1979, the ITK fashioned the Inuit Committee on National Issues (ICNI) to represent the Inuit during constitutional talks and other political discussions at the national level (ITK 2016a). In their land claim discussions, the ICNI did not propose absolute sovereignty but

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subject to caveats, such as frequent use or requests (ibid., 14-5 and 25). Given that Nunavut still lay within the Northwest Territories at the time, Inuktitut was also given preferential treatment in this policy.

[64] *OLA (Canada)*, *supra* note 36.

[65] See s 17.8.2 of the LILCA (2005), s. 12.8 and s. 13.8 of the JBNQA (1975), s 2(1)(a) of the *OLA (Nunavut), supra* note 10, and s 32(1) of the *Northwest Territories Act*, *supra* note 54.

instead stated territorial governance as the Inuit's preference[66] (Shadian 2014, 71). Many Canadian Inuit feel an affiliation towards their parent country and seem willing to submit to a certain "'voluntary' colonialism" as they work to regain control over their lands and achieve self-reliance[67] (Loukacheva 2007, 148-50). This hierarchal system, however, perpetuates diglossia since communication with the upper levels of governments is only in English or French (see, for example, s. 2.20.1 of the LILCA [2005]). The English and French versions of any inter-governmental agreement are correspondingly declared to be the official ones, even when there are Inuit versions of the documents available (see, for example, s. 1.2.2 of the LILCA [2005] and s. 5 of the Inuvialuit AIP [ISGAIP 2015]). This naturally supports the use of the federal languages, especially English, as the working language of the Inuit governments, since Inuit language documentation holds a lesser legal value. The Inuit language and culture is thus subjected to Qallunaat terms at the federal level, and this has resulted in a somewhat obscured diglossia as English decisions are delivered cloaked in Inuit translation.

Within Inuit Nunangat, the Nunatsiavut Government, with the most recent land claim, declares institutional multilingualism, Nunavut nears complete multilingualism, the Inuvialuit Region is currently within the GNWT's two-tiered system and Nunavik has monolingualism with occasional translation. However, the Nunatsiavut Government has yet to pass an act to support its multilingualism and the breadth of its governance is more limited than the territorial governments[68]. Although Nunavut requires requests for certain translations, its policy grazes complete multilingualism and its government has significant jurisdiction and power. The Inuvialuit Region awaits the authority provisionally granted within its AIP to create its own policy and currently lies within a complex multilingual jurisdiction which was a forerunner in the promotion of Aboriginal languages. Nunavik currently has little sovereignty but has had language legislation through the JBNQA since the 1970s and presently has the highest level of

[66] The ICNI was created to represent the ITK on national political issues. For regional land claims, Nunatsiavut was represented by the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA), Nunavik by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, Nunavut by the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (later Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated) and the Inuvialuit Region by the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) (see s. 4.1.2 and Appendix 4).

[67] "If a systemic perspective (all aspects of social life are related one to another) is adopted, it becomes clear that social inequality and the diglossic phenomena that it entails will disappear only when Inuit stop being economically dependent" (Dorais 2010, 259).

[68] Certain aspects of the Nunatsiavut Government's jurisdiction are relatively restricted, require approval from the Lieutenant-Governor or are limited by "Laws of General Application" (see LILCA 2005, s 17).

Inuit language vitality (see Appendix 5). Furthermore, its future Nunavingmi Aquvvinga is demanding a high level of sovereignty and seems destined to accept a trilingual policy similar to Nunavut's.

Complete multilingualism, especially under the GNWT, could be considered as "utopian" because of the financial and organisational burden of fulfilling such a policy (Meylaerts 2011a, 747). However, it is precisely where an Inuit language variety is most at risk that a policy necessitating a demand for translation could result in a de facto non-translation policy. In the Inuvialuit Region, for example, where only five people identifying as Aboriginal did not speak English in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013), translations are unlikely to be requested, thus normalising the use of English for bilingual Inuit and even those with an Inuit mother tongue[69]. These are important aspects for the Inuvialuit Region and the Nunatsiavut Government to take into account when drafting any language policies; a future Nunavingmi Aquvvinga might be wary of losing the comfortable Inuit language vitality in Nunavik as well, since the presence of English in the workplace and at school appears to even threaten the prominence of Inuktitut there (Dorais 2010, 230-1).

The language policies being put in place by the governments of Inuit Nunangat have recognised that there is a particular need to revitalise the Inuit language varieties so as to overcome past and persistent power imbalances. The governments are further supporting their native varieties through the language protection policies that are being put in place. Despite the Inuit's legislated desire to promote the status of their language varieties, however, an underlying bias for the federal languages of Canada in their translation policies appears counteractive to their efforts. The JBNQA, the *OLA (NWT*), the Inuvialuit AIP and, to a lesser extent, the *OLA (Nunavut*) reinforce the existing diglossia by discriminating between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal languages. Often to receive the equal status ostensibly granted at the outset of the language legislation, exceptions need be made to stipulate that a government document written in one of the Inuit language varieties is the authoritative one[70]. English and French are favoured in highly important governmental affairs[71], and the Aboriginal languages are relegated to orality[72].

[69] In 2006, 20% of the Inuit population of the Inuvialuit Region had an Inuit mother tongue (see Appendix 5).

[70] See, for example, s 5(4) of the *OLA (Nunavut)*, *supra* note 10.

[71] See, for example, s. 3.6.1(a) of the Inuvialuit AIP (ISGAIP 2015), s 4(2) and s 5 of the *OLA (Nunavut)*, *supra* note 10, and s 7 and s 10 of the *OLA (NWT)*, *supra* note 37.

Although there is some historical context for the latter (see s. 3.1.1), there is often greater weight given to written texts within the current social order (see s. 5.2) and the Inuit consider literacy an important factor for stable bilingualism (Dorais 2010, 188). Unlike Canada's federal policy of equal authority for its co-written French and English legislation (Lavoie 2003, 122), the Inuit language versions of governmental documentation have thus been accorded only a secondary status. This accentuates the already hierarchical situation of Inuit Nunangat, where English and French are the only languages used to communicate with the upper echelons of government. The resulting dominant stature of these languages can frustrate attempts at reviving the prestige of the Inuit language varieties and achieving a stable multilingualism.

A certain level of unidirectionality is implied in many of the translation policies, which can also demonstrate the governments' desire to protect and promote the Inuit language varieties (Lane-Mercier, Merkle and Meylaerts 2014, 474-5). Although the majority of the Northwest Territories' Inuit population was separated from this territory with the formation of Nunavut, the GNWT continues to support three Inuit language varieties as official languages. Translation into the Inuit language varieties here thus seems to be about not only communicative needs but also about promoting Aboriginal language use and guaranteeing the right of the Inuit to access information in their traditional language varieties (Larivière 1994, 108). Given the weakened Inuit language vitality in the region and the Inuvialuit's desire for language revitalisation, a translation policy supporting official multilingualism with unidirectional translation into the minority language may prove the most realistic path to take.

Yet, a unidirectional translation policy also carries with it the risk of assimilation. "Le statut de langue de traduction officielle peut coûter très cher sur le plan culturel, du fait que la culture et la langue minoritaires risquent de disparaître derrière la langue et la culture dominantes à long terme" (Daviault in Lane-Mercier, Merkle and Meylaerts 2014, 475). Alongside an overall culture loss, the status of "translated language" can also result in the Inuit language varieties becoming increasingly anglicised (Larivière 1994, 113, and Leblanc 2014, 548). Nonetheless, in areas where the Inuit language vitality is low, translation may be the only means to ensure that documents are created in these languishing varieties and to guarantee their continued presence, thus justifying the risks inherent in unidirectional translation.

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[72] See, for example, s 10 of the *OLA (NWT)*, *supra* note 37.

Even in regions where the Inuit language varieties are predominant, however, most of the mandated Inuit-language documentation is created through translation from English originals. In her study on neologisms in Nunavut, anthropologist Carole Cancel noted: "Les discours portant sur la sphère publique sont presque tous produits en langue inuit de traduction"[73] (Cancel 2011, 16). This can result in a "vicious circle":

> "[…] moins on rédige en [la langue dominée], moins cette langue sera perçue comme une langue de travail légitime à côté de l'anglais; et moins cette langue sera considérée comme une langue légitime, moins on y aura recours et moins on se sentira à l'aise de la manier à l'écrit" (Leblanc 2014, 546).

Unidirectional translation thus threatens to normalise the predominance of English as the written language of government, even in areas where the majority of the population are Inuit language speakers. The tendency to favour writing in English, followed by translation into an Inuit language variety, risks writing in the Inuit language varieties being relegated to language professionals, to the overall detriment of Inuit literacy.

"English will have to be the language for business," stated AivvalHa Ukpik (Abraham Okpik) at a 1959 meeting of the Eskimo Affairs Committee[74] (quoted in Cancel 2011, 154). This point of view, perpetuated by the federal school system and its belief that the Inuit language varieties had little place in a modern Inuit society (Cancel 2011, 154), has been uniformly dismissed by the recently-minted governments and proto-governments of Inuit Nunangat. Despite the predominance of English and, to a lesser extent, French on the federal scale, the Inuit are seeking through their constitutions and language legislation to "halt and reverse the erosion of Inuttut, our society, our culture and our dignity"[75]. Given that languages relegated to "low" functions tend to be overwhelmed by dominant languages, the current diglossic English-Inuit relationship is considered as a threat to the very survival of the Inuit language varieties (Dorais 2010, 249).

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[73] The Inuit language varieties can be considered as the translated language (*langue de traduction*) in their written forms; however, in their oral forms they often constitute the original means of expression (*langue d'expression*) (Cancel 2011, 12).

[74] Under the administration of the Ministry of Resources and Development and then the Ministry of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Eskimo Affairs Committee ran from 1952 to 1962 (Cancel 2011, 146-7).

[75] *Nunatsiavut*, *supra* note 17, Schedule A, under "Preamble".

"The first step to move us beyond good intentions is to awaken our government to the legitimacy and validity of our indigenous languages" (Simon 2014, 49). Legislation has been put into place to give the Inuit language varieties the status of official languages; yet, this has not been sufficient to stop or reverse the erosion of their vitality[76]. Standardisation has been linked to reversing this trend (Doerr 2009a, 29), as it can help expand the Inuit language varieties into their newly-legislated domains[77] and confers greater authority and legitimacy on them (Leclerc 1992, 197). Without standardisation, Inuit language documents can be deemed to be open to interpretation, something which is considered as unacceptable in the legal system of the Qallunaat federation. Standardisation could thus help boost the depleted status of the Inuit language varieties and assist in the fulfilment of the language policies being put in place across Inuit Nunangat.

4.2.2 Regional Standardisation and Translation Practices

> "Sometimes they [the local translators] just transcribe the English name in syllabics, and once it has been translated that way, we have to keep using that term" (Nirlungayuk 2014, 103).

The Inuit are no longer grouped together under a unified federal government but are reclaiming their autonomy through four separate regional and territorial governments, with the governance of Nunavut being further decentralised into three regional offices (Qikiqtaaluk, Kivalliq and Kitikmeot). The language varieties within each area are separately affected by the translation policies that the governments are implementing. Efforts are being made in each of these areas to elaborate their Inuit language varieties and improve upon their codification. Meanwhile, given the tendency for public writing to be created through translation, translators are being accorded an important role in creating and reinforcing these diverse linguistic standards. The divergence of the Inuit language varieties that the ICI tried to combat in the 1970s through orthographic reform has thus continued, as regional standardisation and translation practices reinforce the division of Inuit Nunangat into discrete language varieties based upon political affiliation.

[76] The rate of decline varies, with an overall drop from 69% of the population having an Inuit mother tongue in 1991 to 65% in 2006 (Dorais 2010, 239). The decrease in Inuit language use at home tends to be more dramatic in the larger, more ethnically diverse communities and seems to be slowing down and potentially stabilising (ibid, 240-2).

[77] Due to the polysynthetic nature of the Inuit language varieties, the spontaneous adoption of new words (*uqausiit nutaat*) has long been a natural process; starting with terminology workshops in the 1970s, however, there is now also a more concerted effort to create them (*taiguusiliurniq*) in order to expand the Inuit language varieties into traditionally Qallunaat domains (Cancel 2011, 13).

The translation policies of Inuit Nunangat tend to refer to the Inuit language varieties of their regions as singular entities. Nunatsiavut and Nunavik each account for one language variety (Inuttitut and Inuktitut, respectively); Nunavut refers to two varieties (Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun) under the overarching term of Inuktut[78]; and, the Inuvialuit region specifies in its AIP three varieties (Siglitun, Uummarmiutun and Kangiryuarmiutun[79]), which are combined under the regionally-indicative name of Inuvialuktun[80]. By grouping the array of language varieties within each of these regions into a single language to be translated into and out of (or two language varieties in the case of Nunavut), a picture is being drawn of linguistic unity within these regions.

The orthographies used also follow the boundaries of the regions of Inuit Nunangat, with only the territory of Nunavut being orthographically divided into the Qaniujaaqpait and Qaliujaaqpait of the dual ICI system along their perceived Inuktitut/Inuinnaqtun boundary (see Appendix 3). That said, the Kitikmeot Inuit Association (KIA) officially refused to adopt the ICI system in 1991 and Inuinnaqtun is often still written in "its own as-yet unstandardized (i.e., unreformed) system" with non-ICI elements infiltrating the legislated ICI Qaliujaaqpait system (Arnakak 2014, 60). According to Julia Ogina of the KIA, this region was excluded from a good deal of the standardisation discussions in the past and, as a result, "people have put up barriers and challenges with the word and issue of standardization" (2014, 120). Although there is a continued popular resistance to use of the ICI system, translations made through the territorial government's Translation Bureau are technically restricted to its Translation Policy[81]. Overall, the regional/territorial efforts of orthographic standardisation which occurred in the latter half of the 20th century (see s. 3.2) have been reinforced through the translation policies of the respective regional and territorial governments.

Although the translation policies appear to assume the linguistic unity of their constituents, the governments also recognise that there are numerous language varieties being

[78] The Bathurst Mandate of 1999 directed that "Inuktitut [sic], in all its forms" was to be the used for work and school by 2020 (Tulloch 2005, 2); however, the *ILPA*, *supra* note 11, clearly states that "the Inuit language" of Nunavut's *OLA* refers to two varieties named as Inuktitut *and* Inuinnaqtun (s 1(2)). There is a marginalising tendency to refer to both Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as Inuktitut (Tulloch 2005, 34-5).

[79] The IRC has noted, however, that speakers of Kangiryuarmiutun "prefer to call their dialect Inuinnaqtun due to their strong ties with the people of the Central Arctic" (IRC 2014).

[80] The present *OLA (NWT)*, *supra* note 37, lists three Inuit languages (see s 4.1.2); looking forward, however, I here follow the terminology of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation and the Inuvialuit AIP.

[81] A study as to whether translations into Inuinnaqtun are actually completed in the ICI Qaliujaaqpait system is outside the scope of this thesis.

used within each of the administrative regions of Inuit Nunangat. The Nunatsiavut government has stated that "there are dialectical differences within the language between the various communities of Nunatsiavut" (TCC 2013, under "Inuttitut in Nunatsiavut"). The Avataq Cultural Institute's report, ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓂᐊᖅ, has "identified four distinct dialect groupings: Ungava coast, Hudson Strait, Hudson coast, and lower Hudson Bay" while also noting a community-level variation in inflection and vocabulary (Nungak et al. 2012, 145). In Nunavut, a lack of consensus is acknowledged: the language programme Inuktitut Tusaalanga purports nine varieties[82] (Pirurvik 2016), while linguist Louis-Jacques Dorais notes seven dialects with seventeen subdialects[83] (2010, 28-9) and local language experts Alexina Kublu and Mick Mallon[84] have also suggested that there are "seven or so major dialect groupings" (2016); further, as Tulloch points out, Inuit speakers have their own perceptions and often associate their variety with their individual community (2005, 5); what is clear is that there is significant variation within the two officially recognised forms of Inuktut. Finally, in the Inuvialuit Region, the recently signed AIP clearly recognises three language varieties as being native to its peoples.

Although this diversity in the Inuit language varieties has been seen as enriching, the actual and potential governments of Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Region have chosen to treat them as unified entities for legislative purposes. The governments in Inuit Nunangat thus appear to allow a potential utility in treating the Inuit language varieties within their domain as singular languages for translation, composition and education purposes. Concomitant with this singularising treatment of the Inuit language varieties at the regional level, however, is the current "lack of protocol on decisions regarding the choice of dialects to be used in documents" within each region[85] (Nungak et al. 2012, 155). To reify the regional languages that their translation policies attest to, the Inuit governments have established organisations to assist in the development and the enforcement of regional linguistic standards.

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[82] Inuinnaqtun, Nattiliŋmiut (Natsilingmiut), Kivallirmiut (Kivalliq), Paallirmiut, Aivilingmiut (Aivilik), North Baffin, Central Baffin, South Baffin and Sanikiluarmiut (Itivimiut).

[83] Inuinnaqtun, Natsilingmiutut, Kivalliq, Aivilk, North Baffin, South Baffin and the Itivimiut subdialect of Nunavik (spoken in Sanikiluaq) (Dorais 2010, 36-44).

[84] Alexina Kublu is a certified interpreter/translator who has acted as Languages Commissioner of Nunavut (ITK 2016c). Mick Mallon has received the Order of Canada for "his contributions as a teacher and linguist who spent decades preserving and revitalizing the Inuktitut language" (George 2008).

[85] This quote is in reference to Nunavik in particular; however, throughout all the translation policies in Inuit Nunangat there appears to be a lack of precision regarding what language variety should be used.

The Nunatsiavut Government's Isumatât Committee of interpreters and translators has been actively establishing standard terminology for the region. In 2011, for example, they participated with elders in a three-day workshop that focussed on ensuring coherency in financial, environmental, scientific and political terminology (OKâlaKatiget Society 2011). Meanwhile, in 2012, the Torngâsok Cultural Centre adopted their *Asiujittailillugit UKausivut* language strategy; two of their short-term goals in relation to Learning and Education are to "Review the Standardized Writing System" and to "Update older books in Inuttitut into the Standardized Writing System" (TCC 2012, 14). Their Ilisautikka Inuttitut Initiative, meanwhile, has been working towards "the development and distribution of learning tools", such as an Inuttitut-English dictionary (*Labradorimi Ulinnaisigutet*) and an Inuttitut language programme offered through Rosetta Stone CD-ROMs (Nunatsiavut 2016b). Nunatsiavut is thus actively working towards elaborating their language, further codifying it and ensuring that their regional written standards are consistently employed.

The Avataq Cultural Institute's Inuktitut Language Programme aims "to preserve and protect the language of the Inuit and promote its use within the territory of Nunavik" (ACI 2016b). The programme develops terminology for use in contemporary domains as well as attempts to resuscitate traditional terminology at risk of extinction through a "recovery database" (ibid.). Beyond these efforts at linguistic elaboration and reclamation, Avataq is working towards better codifying the Inuit language varieties of Nunavik through the development of a dictionary, a grammar and second-language learning materials (ibid.). The Institute also organises translator and interpreter workshops which aim to ensure the quality of translation services (ibid.).

The Avataq Cultural Institute's Inuktituurniup Saturtauninga project's report, ᐃᓪᓕᕆᔭᕗᑦ, states that the creation of an Inuktitut language authority for Nunavik is an "absolute necessity" (Nungak et al. 2012, 143). The ᐃᓪᓕᕆᔭᕗᑦ report also notes that "arbitrary" changes to the Qaniujaaqpait system have been detrimental to the Inuit language varieties (ibid., 144) whereby the "lack of an official Inuktitut writing system makes it difficult and confusing to establish a common or universal communication system" (164). Although Nunavik has syllabic fonts for use with computers[86], it has also been suggested that an official

[86] Various syllabic fonts have been created since the dawn of computers, with a standard ASCII code for Canadian Aboriginal syllabics being proposed as early as 1985 (Hitch 1993, 56). The various systems that were originally

auxiliary Roman orthography might be adopted to replace the unstructured orthographies currently being used in electronic formats (ibid., 162). These orthographic developments would fall under the domain of the proposed language authority (ibid., 141). Under an autonomous Nunavingmi Aquvvinga, this Inuktitut Language Commission would also oversee protection of the Inuit language varieties in Nunavik through the enforcement of language legislation and would assist in Inuktitut's development through institutionalised neologistic activity (ACI 2016b, and Sabourin 2015, 22).

In Nunavut, the institutionalisation of neologistic activity is well underfoot. "Le besoin de dénoter de nouvelles réalités y est pressant, notamment pour l'équipement des vocabulaires spécialisés" (Cancel 2011, 12). The Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (IUT), created through the *ILPA*[87], has the mandate to:

> […] develop and standardise the Inuit Language to increase effective communications between Nunavummiut; establish standard terminology, orthography and language competencies and [publish] them; undertake own or collaborative research, including documenting dialects and traditional expressions, and assist the business community and other organizations in providing quality Inuit Language services to the public (Nunavut, OLCN 2016).

Since its creation, the IUT has established terminology committees for media, health and education as well as a Standardizing Orthography Committee (IUT 2012, 13-5). Although Nunavut already has a translation policy that dictates the use of the dual ICI system, the IUT's Standardizing Orthography Committee looks not only to review the orthography within Nunavut but to "propose changes for a new standardized orthography that will help build a sense of common purpose to improve communications among all Inuit" (ibid., 15). Nunavut is thus effectuating a regional elaboration of the language varieties used within its borders, as well as looking to expand its orthographic standardisation beyond them (see s. 5.1).

Pursuant to stipulations in its *OLA*[88] and its *ILPA*[89], the Government of Nunavut published the comprehensive language plan *Uqausivut* in 2012. The plan commits the

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invented have since been superseded by Unicode fonts (AiPaiNutaaq, Allatuq, Euphemia, Pigiarniq) which are more user-friendly and allow for Roman and syllabic characters to be used in the same document (KSB 2016).

[87] *ILPA*, *supra* note 11, s 15.

[88] *OLA (Nunavut)*, *supra* note 10, s 13(3).

[89] *ILPA*, *supra* note 11, s 25.

government-backed IUT to considering "the growing demand and support required for the establishment of a common standard for today's education, businesses and workplaces to ensure effective communication regardless of dialect differences" (Nunavut, CH 2012, 22). The decision to support standardisation is also clearly evidenced in the plan's Implementation Priorities, which include developing and standardising Inuktut "for modern government and business use" and establishing a "common, standard written language" (ibid.). In 2011, the Inuit's Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated suggested that the only realistic way to provide effective bilingual education in Nunavut would be to select one language variety, and the Nunavut Languages Commissioner's office has also reported that orthographic standardisation is a key component for ensuring the vitality of Inuktut (Palluq-Cloutier 2012b). The Government of Nunavut has thus adopted a firm stance towards creating a singular written standard to unite the linguistically diverse constituents of its own territory, and potentially beyond.

In the Inuvialuit Region, the GNWT's Department of Education, Culture and Employment has instituted an Aboriginal Languages Secretariat to support the revitalization of Aboriginal languages and cultures and to develop Regional Aboriginal Language Plans with the Aboriginal governments, with one Language Coordinator specifically working with Inuinnaqtun and Inuvialuktun (GNWT, ECE 2015a, 14). The Inuvialuit Secretariat's role also includes the development of terminology and linguistic standardisation (ibid.). Elaboration efforts have resulted in the creation of Inuvialuktun terminology that is universal in meaning but is orthographically adapted to each of the three Inuvialuktun language varieties (see, for example, GNWT, Species at Risk Secretariat 2011). The Inuvialuit Cultural Resource Centre (ICRC), backed in part by the federal and territorial government, has also been working with elders to preserve Inuvialuktun and to support teaching and the "on-going development" of Inuvialuktun (IRC 2013). The ICRC looks to elaborate the language "by incorporating new words that reflect current culture and technology" (IRC 2014). As part of its mandate, the ICRC has also published a number of books, including ten children's books written in each of the three regional language varieties (IRC 2013). The Inuvialuit Region is thus working with the territorial government to standardise its varieties as one regional language, while also actively maintaining the distinction between these language forms through variety-specific literature.

Thus, individual standardisation efforts are taking place institutionally in each region of Inuit Nunangat. The elaboration of the Inuit language varieties into modern domains to help

them to fulfil the "higher" functions now required of them is clearly a priority for the language organisations that have been put in place throughout Inuit Nunangat, and the resulting terminological inventions are not always consistent. This disparate elaboration is accompanied by independent efforts to review orthography, create supplementary codification and enforce current standards within these jurisdictions. These standardisation efforts are consequently promoting the stabilisation of the Inuit language varieties as exclusive, regional entities.

It has nonetheless been noted that the present codification of the language varieties is not complete or consistent and that it is not always easy to access the terminology being created[90]. At a recent translator and interpreter conference, Apqutauvugut, which was held in Nunavut by the Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, eleven recommendations were made, including the demand for a "comprehensive database of terms that includes all terms developed to date and is regularly updated and easily accessible online"[91] (*Nunatsiaq News* 2016b). Yet, the specialised terminology that is being continually created is routinely rejected as unsuitable by Inuit language professionals, such as translators (Cancel 2011, 17). Although there are an increasing number of standards being put in place by the governing structures in the regions, this does not necessary indicate their normalisation. "Des résistances s'opposent actuellement à une application coercitive de la néologie concertée qui est sous-tendue par toute une démarche administrative à tendance normative" (ibid., 22). At present, translators continue to adopt new words of their own making, something that the polysynthetic nature of Inuit language varieties has always encouraged. However, this liberty also means that "improperly translated English words are spontaneously understood and become widely used even when the translation still remains incorrect" (Nungak et al. 2012, 129).

Translators play an important role in deciding whether or not standardised terminology and the official regional orthographies gain acceptance within the territory[92]. The predominance of translations over original Inuit-language documentation combined with a lack of regulation

[90] There are numerous lexical resources already available, including dictionaries, dictionaries of post-bases, online dictionaries and terminology databases (see, for example, Cancel 2011, 368-9). Their use, however, is somewhat limited due to accessibility, accuracy, orthographical divergence and regional inclusiveness.

[91] At the Apqutauvugut conference, the possibility of a unified writing system was discussed, although the IUT has refuted reports of a vote in favour of a standard Roman orthography (Burnett 2016).

[92] "En leur qualité d'experts reconnus par une institution, ces traducteurs, interprètes et terminologues sont en effet placés dans une situation équivoque par rapport aux aînés qui sont les dépositaires culturellement reconnus de la langue inuit" (Cancel 2011, 20). The continuing importance of the elder's role is discussed in s. 5.2.

regarding choice of language variety, which arises from the regionally singularising treatment of these diverse language forms, bestows translators with the power to significantly alter the linguistic norms of their regions. Translators' choices are dependent on their own individual backgrounds as well as social norms. Given the multitude of factors that might influence individual and regular translation practices, a corpus-based study could be most revealing as to the actual unifying or divisive effects that these practices have on the Inuit language varieties[93]. Some translators, as active agents in the grassroots normalisation of textual-linguistic choices such as of language variety, orthography and terminology, might be resistant to the overt standardisation efforts of the regional governments; yet, the growing emphasis on the creation of institutionalised translation policies and uniform terminology in each of the regions works towards promoting acceptance of governmental standards.

Regional associations with Inuit language varieties are thus being fostered through the coupling of one language and orthography with each region: the Nunatsiavummiut write Inuttitut in the Nunatsiavut Inuit Standardised Spelling System; the Nunavimmiut write Inuktitut in the ai-pai system supported by the Avataq Cultural Institute; the Nunavummiut write Inuktut in the ICI dual system; and, the Inuvialuit write their three varieties of Inuvialuktun using the system developed by COPE (see Appendix 3). Linguistic practices are also becoming increasingly standardised and institutionalised at the regional level through the continued codification, elaboration and enforcement of the selected orthographies, as these oft-translated language varieties search for validity on a national scale. The Inuit's reclamation of their right to autonomy, linguistic or otherwise, has politically divided Inuit Nunangat according to four separate land claims. As a result, these Inuit regions have been independently working towards preserving and increasing the vitality of their own Inuit language varieties as they create distinct linguistic entities to represent the land that their constituents have claimed as their own.

[93] For example, what variety the translator grew up speaking and/or was educated in, the availability of translator training in different language varieties and regions, the predominance of different varieties or orthographies at the regional level, the impact of the small readership and a realm of other individual and cultural considerations are some of the elements which could affect a translator's decisions. An investigation of this from the sociological viewpoint of the individual translator's *habitus* is unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis.

5. Standardisation across Inuit Nunangat

5.1 Standardisation Within and Beyond Inuit Nunangat

> "Standardization just makes sense"
> (Inutiq 2014, 31).

Governments in each of the regions of Inuit Nunangat have put into place language policies which require the Inuit language varieties to fulfil new roles in political and technological domains, as well as in educational institutions. These policies aim to revitalise the Inuit language varieties as they compete with English and French from within a Qallunaat-dominated nation and from within a world where globalisation fosters increased contact between languages and cultures. "The most urgent issue for the present-day Inuit language is whether it has much chance of resisting for some more time the daily onslaught of English and other languages" (Dorais 2010, 233). In order to accomplish this goal and observe their own policies, the governments have been working separately towards linguistic standardisation so as to ease translation and legitimise their federally undervalued language varieties**.** Triggered by the urgent need to improve Inuit-language education, however, a further standardisation movement is also underway at the national level. This national standardisation looks to unify the existing regional efforts, and standardisation is being heralded as a method to promote literacy, foster communication between regions and cast a unified Inuit voice that would be better able to represent its speakers on the political front (Tulloch 2005, 22).

In spite of the regional and territorial governments' legislation and exertions, the future of the Inuit language varieties remains a "complex and uncertain" question (Dorais 2010, 275). Although their land claims were signed for massive tracts of territory, the population of each region is relatively small[1]; this places an enormous financial[2] and administrative strain on these governments as they attempt to ensure translational justice for their constituents and promote the

[1] Nunatsiavut: 2 906, Nunavik: 10 784; Nunavut: 29 448; Inuvialuit Region: 5 635 (Dorais 2010, 293-5).

[2] The financial responsibility for supporting language rights in Canada falls to the federal government and the Inuit's linguistic legislation could be considered as futile without their proper backing (Dorais 2010, 247). At present, however, "there is an absence in Canadian society of understanding, respect, and basic rights, and the means that are necessary to achieve some sense of equality between speakers of the Inuit language and those that speak the other two official languages" (Louis Tapardjuk in Simon 2014, 53). In the 2014-15 year, the federal government allotted 1.625 million dollars to Nunavut for French language promotion and only 1.1 million dollars for the Inuit language varieties, which "amounts to $4,000 per French-speaking person in Nunavut, and only $40 per Inuit-language speaker" (Rohner 2015).

use of the indigenous language varieties amongst their growing population. Linguistic rights are difficult to secure when translation practices fail to live up to the relatively vigorous language policies put in place. Beyond direct financial restraints, there is also a debilitating shortage of competent translators. In Nunavut, for example, the Office of the Language Commissioner has recognised the difficulty in procuring translators in the private sector and has also recently "issued a 'D' grade to the Government of Nunavut's Department of Community and Government Services and the Qulliq Energy Corp. for not consistently issuing news releases in all of Nunavut's official languages" (Ducharme 2015c). Similarly, in Nunavik, it was noted that "the lack of qualified translators and the overall scarcity of funding available for translations is a constant" (Nungak et al. 2012, 129).

There is limited formal translator training offered within the Inuit homelands and for translating and interpreting with the Inuit language in general[3]. Nunavut Arctic College offers a one-year certificate or two-year diploma in translation and interpretation at their campus in Iqaluit (Qikiqtaaluk region) (Penney and Sammons 1997, 66). The programme deals principally with the Kivalliq, Aivilik, North Baffin and South Baffin language varieties, and this limited diversity already poses significant challenges for the programme's professors (ibid., 73). Because this programme is limited to Inuktitut speakers and expects students to use the official ICI dual orthography (ibid., 69 and 73), it is not presently suitable for offering translator and interpreter training at a national level[4]. Added to these complications, there is little incentive for individuals to follow the programmes that are offered because the high demand for translators and interpreters assures them of a position regardless of their training (ibid., 71). Yet, at the recent Apqutauvugut conference, translators and interpreters recommended the development of "further training and accreditation for interpreter-translators in Nunavut" (*Nunatsiaq News* 2016b). Beyond the global advantages of translator training, Inuit translators may significantly benefit

[3] There are some translator training options in Nunavik, such as a ten-day Medical Interpreter Training programme offered through McGill University (McGill University 2016); overall, however, the quality of translator and interpreter training in Nunavik is in need of improvement (Nungak et al. 2012, 130). In Nunatsiavut, there are interpreter/translator workshops and adult Inuttitut education through the TCC (TCC 2013, under "Current Language Projects"). In the Inuvialuit Region, the GNWT's Department of Culture and Employment "works with language communities […] to deliver training for language interpreter/translators" (GNWT, ECE 2015b), however, the proper training and certification is not always made available (Menicoche 2010).

[4] To be used throughout Inuit Nunangat, the curriculum might be able to be adapted to local needs and offered on regional campuses.

from learning about the new language resources which are being made available to them (terminology databases, online dictionaries, etc.).

Beyond these difficulties and limitations, challenges also arise because many translation students have learnt to write in informal settings, and thus not necessarily in the mandated ICI system of the Arctic College programme, and because of "the low level of formal education achieved by enrolling students" (Penney and Sammons 1997, 69-70). At the moment, education conducted in the Inuit language varieties abruptly stops after the first few grades, encouraging a transitional, subtractive bilingualism that is counter-active to the balanced, additive bilingualism which the Inuit seek to attain[5] (NCIE 2011, 77, and Taylor 1995, 33). Beyond the accidentally derogatory implications that this relegation of Inuit language immersion to the primary grades may have on the status of the Inuit language varieties (Taylor 1995, 33-4), it also means that not all Inuit have the opportunity to attain excellence in writing the native language or to gain an appreciation for Inuit language literacy. Regardless of attempts to better incorporate Inuit language and culture into schools, "the lack of trained Inuit teachers and the lack of a developed Inuktitut curriculum and learning materials continue to plague the education system" (Penney and Sammons 1997, 70). For example, five years into Nunavut's 2008 *Education Act*[6], which endorsed bilingual K-12 Inuit-English education by 2019-20, the Auditor General of Canada dismissed this goal as unachievable (Bell 2013). The strain of trying to create Inuit-centred education within a Qallunaat system[7] weighs heavily on the Inuit governments who are trying to secure a future for their youth and for their language varieties.

In 2006, when "all four Inuit regions had settled land claims and were in a position to shape their public education systems with a vision for the future", the ITK launched a national

[5] "Additive bilingualism is when people learn a second language but maintain strong first language skills. Subtractive bilingualism is when people learn a second language and their first language skills become weaker and may be lost" (Stephen C. Wright et al. quoted in NCIE 2011, 77). Transitional bilingual programmes focus on easing students into the dominant language through early childhood education in their native languages while balanced bilingual programmes look to maintain balance between the native languages and the more dominant languages (Taylor 1995, 33-35).

[6] *Education Act*, SNu 2008, c 15 (CanLII).

[7] According to linguist Mick Mallon, "Our school system is alien […] because it *is* a system. […] To put it as extremely as possible: the mere building of a school could be said to be an alien act of cultural aggression" (Mallon quoted in Dorais 2010, 195).

education initiative to improve Inuit outcomes in the school system[8] (NCIE 2011, 7). The link between mother tongue education and success in school is strong[9] (Simon 2014, 51), as is the Inuit's conviction that it is necessary to support the use of the Inuit language varieties since they are considered to be the only medium that can fully express the Inuit culture (Dorais 2010, 269). The Inuit Education Accord emerged from a first national summit in 2008, and this resulted in the creation of the National Committee on Inuit Education (NCIE) (NCIE 2011, 8). The NCIE's mandate to create a National Strategy on Inuit Education was fulfilled in 2011. One of the ten core investments listed in this strategy is "Establishing a Standardized Inuit Language Writing System"[10] (ibid., 9); the National Strategy also recommended the creation of a task force to investigate how to introduce such a system (ibid., 14). This task force, the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq (AIT) is under the leadership of the Amaujaq National Centre for Inuit Education, itself formed to implement the National Strategy of the ITK's NCIE (ITK 2016e). In promoting the creation of a standard language of instruction, the National Strategy states that "a standard Inuit Roman orthography is viewed as a tool to creating and sharing school curriculum, books and media materials" (NCIE 2011, 89). The NCIE hopes to thus foster the production of written learning materials[11], noting the present scarcity of Inuit reading material for adults (ibid., 89).

Hence, a further impetus for standardisation at the national level has been sparked by the need to improve education results[12]. Although translation is not the initial spark for this national standardisation, as it was for the federal government's effort in the 1960s, the AIT and its

[8] The education levels in Inuit Nunangat are not on par with Canadian averages: approximately 75% of Inuit do not complete secondary school, compared to less than 22% of Canadians (NCIE 2011, 7, and Statistics Canada 2015).

[9] "The greatest predictor of long-term success in school for indigenous children is how long they receive instruction through their first language. The length of time students receive education in their mother tongue is more important than any other factor (including socio-economic status) in predicting the educational success of bilingual students. The worst results are with students in programs where the student's mother tongues are not supported at all, or where they are only taught as subjects" (UN Expert Panel quoted in Simon 2014, 51).

[10] The other investments were: Mobilizing Parents; Developing Leaders in Inuit Education; Increasing the Number of Bilingual Educators and Programs; Investing in the Early Years; Strengthening Kindergarten to Grade 12 by investing in Inuit-Centred Curriculum and Language Resources; Improving Services to Students Who Require Additional Support; Increasing Success in Post-Secondary Education; Establishing a University in Inuit Nunangat; and, Measuring and Assessing Success (NCIE 2011, 9).

[11] "Materials for Language Education and Literacy" is also one of UNESCO's major factors of language vitality (2003, 12).

[12] On linguistic standardisation in the Nunavut school system, see Jeela Palluq-Cloutier's Master's thesis, *The Standardization of Inuktut in the Education System in Nunavut*.

supporters also recognise that linguistic standardisation would have a wider impact, beyond as well as through improved education:

> Most importantly, creating a prescriptive standard of writing and language adds to social and cultural cohesion and helps to promote a sense of pride in one's identity. Speakers will be more apt to speak to each other across regional dialects, and it will be simpler to use the language in complicated settings like health care, justice, and education (Inutiq 2014, 31).

This new standardisation effort merges the labour of the regional terminology creation and orthographic reform that is required for the fulfilment of the current translation policies. It also fosters collaboration between regions divided by history, as it would remove the need for inter-regional translation and thus would substantiate a unified Inuit nation within Canada.

Language is an important symbol of the Inuit nation as a distinct polity and is often used to demarcate the Inuit from other ethnic groups (Dorais 2010, 272-3). Meanwhile, regional or community varieties are closely tied to individual identity.

> In a vast Arctic, Inuktut defines us as people of the wider circumpolar world, where we share a common cultural and linguistic heritage with our fellow Inuit in Siberia, Alaska, and Greenland. Amongst our close families, it is fitting that our dialects give us a linguistic place to be at home. In our consensus-based and interdependent society, it is fitting that our language places more emphasis on the action than the doer (Okalik 2014, 10-11).

The close ties between Inuit identity and language have been studied extensively (see Cancel 2011, 15). The legitimacy of the governments in Inuit Nunangat relies upon the majority Inuit population having a distinctive culture, and language is considered to be an essential symbol of this Inuit identity (Dorais 2010, 273-4). Similarly, Qallunaat language ideologies suggest that "all the citizens of a nation-state are 'native speakers' of its national language [and that] there is a homogeneous linguistic community" (Doerr 2009b, 13). Although language is but one of the elements constituting the Inuit identity, the potential for it to act as a "unifying force" has been recognised by the Inuit (Dorais 1996, 98). The current mélange of Inuit language varieties in Inuit Nunangat and their potential to cement into regional languages through pluralistic standardisation could thus be perceived as being at odds with the promotion of the Inuit as a unified nation.

As Inuit, the Nunatsiavummiut, the Nunavimmiut, the Nunavummiut and the Inuvialuit have the advantage of national and international support through the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) and the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). The ITK, the national Inuit advocacy organisation which formed the Inuit Language Commission that created the ICI standards in the 1970s, continues to work towards the creation of a single standardised orthography for Inuit Nunangat through the recently formed Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq (AIT). Despite the relative failure of the ICI system in uniting the Inuit orthographically, the AIT and their supporters maintain that "the need remains for Inuit to share a common orthography – one people, with one language and one script" (Kablutsiak 2014, 172). The ITK has also recently proposed the creation of an Inuit Language Development Institute to "link language preservation and revitalization efforts in our four Inuit regions and support efforts to produce Inuit language instruction materials, language research, and elder vocabulary documentation" as there is currently "very little national capacity to coordinate the revitalization efforts for the Inuit language" (Simon 2014, 55).

The idea of a standard Inuit language variety reflects the increased circumpolar collaboration and contact between Inuit language varieties that now prevails. The relative linguistic isolation that existed before the arrival of the Qallunaat is no more; the Inuit are increasingly bombarded with other languages, especially English. For example, the federal Government's Connecting Canadians programme subsidises high-speed Internet for approximately 12 000 homes in Nunavut and Nunavik, allowing the Inuit more affordable access to the predominately English texts of the World Wide Web[13], in addition to the chiefly English books, radio and television which are already available to them (Canada, PM 2014). But these new platforms are also places where Inuit from across the world can communicate with one another from within their immense homeland.

The greater linguistic contact that the Inuit are experiencing in this era of globalisation endangers the Inuit language varieties, but it also opens up new doors for Inuit to work together on a national and international level. By eradicating the need for translation between language varieties in Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit could more easily take advantage of this opportunity to

[13] According to global estimates, 53.7% of websites are available in English, followed by Russian with 6.3%. No language variety native to Inuit Nunangat was included in the statistics, although Kalaallisut was noted amongst the languages that were used in less than 0.1% of websites (W^3Techs 2016).

share their educational materials and literature, including oral literature that might also be translated into new media, such as film, digital recordings and video games. Translation out of Kalaallisut and other languages varieties would also be facilitated, financially and practicably. The resulting increase in written Inuit literature would encourage literacy in adults since Inuit readers would have further reason to read, and perhaps write, in a standardised Inuit language variety. A greater presence in the world of letters would also promote the validity of this Standard Inuit Language that would be in use across Inuit Nunangat.

Despite the linguistic boundaries supported by politics and history, a levelling of Inuit language varieties and an increase in mutual comprehension may already be growing:

> Inuit communities are using many dialects, and only in the last few years have their differences begun to be 'levelled' in the speech of the youth. Right now, one of the major needs of interpreters is a multi-dialectal awareness. As a result of Inuit radio broadcasting, many Inuit, although often speaking only one dialect are able to understand much of the vocabulary of many other dialects (Kusugak 2014b, 44).

Although there are several periodicals published across Inuit Nunangat[14], the bilingual (Inuktitut[15]-English) *Nunatsiaq News* has become "*the* regional paper for Nunavut and Nunavik" (Dorais 2010, 209, emphasis in the original). The national organisation ITK[16] also publishes "*Canada's* Inuit cultural magazine", *Inuktitut*, biannually in ICI syllabics, ICI Roman, English and French (ITK 2016d, emphasis mine). These types of publications allow for cross-regional exposure, and they can thus foster the nascence of a national written norm. The Internet also breaks down boundaries. Even in Nunavik, where syllabics are traditionally used, Roman orthography is noted as the norm for the online social network Facebook: "If they want to speak Inuktitut and want to get themselves across, they use Roman orthography" (Tulugaq 2014, 114).

In commenting on standardisation and dialect preservation in Nunavut, linguist Shelley Tulloch noted that "the emergence of a common dialect may allow planners to bypass one of the

[14] "In 2007 forty-two periodicals with Inuit content were published in Canada […], although only sixteen of them had some Inuktitut or Inuktun text besides English or French" (Dorais 2010, 209).

[15] *Nunatsiaq News* states that they publish in both "Inuktitut and English" (*Nunatsiaq News* 2016a); some people, however, use Inuktitut to refer to the Inuit language varieties in general (Tulloch 2005, 34). There is no further specification of language, beyond that Nunavik advertisements are published in their regional language form (*Nunatsiaq News* 2016a). There are also occasional French articles (ibid.).

[16] *Inuktitut* was born in 1959, replacing the *Eskimo Bulletin* which had been originally published by Canada's Department of Northern Affairs (Dorais 2010, 209).

stickiest issues facing those dealing with language issues in Nunavut, which is whether or not to standardize the language, and if so, how" (2005, 22). This "levelling", however, may favour the major language varieties, to the detriment of the minor varieties. As the more prominent varieties become the norm, they also risk becoming the basis for the standard. For example, the Government of Canada's Public Works and Government Services website offers a list of trilingual (English, Inuktitut and French) glossaries which only "reflect *Nunavut's* specialized language", with eleven of the thirteen glossaries having been created at Nunavut Arctic College (Canada, PWGSC 2014, emphasis mine). A concerted and collective national standardisation effort may prove beneficial by ensuring that all the regions are included in standardisation discussions.

Internationally, the ICC, through its four offices in Kalaallit Nunaat, Inuit Nunangat, Alaska and Chukotka, works towards strengthening Inuit unity, promoting Inuit rights and interests, developing environmental policy and advancing political, economic, and social development (ICCC 2015a). The ICC also supports the Inuit language varieties through symposiums and other initiatives, including the elaboration of these varieties through terminology creation (ICCC 2015b). Although the members of the ICC retain their distinct ethnic identities (see s. 1.1), they also use the ethnonym "Inuit" to represent their commonality, as the Inuit increasingly look to insist on the idea of an "Inuit people" (Therrien 1999, 11). In 2010, Nunavut held an international Inuit Language Summit, with delegates coming from Alaska and Kalaallit Nunaat. "Delegates who supported a standardized Inuit language writing system with common grammar, spelling and terminology, argued that it would provide Inuit with the ability to produce, publish and distribute common Inuit language materials" (NCIE 2011, 89). The IQ concept of *Piliriqatigiingniq* points out that "as a communal society, the concept of working together and collaboration have vital significance to the Inuit" (Arnakak 2002, 38). This guiding principle is at the heart of the ICC: "To thrive in their circumpolar homeland, Inuit had the vision to realize they must speak with a united voice on issues of common concern and combine their energies and talents towards protecting and promoting their way of life" (ICCC 2015a).

In 1975, the Alaskan North Slope Borough Mayor, Eben Hopson[17], proposed the creation of an international Inuit writing system (MacLean 2014, 80). Inupiaq Linguist Edna Ahgeak

[17] Eben Hopson was also the founder of the ICC (ICCC 2015a).

MacLean continues to advocate for the creation of "an international auxiliary Inuit writing system, which would use the Roman alphabet and which would increase written mutual intelligibility between Inuit who are presently using different orthographies" (Kusugak 2014b, 45). This system would be a symbol of the Inuit's circumpolar unity and would help counteract the difficulty in communication that has arisen from the "geographic and political separation which exists", but it would not aim to "replace the regional writing systems currently in use" (MacLean 2014, 80-2). The desire for increased international communication has had an important influence on the proposition for a potential single writing system for Inuit Nunangat. Although translation between varieties on an international level would still be required because of lexical divergence, knowledge of Roman orthography is currently considered as indispensable for Canadian Inuit to access the relatively prominent Kalaallisut literature (see Dorais 2010, 203-5) (Kusugak 2014b, 45). The Roman alphabet, the only one used outside of Canada, is currently being favoured by the AIT.

As a result of the 2015 Unification of the Inuit Writing System Summit which took place from August 25th to 26th, the AIT released the follow proposal:

> The recommendation from this summit is for [Canadian] jurisdictions to formally explore the implementation of an Inuit writing system rooted in a standardized form of roman orthography that is developed by Inuit for Inuit and introduced through the education system with quality materials, publications and training resources. The participants of this summit acknowledge that this process will take time and cannot be rushed (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 2).

The recommendations, after having been presented to the NCIE and announced at the ITK annual general meeting, are to have been forwarded to the governments and language authorities in place across Inuit Nunangat (ibid.). From there, "land claims organizations, language authorities and governments will make their own decisions for moving forward", with a progress report requested within one year of the 2015 summit (ibid.).

The AIT has thus been created for many of the same reasons that the ILC was formed over forty years ago: Kusugak had been looking to facilitate creation of educational materials as the Amaujaq National Centre for Education wishes to do now. In the 1970s, as well, the Inuit were looking to collaborate through a stronger voice, which they could use to fight for their land through the newly-formed ITK. Now, however, the Inuit language varieties already have a place

forged for them in domains that were traditionally dominated by English and French, and some level of standardisation is already actively underway at the regional level. The AIT is looking to unify these ongoing efforts and further them into a collective standardisation that undoes the Inuit's political and linguistic segregation and translates them back into one nation.

5.2 Ideological Resistance

> "The reason for the invention of letters was, first, to serve our memory, and later so that we could speak with those who were absent or who were yet to come…. Therefore, letters are nothing but figures that represent the voice… and voices signify, as Aristotle has said, the thoughts that we have in our soul" (Antonio de Nebrija quoted in Raphael 1988, 43).

Similar to Aristotle, linguist Taamusi Qumaq[18] has defined the verb *uqaqtuq* ("she/he speaks") as "a person saying that he/she tells the truth because he/she only tells his/her idea, thus this person says something good or bad[19]" (quoted in Dorais 2010, 261). Speech is considered as one step in the communication process of transferring one's thoughts to an actively listening audience, a process "based on moral and social values that cannot be dissociated from Inuit culture" (Dorais 2010, 264). If words are the inter-semiotic translation of our thoughts, then written communication can be considered as a further translation of these words into writing; as the AIT purports, a "writing system is simply a tool to express our language" (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 1). Inuit orthographies, however, have long reflected individual speech and acted as religious and regional identity markers. The national standardisation movement, which is being heralded from on high as a method to save *the* Inuit language, is seen by many Inuit as a death sentence for the diverse language varieties and orthographies with which they associate.

For some Inuit, standardisation is rejected as "'the English way' of dealing with language" (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 151). Although standardisation is often put forth as a logical process, "the idea of a standard is modeled on the colonizers' cultures of having a standardized tongue, and is a position that speakers do not need to accept automatically" (Tulloch 2005, 23).

[18] A "self-taught […] thinker and scholar from Puvirnituq, Nunavik", his dictionary was the first unilingual Inuktitut dictionary (Dorais 2010, 338).

[19] Translation by Dorais of "Uqaqtuq: Inuk suliniraqsuni isumaminik uqatuarami tagga uqaqtuq piujumik piunngitumigluuniit."

The creation of a Standard English has often been construed as "a common, usual or even 'natural' process in language evolution" (Schreier 2012, 354) and an ostensibly immutable and homogenous Standard English has long been associated with nationhood while its use is tied to high status (Hickey 2012, 2-10). Similarly, linguist R. Anthony Lodge has registered three standardisation beliefs held in France[20]: "the ideal state of the language is one of uniformity; the most valid form of the language is to be found in writing; the standard is inherently better than the adjacent non-standard varieties (more elegant, clearer, etc.)" (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013, 7). Although attitudes towards Standard English are changing[21] and Canadian society is considered less biased towards non-standard varieties than some other English-speaking nations (Boberg 2012, 160), the insistence on the importance of a standard language which sparked the federal government's efforts in the 1950s persists in Qallunaat culture. The Qallunaat who arrived on the shores of Inuit Nunangat brought their language ideologies with them, yet the Inuit have resisted their focus on uniformity and the written language. As the Inuit forge themselves a new identity as a nation within Canada, the AIT and its supporters are attempting to translate these Qallunaat ideologies into Inuit terms.

In a recent online survey conducted by Jeela Palluq-Cloutier[22] for her Master's thesis *The Standardization of Inuktut in the Education System in Nunavut*, less than fifty percent of the teachers who responded were supportive of having one writing system. "There is fear that having one writing system would negatively impact the preservation of dialects at the local or regional level" (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 155). Local or regional language varieties are highly prized by their speakers for numerous reasons: communication is easier and more natural between speakers who have the same linguistic norms; language varieties are considered as links to the past; particular knowledge may be encoded within a certain language variety; and, perhaps most importantly, they are meaningful identity markers[23] (Tulloch 2005, 14-6). The AIT has recognised that "some

[20] Although English is considered the main threat to Inuit language vitality, French is also a dominant language on the federal scale. French is also standardised to a high degree and is thus very useful for illustrating standardisation ideologies (Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013, 7).

[21] Despite a history of standardisation, most native English speakers use non-standard varieties (Schreier 2012, 355) and there is a rising acceptance of the term "World Englishes" to refer to the plurality of English language varieties spoken around the globe (Hickey 2012, 16).

[22] There were sixty-seven respondents to this survey for "Inuktut-speaking teachers" (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 146).

[23] For linguists, access to a range of language varieties also allows for a better understanding of the structural range of a language (Tulloch 2005, 16).

Inuit view 'standardization' as a form of assimilation" (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10) and that Inuit are concerned about a loss of their regional speech forms through standardisation (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 1). Aware of past failures, the AIT is attempting to approach standardisation in a non-threatening manner that presents orthographic standardisation as unifying, instead of as a process grounded in preferential selection and associated with compulsory acceptance.

The idea of a "flexible standard", i.e. "one with a sufficient number of permissible alternatives to satisfy various dialectal preferences" (J.A. Fishman quoted in Palluq Cloutier 2014, 138), has been suggested to assuage standardisation's threat to diversity in Inuit speech (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 138, and Tulloch 2005, 25). The AIT Summary Report points out that a different pronunciation could be used for the same symbol, deducing that "the spoken language would not be affected by the adoption of a unified writing system because Inuit would remain free to speak differing dialects, and to continue to adopt regionally specific pronunciation patterns" (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 1). This idea of a flexible pronunciation rejects oral homogeneity, only imposing uniformity on a written level. Yet, this same flexibility in pronunciation has been suggested since the first national standardisation attempt by Lefebvre[24] and was again put forth by the ICI in the 1970s, without either of these orthographies having gained national acceptance (see s. 3.2).

In this era of globalisation and Inuit sovereignty, however, standardisation "is an easier sell now than 20 years ago, because people are seeing the necessity of a common dialect and writing system" (Jose Kusugak quoted in *Nunatsiaq News* 2010). A standard can be viewed as an "addition to […] linguistic repertoire, rather than as a replacement"; that is, it can be an auxiliary variety created specifically for use in the domains that English has traditionally monopolised (Tulloch 2005, 24). "The balance between encouraging use of the language in new domains through standardization and perpetuation of the dialects through respect and tolerance of regional variation is difficult to find" (ibid., 26). A standardised orthography might simply be re-rejected by an Inuit people attached to their local varieties; conversely, if it is accepted, an intralingual

[24] In fact, the illustration used by the AIT for "different sounds alternatives with matching symbols" was the interchanging of "an 'H' sound in some of our communities and an 'S' sound in other communities" (Amaujaq 2015, 1), which was already suggested by Lefebvre in 1957: "We consider that 's' will be understood as 'h' in certain Western dialects" (3).

diglossia may come to replace the interlingual diglossia which is ravaging the Inuit language varieties at present, to the detriment of the less prominent varieties.

Oral communication existed long before written for the Inuit, as it did also for the Qallunaat. Oral literature continues to be highly-valued in Inuit Nunangat and is often expressed through music and film, while "written production in the aboriginal tongue is more journalistic than literary" (Dorais 2010, 206). Oral literature also carries symbolic importance in the struggle to revitalise the Inuit language varieties (ibid., 168) and many older Inuit believe that there should be more effort put towards strengthening the spoken language (Ducharme 2015a). "Orthography follows language, not the other way around. Language has to be comprehended and mastered before the written text can be acquired" (Arnakak 2014, 67). This view demonstrates that writing of the Inuit language varieties continues to be considered as tangential to orality; it remains an "instrument of an instrument" (Raphael 1988, 43). Indeed, the necessity to reconcile the written and spoken forms of the Inuit language varieties to allow writing to directly represent the voice is what led to many of the past regional standardisation efforts (see s. 3.2.2).

The belief in a direct relationship necessarily existing between the written and the spoken Inuit language varieties has led to the conclusion that "proper writing and use of diacritics is essential to proper pronunciation" (Nungak et al. 2012, 130). Harry Tulugaq, however, has noted that he remembers elders in Nunavik reading aloud from a Moravian Bible written in the Roman alphabet of Nunatsiavut using their own Puvirnituq variety (2014, 114). As Tulloch points out "speakers do not abandon their dialects overnight. […] [O]ngoing circumstances may have predisposed speakers to adopt a speech form that carries greater benefits" (2005, 18). A written standard may threaten to invade the mother tongue and covertly assimilate it into its norms; however, loss of spoken variety is not inevitable. If a written system is dissociated from the oral systems and treated as a variety in its own right and for its own specific purposes, it can expand linguistic variation instead of reducing it.

Yet, promotion of a standard language variety through bestowing it with an official status and normalising it through education and translation can result in intralingual diglossia. A standard language is often the sociolect of the dominant class, although its authority can lead it to be considered as the language itself (Hickey 2012, 7, and Schreier 2012, 357). If a written

Standard Inuit Language fulfils the "high" functions currently dominated by English, the use of another writing system could be stigmatised, as could the use of an oral variety which appears to diverge from the written standard. For example, although most native English speakers speak non-standard varieties (Schreier 2012, 355), some varieties that are held in low esteem, such as the Ocracoke Brogue, are increasingly threatened as isolation decreases and access to the standard increases (Tulloch 2005, 31). Further, the institutionalisation of language learning can result in loss of those varieties which are not fostered in the home environment. This, unfortunately, does not bode well for those varieties which are most at risk and which require the greatest support, such as the varieties spoken in Nunatsiavut and in the Inuvialuit Region. A standardised written Inuit language can thus threaten the viability of minority Inuit language varieties continuing to be spoken, much as all of the Inuit language varieties are currently under siege by English.

A written standard would look to usurp the place of English in the domains of science, technology and government, as well as the place of the regional standards used by language professionals, such as teachers, translators and interpreters. Access to such a standard would thus be closely linked to economic advantages, to the disadvantage of those who continue to use the previous writing systems. Approval of standardisation is divided by age, with younger Inuit more supportive of this initiative than their elders (Ducharme 2015a). This is unsurprising, given the potential economic advantage for the youth and a standard's appeal as a modern and supralocal language (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 138) which contrast with the deep attachment that has grown between the older Inuit and their writing systems. Nonetheless, to gain its status as an economically advantageous language variety, a standardised Inuit language variety will need to compete with English, which is not only currently favoured in certain domains within Inuit Nunangat but is also a dominant federal language and a very powerful language on a global scale. Acceptance of a written Standard Inuit Language as both valid and practical by the Inuit is an important prerequisite for such a variety to practicably usurp English's position in Inuit Nunangat.

Linguistic standardisation's success in Kalaallit Nunaat, alongside the potentiality for Inuit Nunangat to draw from their written literary tradition, is a common argument for the standardisation put forth by the AIT (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, Olsen 2014, Grey 2014, Palluq Cloutier 2014, and Quinn 2014). The thriving vitality of Kalaallisut as a whole is enviable for

Inuit Nunangat, with 97% of Kalaallit speaking the indigenous tongue in 2007 compared with 72% of Canadian Inuit in 2006 (Dorais 2010, 236). West Greenlandic is the official language of Kalaallit Nunaat; the use of this variety and its reformed orthography are mandated throughout the country (ibid., 174). Although a resulting decrease in use of the other language varieties is dismissed as a fallacy[25] (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 140), this situation can nonetheless be disadvantageous for speakers of the East Greenlandic or Thule varieties, "who are forced to be bidialectal in order to have full access to work, government, etc." (Tulloch 2005, 24). While flexibility of pronunciation allows for all speakers along the continuum of West Greenlandic varieties to comprehend the central standard, more substantial lexical differences and deviation of pronunciation impedes immediate intelligibility for East Greenlandic and Thule[26] speakers (Peterson 1977, 191-2). "This situation, together with the isolation of the East Greenlandic community, produces a lower level of education" in the eastern region of Kalaallit Nunaat (ibid., 192). Similar fears regarding linguistic imperialism from within Inuit Nunangat have been expressed in the past (see s. 3.2.2).

The AIT has noted that consultations about standardisation need to be "empowering because so much about language, especially in written form has been dictated by the Church with foreign language worldview and influences" (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 8). The AIT further notes that "existing writing systems have been imposed on us. Canadian Inuit now have an opportunity to choose and create our own unified writing system" (Amaujaq NCIE 2015, 2). Past national standardisation efforts were rejected in part because they were seen as coercive attacks on the Inuit language varieties by either the federal government or a larger Inuit region (see s. 3.2.2). Taking the history of linguistic and cultural imperialism that the Inuit have experienced into account, the AIT is emphasising that standardisation can be seen as an opportunity to advance the Inuit language varieties as a whole instead of as posing the threat of assimilating them into a standard language that appears foreign to its own speakers.

[25] Although diverse varieties may continue to be used, elements of the standard may infiltrate them. For example, national indigenous languages in Africa now pose a significant threat to the "little languages" (Hagège 2009, 125). "The prominence of Swahili [in Tanzania] as the official language promoted to cement national unity makes it a source of borrowings, to the extent that even languages belonging to its same genealogical group within the Bantu family draw many neologisms from Swahili, although they could easily construct them […]" (ibid, 126).

[26] Peterson's work *On the West Greenlandic Cultural Imperialism in East Greenland* (1977) does not here make reference to Thule speakers; however, given that Thule is linguistically more divergent from West Greenlandic than East Greenlandic is, his comments appear pertinent to both of these varieties.

Cancel has suggested that resistance to coercive policies and institutional neologisms arises in part from their opposition to the nature of the Inuit's *piqujaq*[27] principle:

> Appliquée à une culture dont les pratiques ne reposent pas sur la coercition mais sur l'incitation, il serait légitime de se demander si cette tension vers la normalisation, mais aussi cette reconnaissance des Inuit bilingues en tant qu'experts, ne serait toutefois pas associées à l'exercice d'une forme de pouvoir (qui sous-entend une violence) symbolique de la part du gouvernement, au travers des professionnels de la langue inuit (2011, 22-3).

The term *piqujaq* ("which is asked to be done [by somebody]") has often been contrasted with *maligaq* ("which is followed [by somebody]", implying "which is asked to be done forcefully") so as to juxtapose "Inuit customary law"[28] with the more coercive written laws of Canadian society (Cancel 2011, II-42 and II-62, and Hervé 2013, 280-1). However, the term *maligaq* is an indigenous term that has long been used to denote rules to be followed[29]; now, its definition has been expanded, thus facilitating the importation of the previously foreign concept of "law" into Inuit society (Hervé 2013, 280-2). Through traditional Inuit terms, such as *piqujaq* and *maligaq*, "Western notions of law may become more accessible to Inuit" (Aupilaarjuk et al., 1999, 1). Similarly, the AIT has recognised the importance of looking for words that better resonate with the people as they attempt to incite standardisation as a desired path to follow, and not a coercive measure that threatens assimilation (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 10).

Elders, as traditional leaders and language experts, have an important role in determining whether the Inuit will choose to follow the path of standardisation. Opponents to standardisation have stated that they desire to "show respect to their ancestors, elders and region" (Survey Respondent quoted in Palluq Cloutier 2014, 151). Regarded as the cultural custodians of the Inuit language varieties (Cancel 2011, 20), elders have long been active participants in the standardisation process, particularly in terminology revival and creation. Even those supportive of an eventual shift to a Roman orthography are concerned that pursuing such a measure at

[27] Cancel defines *piqujaq* as follows: "Appelée *piqujaq*, la règle coutumière inuit est une loi qui se transmet par la parole, qui n'est pas codifiée et qui est formulée la plupart du temps par les parents. Enfreindre cette loi n'entraine pas de sanction lourde dans l'immédiat. Celle-ci est proprement incitative : 'The concept of Inuit customary law always leaves room for error, personal interpretation and personal autonomy. It is therefore considered a flexible system able to deal with specific situations' (Therrien *in* Brice-Bennett 1996 : 140)" (2011, 22).

[28] *Piqujaq*, however, can also be translated as "law" (Schneider 1985, 257). The term *piqujaq* appears to have fallen out of favour in Nunavik (Hervé 2013, 281).

[29] The ability to choose to follow or not was considered by Qumaq to be a defining feature of what it is to be an Inuk (Hervé 2013, 282).

present would be inimical to communication with the monolingual elders who rely solely on syllabics. "A lot of people [are] worried that our elders would no longer communicate with us […]. We do want (Roman orthography) eventually, but it's got to take time. We've got seniors and elders who depend on it" (Suzie Napayok-Short quoted in Burnett 2016). The imminent implementation of new standards could thus leave those people who most rely on the Inuit language for communication without a voice and without the ability to access written information in their own language.

Beyond putting the elders' linguistic rights in jeopardy, standardisation also appears to pose a threat to their eminent authority as language experts since a standard would be taught institutionally and wielded by the youth. However, elders continue to hold a prominent position as language authorities, and the AIT has recognised the need to include them in their work[30] (Amaujaq NCIE 2014, 8). While the adoption of an existing variety might prove prejudicial to speakers of other varieties, as is the case in Kalaallit Nunaat, the creation of a synthetic standard may risk rejection because of its detached artificiality and institutionalisation (Tulloch 2005, 24). In a study on language revitalisation in Corsica, linguist Alexandra Jaffe noted: "Most Corsican speakers do not view 'homogenized' Corsican as 'authentic'. 'Authentic' speech is local speech" (Jaffe 1999, 244). Similarly, instead of dethroning the elders, a standardised language may risk being rejected as inferior to their traditional varieties.

A perceived linguistic authenticity is not only based upon ties to a specific locality; a standard Inuit language variety may also not be accepted or respected because it is linked with modern life and not with being out on the land. Linguistic conservatism is highly valued in Inuit Nunangat, as evidenced in the intralingual hierarchy which already exists in some areas[31] and the preference afforded to the more "traditional" (non-geminated) dialects in selecting a standard in Nunavut[32] (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 151 and 154). Compartmentalisation of the different language

[30] Despite the AIT's good intentions to include the elders, "in Nunavut alone, Inuit, our elders, are hurting because they felt they had not been consulted" (NTI President Cathy Towtongie quoted in Ducharme 2015b).

[31] This does not necessarily apply to the same extent in the Inuvialuit Region since the early influence of English means that consonant assimilation never became the norm (see s. 3.1.2).

[32] Tulloch noted "that speakers in the various Inuktitut-speaking regions are predisposed to accept the North Baffin dialect as a standard", and that this variety has the advantage of being conservative, prestigious, wide-spread and well-documented (2005, 72). In Palluq Cloutier's survey regarding selection of a standard variety, "two South Baffin respondents chose the North Baffin dialect, with one stating that 'their dialect has not changed a whole lot, so I agree with this dialect. […] North Baffin speakers speak very well'" (2014, 151).

varieties may long have existed within Inuit culture, with the men's highly-valued language being associated with the land, the women and children's language with camp life, and the Shamanistic language with religious ceremony. This proposed division still exists today, although it is no longer associated with gender; instead, what was apparently the men's language is now considered to be more traditional while the more geminated language, increasingly adopted as the Inuit became less nomadic, is related with the dynamism of modern life. According to Nunavimmiut in Quaqtaq, their Aboriginal language "cannot by dissociated from *maqainniq* ('going on the land')" and speaking it is a requirement for being a "genuine Inuk (*inutuinnaq*)" (Dorais 1996, 95). Similarly, on Baffin Island (Qikiqtaaluk region in Nunavut), *inungmariktitut* is the language variety spoken by the "complete Inuit". Its speakers are revered for their use of complex words and grammar, while the language itself is valued for its association with traditional life out on the land[33] (Dorais 2010, 267 and 270). The language associated with going out on the land is thus revered as the more "traditional", "genuine" and "complete" Inuit language variety.

Like the English-Inuit diglossia that exists, this conservative-modern tension also risks the loss of Inuit language varieties. In Nunatsiavut, the denunciation of the present-day Inuttitut compared to the variety petrified in Moravian texts is thought to have exacerbated the decline of the vitality of Inuttitut in the region (Dorais 2010, 250-1). In terms of the present "quality" of Inuktitut in Nunavik, concerns have been raised that the youth are speaking an anglicised, truncated, simplistic and erroneous variety[34] (Nungak et al. 2012, 129-33). Similarly, in Nunavut, the language variety used by Iqaluit youth is considered as inferior to the speech of their elders (Tulloch 2005, 18). Since the youth might switch to English to avoid negative judgements about the quality of their assumedly illegitimate language varieties, "the current attitude in Nunavut of absolute respect for the elders' most conservative speech forms is dangerous" (ibid., 18)[35]. The adoption of elements from the valued conservative varieties and the support of the elders could

[33] Three main types of speakers were identified by Nunavummiut on Baffin Island: "those who talk *surusiqtitut* ('like children'), *inuktitummarik* ('completely like human beings'), and *inungmariktitut* ('like complete Inuit')" (Dorais 2010, 267).

[34] The infiltration of English into the Inuit language varieties threatens their specificity since intense language contact can entail a loss of certain linguistic features (Hagège 2009, 215). However, in situations of equality, hybridisation can also be an effective adaptation that allows an innovative language to survive (ibid., 212-5).

[35] One of the benefits of a flexible standard is that it carries a lower risk of hyper-normativity and similar negative attitudes arising towards the non-standardised language varieties (Tulloch 2005, 25).

bestow some traditional prestige and authority to a standard; yet, the institutionalised, non-traditional nature of its creation, its separation from "being out on the land" and its ties with modernity could nonetheless result in the standard being rejected as incapable of expressing genuine Inuitness.

Just as local and conservative language varieties are closely linked to community and ethnic identity, so have orthographies been closely tied to religious and political affiliation:

> […] writing systems have a symbolic importance when adopted by customary usage over the years, similar to adopting a flag to represent a nation. Some writing systems are used as the representations of religious languages that are at the core of denominational practices. Any attempts to change writing systems, then, can be met with reactions that are comparable to those surrounding changes to a flag (Olsen 2014, 94).

The writing systems currently used by the Inuit were introduced by missionaries for ecclesiastical translation, naturally resulting in their direct relationship with religion; as Inuit writing increasingly expands into secular domains, Inuit orthographies have remained as symbolic of this religious affiliation while political ties have also been woven between the writing systems and the four regions (see s. 3.2.2 and s. 4.2). The Inuit thus have a double attachment to their orthographies, both spiritual and land-based, while a standardised orthography would necessarily be secular and supraregional. Instead of representing region and religion, its identity would instead need to be linked to the concept of an autonomous and amalgamated Inuit nation.

At present, English is associated with practicality, as the Inuit language varieties are associated with identity (Dorais 2010, 255). The AIT is looking to forge a written Standard Inuit Language which would be both practical and representative of a national Inuit identity. This national language would need to be capable of fulfilling the modern functions of English, yet without threatening to overpower the regional varieties that act as important identity markers, symbolize ties to distinct histories and allow the Inuit to be linguistically "at home" (Okalik 2014, 11). Globalisation has brought about increased linguistic contact, but this has also entailed the opportunity for increased sharing between communities and regions within Inuit Nunangat and Inuit Nunaat; concurrently, recent translation policies require the Inuit language varieties to take on more modern functions. The situation thus appears propitious for a national

standardisation of the Inuit language varieties as the AIT looks to create a "practical" Inuit language variety that traverses regional and functional boundaries.

In order for Inuit language varieties to vie for linguistic ground in the modern domains that are currently dominated by English, their writing must meet the Qallunaat linguistic standards of the Canadian federation. The AIT is looking to create a national, homogenous and immutable written language reflective of these dominant language ideologies, thus placing a written Standard Inuit Language in the same class as the Indo-European language varieties with which it is competing (Inutiq 2014, 29). A standardised Inuit language variety, divorced from the land and created to express concepts imported from a Qallunaat culture, risks being rejected as a pale imitation of Inuit speech. Yet, this standard could be created not to replace the diverse spoken language varieties but, instead, to fully expand the Inuit language varieties into the written domain. Instead of relegating "authentic" Inuit culture to orality and the past, "a move that anticipates, with regretful certainty, the culture's disappearance in the present" (McCall 2004, 29), a standardised Inuit language could represent the Inuit as the "truly international and 'urbanized' people that [they], in fact, already are" (Arnakak 2014, 71).

Yet, despite the assurance from the AIT that standardisation can be a process of empowerment, and not simply of assimilation, fear of language loss remains acute. To create a standard "flexible" enough to be immediately comprehensible to all speakers appears a Herculean task that may end up counteractive to the idea of a "standard". Moreover, intralingual diglossia risks replacing interlingual diglossia, especially for the minority varieties which require the most support. In Nunatsiavut, where a fifty-year language restoration plan has recently been implemented, the government's Language Coordinator Toni White has stated, "Standardization would jeopardize everything we're trying to do here. How could that be justified to our people? We're only one generation away from the extinction of Inuttut, and we have to save our dialect first" (White quoted in Quinn 2014, 191)[36]. Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated President Cathy Towtongie noted that she believes that the more linguistically secure Nunavut is also "not ready at this time. We want to stabilize our language first and determine for ourselves are we capable either of having syllabics or Roman orthography" (quoted in Ducharme 2015b).

[36] Christine Nochasak, who is the Nunatsiavut member of the AIT, similarly stated that "we are keeping the Labrador dialects the way we speak and write them in each region", although she suggests that an additional communal writing system might be beneficial in the future (2014, 128-9).

Regional standardisation, already underway to varying extents across Inuit Nunangat (see s. 4.2), has been proposed by some Inuit as a way to protect minority language varieties[37] (Palluq Cloutier 2014, 150). Within the territory of Nunavut, this could also result in a Kitikmeot, Kivalliq and Qikiqtaaluk standard; or the "recognition of an Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut standard [which] would seem to be in line with speakers' existing perceptions of boundaries between the dialects, at least in terms of their naming them" (Tulloch 2005, 25).The creation of regional "standard languages" or "standard dialects" could reify and strengthen the linguistic identities which have been forming through the divergent histories that the Inuit have undergone. Linguist Elke Nowak, for example, claims that the orthographies created by the Moravians helped to mould a discrete identity for the Inuit in Nunatsiavut, noting that "ironically enough, what shaped the culture of the Labrador Inuit and helped them to preserve their language separated them from the other speakers of Inuit languages" (1999, 192).

Collaboration between the regions in the creation of terminology and regionally-appropriate pedagogical materials might prove a balance between the practical concerns of the AIT and the anxiety felt by the Inuit populace. In the Inuvialuit Region, for example, two translators/interpreters[38] for each of their three language varieties have worked together to create variety-specific terms that contain a uniform meaning (GNWT, Species at Risk Secretariat 2011, 3-4). Thus, the terminology for "Climate Change", defined in English as "Weather patterns of the earth are changing", is *Hila alaknakhiyok* in Inuinnaqtun (Kangiryuarmiutun), *Sila allangnaqiyuq* in Siglitun and *Hila atlanguqtuq* in Uummarmiutun, all of which signify in Inuvialuktun a change in weather on a large scale (ibid., 7). The regions of Inuit Nunangat might similarly work together to standardise their language varieties in a way that fosters mutual comprehension without any one variety taking precedence.

Although the situation may appear more auspicious now for the creation of a national written standard than it was in the ICI's era, standardisation "has to come from within" (Towtongie quoted in Ducharme 2015b). The recommendations of the AIT may be resisted as an attempt to transform the Inuit from an interpretive, oral culture into a translated, written culture.

[37] Regional standardisation, as well as community-level standardisation, was suggested by respondents to Palluq Cloutier's survey on territorial standardisation (2014, 150).

[38] An elder assisted in the verification of the Uummarmiutun terms; the expected Inuinnaqtun and Siglitun-speaking elders were, unfortunately, unable to attend (GNWT, Species at Risk Secretariat 2011, 4).

Linguistic standardisation and the Inuit culture, however, do not need to be treated as mutually exclusive. The Inuit language and culture are dynamic, and the Inuit have continually adapted to the changing world[39]:

> La culture inuit ne forme pas un tout figé, d'une part parce que l'histoire tend à le démentir, d'autre part parce que, ainsi que le disent les Inuits actuels, sans la formidable aptitude au renouvellement manifestée pas leurs ancêtres, une langue et une culture n'auraient pas pu se transmettre dans la durée (Therrien 1999, 59).

Just as the Inuit continue to adapt to a fluctuating physical environment, so are they adapting to their political and linguistic environment. Whether this adaptation will involve the adoption of national or regional standards will depend upon a consensus between individuals as to whether they will choose to follow or divert from the AIT's path.

[39] For a survey of some of these changes, see Therrien 1999, 59-70.

6. Conclusion

> "Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
> Humpty Dumpty had a great fall:
> All the king's horses and all the king's men
> Couldn't put Humpty together again"
> (Elliott 1875, 30).

The arrival of the Qallunaat has had a significant impact on the Inuit's way of life and way of speaking. The Inuit language varieties have gone from functioning within a "linguistic vacuum" to participating in a "multilingual area" (Dorais 2010, 215) where the Inuit language varieties are competing to survive within a country and a world increasingly dominated by Qallunaat culture and the English language. Language policies have recently been put into place throughout Inuit Nunangat to counteract the past non-translation policy of the federal government. In their aim to support the Inuit language varieties in a multilingual environment, these policies decree the necessity of translation; concurrently, standardisation is increasingly being perceived as an effective method to ensure the fulfilment of these policies and to support the Inuit language varieties through a respected standard.

Standardisation has been intrinsically linked with translation into the Inuit language varieties since the missionaries first began working to convert the Shamanistic Inuit into Christians by introducing the Inuit's oral culture to their form of graphism. Standardisation was implemented to ease this conversion, as the missionaries codified and elaborated the Inuit language varieties which they rearranged into discrete entities. This view of standardisation as a tool to ease translation was later adopted by the federal government and the ITK in their unsuccessful attempts to create a unified writing system for all of Inuit Nunangat. As modern translation policies require the Inuit language varieties to compete with English and French, regional governments continue to work towards creating standardised writing systems through additional codification and elaboration. Now, the AIT hopes to further this standardisation through the selection of a singular system that can compete with the Qallunaat language of English, which currently poses a threat to the vitality of the language varieties of Inuit Nunangat.

Translation has not only acted as an impetus to standardise the Inuit language varieties but can also be conceived as a mechanism for implementing standardisation. With Inuit language translations outstripping Inuit language originals, translators are central agents in determining the

norms of the written varieties. Their individual selection of a language variety and a writing system works towards promoting acceptance of these choices as the standard, while translator and interpreter conferences and forums work towards creating standardised terminology. A translator's decision to adopt institutionalised neologisms can also help to normalise this terminology; conversely, divergent, individual terminological creation can encourage the traditional elaboration of the Inuit language varieties that is innate to their polysynthetic nature.

In Inuit Nunangat, translation has thus played a dual role in linguistic standardisation. Standardisation has been called upon to ease interlingual translation; the resulting translations have been a means to both spread and defy the standardisation that has occurred. Selection of the language to be standardised has been affected by which variety is being translated into and thus codified. Codification has been implemented to allow for translations to be effectively made and understood by an audience taught to decipher new forms of graphism. This education has helped foster acceptance of the standardised variety, as has the proliferation of the translations themselves. Translators have also elaborated the Inuit language varieties, with institutional terminology creation working towards creating a unified terminology that could be consistently used by translators and other language professionals.

The unification of the Inuit language varieties through standardisation has been viewed as a method to remove the need for intralingual translation in Inuit Nunangat. In the past, however, standardisation has also proven a divisive act. When the missionaries began to translate their Christian texts into the Inuit language varieties, they also began to independently standardise these language forms. This split the Inuit into different orthographic camps according to religious affiliation, and the federal government's attempt at rearranging the Inuit language varieties into a single written standard aligned with Kalaallisut had little impact on undoing this division. The idea of a national standard was nonetheless taken up again by the ITK in the 1970s; instead of uniting the Inuit, however, the ICI dual orthography ended up reinforcing the orthographic divide as it favoured certain varieties and was perceived as a form of linguistic imperialism. As the Inuit work towards attaining self-governance across Inuit Nunangat following their land claims, the separate governments have been independently working towards standardisation within their own territories, thus acknowledging the boundaries between language varieties as the speech of their constituents are politically defined as regional languages.

The AIT's proposal of a new, unified writing system to be used across Inuit Nunangat has already been spurned by language authorities in Nunatsiavut as counterproductive to their efforts to revitalise their regional speech, which has undergone rapid atrophy ever since Nunatsiavut became a part of the Canadian federation. A new standard thus appears to risk developing into a repeat of the ITK's past endogenous standardisation attempt. Yet, the situation appears more favourable for linguistic standardisation now than at that time. The Inuit are increasingly gaining political and linguistic autonomy as land claims and self-governance agreements are signed; the resulting translation policies that they are putting in place have already brought about a certain level of regional standardisation as the Inuit language varieties take on new challenges in political, technological and educational domains. The AIT is now actively working towards demonstrating that standardisation can be an empowering action as the Inuit regain control over their own language varieties and decide for themselves their future within a multilingual world.

During the era preceding the federal government's intervention, the language of the Inuit was the dominant language in Inuit Nunangat since the Qallunaat who arrived on their shores typically adopted this language (Cancel 2011, 113). As the missionaries translated their texts into the Inuit language varieties for their own purposes of religious conversion, however, they began a standardisation process which resulted in an interlingual diglossia based upon the presumed superiority of the written word (ibid., 77-94). As the Inuit language varieties were recorded in a static written form, the allophone missionaries also assumed authority over them: they determined their standards and began teaching the Inuit their own language[1] (ibid., 77).

The robust dominance of the Inuit language varieties was overturned in the 20th century, notably through the introduction of education in the English language. This began first in the west, with the establishment of English-speaking missionary schools, and the trend soon spread eastwards as the federal government attempted to linguistically and culturally assimilate the Inuit (Dorais 2010, 193-4 and 221-2). The English language was supported as the language of the future, to the significant detriment of the Inuit language varieties, especially in the far west (the Inuvialuit Region and western Nunavut) and the far east (Nunatsiavut). The damage to the Inuit

[1] This presumption of authority appears especially misplaced given the tendency for a native speaker of a language to "lower their standards of expression" and refrain from criticising a second-language speaker, along with the Inuit's inability to correct this new and unfamiliar Qallunaat orthography (Elke Nowak in Cancel 2011, 77).

language varieties, however, lies not only in a direct loss of vitality, but also in the lingering loss of their status, and this has entailed a diglossia that persists in Inuit Nunangat today.

The Inuit, however, have adapted to this situation by using the English language to fight for their intrinsic right to their lands and their governance. The federal government's meagre attempt at standardisation for administrative reasons was soon taken up by the Inuit for their own purposes through their newly-minted national organisation, the ITK. This national standardisation was overturned; the orthographic creations of the previous century had become a part of the Inuit's history and identity. Nonetheless, despite some resistance relating to religious affiliation, the Inuit succeeded in working within the confines of these orthographic alliances to better align their written language varieties with their spoken ones. Now, as the four regions of Inuit Nunangat are regaining their autonomy, the Inuit are attempting to dethrone English as a dominant language in their lands. Regional standardisation is currently underway to support the use of Inuit language varieties, particularly in institutionalised domains. The AIT is now calling upon the Inuit to demonstrate the strength of their collaboration and adaptability by working towards the establishment of a single writing system that can be used in all of Inuit Nunangat

The elected Inuit and territorial governments have been acquiring the legislated power to ensure the vitality of their language varieties for the years to come, and the creation of a supralocal, written standard has emerged as an issue central to their efforts (see Palluq Cloutier and McComber 2014). Standardisation "is widely held as an index of language vitality" (Tulloch 2005, 3); yet, it does not guarantee revitalisation and may even prove detrimental to language vitality, "especially if it is not carried out with the active participation of speakers and [with] close attention to their needs and interests" (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003, 464). Aware of past resistance to a coercive standard, the AIT has been cautiously approaching the issue of standardisation as this task force seeks to find the balance between promoting a standard that can fulfil the traditionally Qallunaat language functions and preserving oral diversity. The Inuit language varieties also have a deep-seated and complex relationship with the land and standardisation itself can be construed as contrary to the innate "Inuitness" of the traditional Inuit language varieties. Yet, the Inuit identity and language cannot be divorced from their rapidly changing political and social landscape; it is in this era of globalisation that the Inuit must themselves choose how to define their language varieties so as to reflect both their histories and their futures.

The Inuit language varieties have long demonstrated their ability to adapt to changing circumstances, as has their oral literature. The tale of the Sea Woman with the Dog Husband which Orulo recounted to Rasmussen is but one version of this fluid tale of origins. This history traditionally accounted for the origins of the Sea Woman and/or the sea mammals; yet, when the Qallunaat arrived, an explanation as to their genesis was incorporated into this tale as the Inuit's oral literature adapted to these new circumstances (Sonne 1990, 3 and 5). The history of translation with the Inuit language varieties is still being composed. The Inuit are charting out a path for their future from within a Qallunaat-dominated world, as they contemplate how they might translate the concept of a standard language into Inuit terms and whether that might be incorporated into the diverse linguistic environment of Inuit Nunangat.

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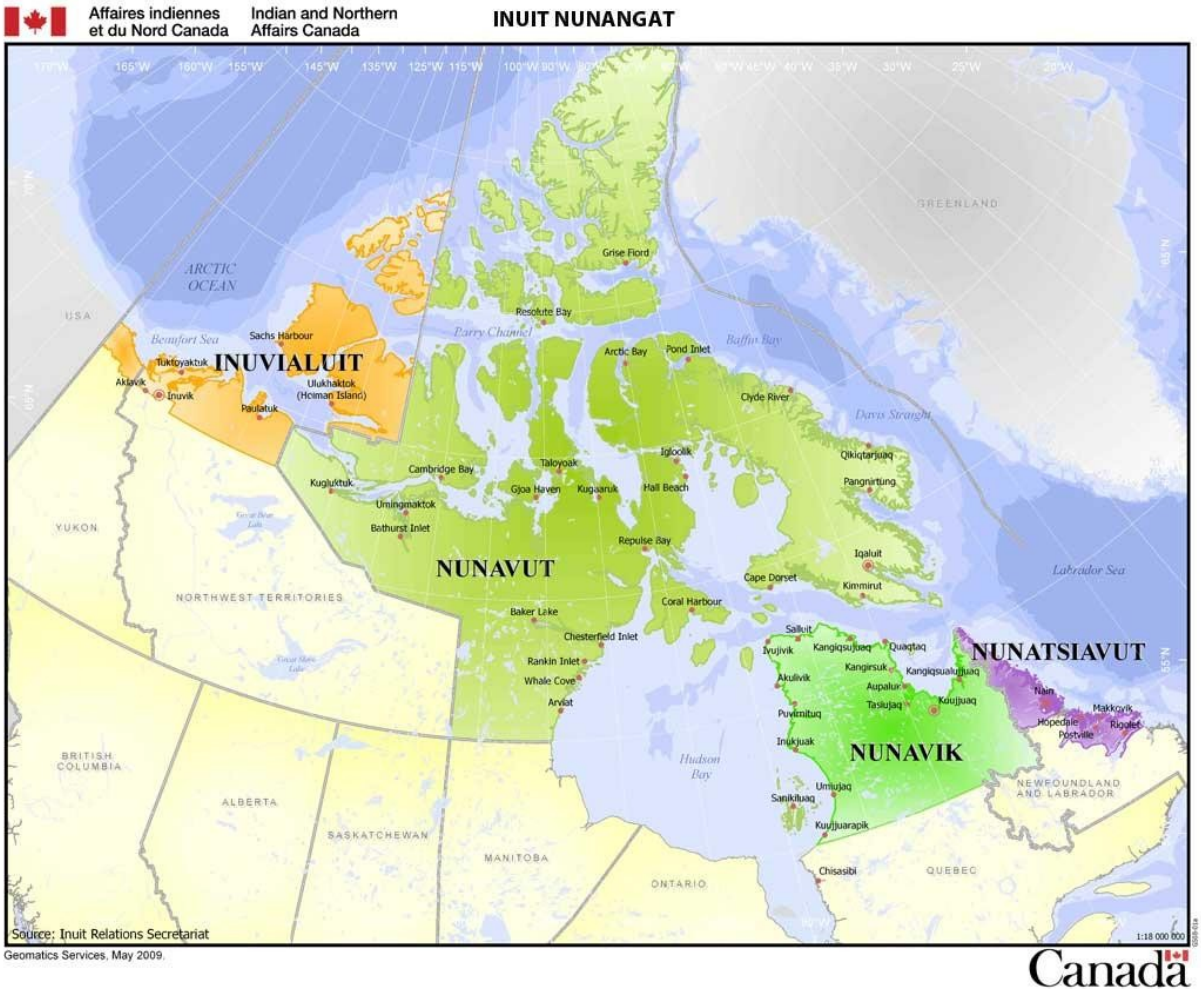
Appendix 1: Map of Inuit Nunangat



Source: Canada, INAC (2010c).

Appendix 2: Linguistic Breakdown of the Inuit Language

Group	*Subgroup*	*Dialect*	*Subdialect*
Greenlandic Kalaallisut	Greenlandic	E. Greenland	Sermilik
			Ammassalik
		W. Greenland	Southern
			Central
			Northern
			Upernavik
	Polar	Thule	-
Eastern Canadian Inuktitut	Québec-Labrador	Nunatsiavut	Rigolet
			N. Labrador
		Nunavik	Tarramiut
			Itivimiut
	Baffin	South Baffin	Southeast
			Southwest
		North Baffin	Tununirmiut
			Iglulingmiut
	Kivalliq	Aivilik	Southampton
			Rankin Inlet
		Kivalliq	Qairnirmiut
			Hauniqturmiut
			Paallirmiut
			Ahiarmiut
Western Canadian Inuktun		Natsilingmiutut	Natsilik
			Arviligjuaq
			Utkuhiksalik
		Inuinnaqtun	Cambridge Bay
			Bathurst
			Kugluktuk
			Holman
		Siglitun	-
Alaskan Inupiaq	N. Alaskan Iñupiaq	North Slope	Uummarmiut
			Anaktuvuk
			Point Barrow
			Common North Slope
		Malimiutun	Kotzebue
			Kobuk
	Seward	Qawiaraq	Fish River
			Teller
		Bering Strait	King Island
			Wales
			Diomede

Source: Dorais (2010, 28-9).

Appendix 3: Orthographies of Inuit Nunangat[1]

Region (Inuit Organisation)	*Group*	*Subgroup*	*Dialect*	*Subdialect*	*Common Name*	*Official Orthography*
Nunatsiavut (Nunatsiavut Government)	Eastern Canadian Inuktitut	Québec-Labrador	Nunatsiavut	Rigolet N. Labrador	Inuttitut[2]	Nunatsiavut Inuit Standardised Spelling System
Nunavik (Makivik Corporation)			Nunavik	Tarramiut Itivimiut	Inuktitut[3]	Avataq Standard (ai-pai syllabics)
Nunavut (Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.)		Baffin	South Baffin	Southeast Southwest		ICI Standard Syllabics (*Qaniujaaqpait)*
			North Baffin	Tununirmiut Iglulingmiut		
		Kivalliq	Aivilik	Southampton Rankin Inlet		
			Kivalliq	Qairnirmiut Hauniqturmiut Paallirmiut Ahiarmiut		
	Western Canadian Inuktun	(Western Canadian Inuktun)	Natsilingmiutut	Natsilik Arviligjuaq Utkuhiksalik		
			Inuinnaqtun	Cambridge Bay Bathurst Kugluktuk	Inuinnaqtun	ICI Standard Roman Script (*Qaliujaaqpait)*
Inuvialuit (Inuvialuit Regional Corporation)	Alaskan Inupiaq	N. Alaskan Iñupiaq	Siglitun North Slope	Holman (Siglitun) Uummarmiut	Inuvialuktun	Inuvialuit standard (Roman script)

[1] The language grouping is based off of Dorais' Table I "Eskaleut languages and dialects" (2010, 28-9).

[2] "Inuttut", the singular of "Inuttitut", is also used, notably in the Labrador Inuit Constitution.

[3] In Nunavik, the consonant-geminated form "Inuttitut" is also used, notably in the Inuktitut (ᐃᓄᖏᑎᑦ) version of their website (Makivik Corporation 2015).

Appendix 4: Policies of Inuit Nunangat

Lands		*Government*		*Legislative Agreement*		*Agreement Governing Language Policy*			*Governing Bodies for Languages*
		Name	*Type*	*Name*	*Date*	*Name*	*Date*	*Recognised Languages*	
Nunatsiavut (Labrador Inuit lands)		Nunatsiavut Government	Inuit	*Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*, SC 2005, c 27[1]	In force: December 1, 2005	The Labrador Inuit Constitution	December 1, 2005	English and Inuttut	Nunatsiavut Government's Department of Culture, Language and Tourism – Torngâsok Cultural Centre
Nunavik (Northern Québec)	Current	Kativik Regional Government, Kativik School Board, Nunavik Regional Board of Health and Social Services[2]	Inuit	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA)[3] *Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement Act*, SC 2008, c 2	Signed: November 11, 1975 In force: January 27, 1977 July 10, 2008	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA)	Signed: November 11, 1975 In force: January 27, 1977	French, Inuttituut[4] and English	Avataq Cultural Institute – Inuktitut Language Department
	Proposed	Proposed Nunavik Regional Government[5]	Inuit	To be determined	To be determined	To be determined	To be determined	Proposition of Inuktitut, English and French	Proposed Inuit Language Commission or Inuktitut Language Authority

[1] The Inuit were represented by the Labrador Inuit Association for this land claim which counts Anglo-Saxon Settlers amongst the Inuit.

[2] The JBNQA also mandated the creation of the non-governmental Makivik Corporation to represent the Inuit and oversee use of their financial compensation.

[3] The Inuit were represented by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association. The JBNQA, enacted under the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act*, SC 1976-77, c 32 (CanLII), was amended in 1978 by the Northeastern Quebec Agreement to include the Naskapi Band of Kawawachikamach.

[4] In the JBNQA, the Inuit language of Nunavik is designated as Inuttituut, although it is more commonly referred to as Inuktitut or Inuttitut. The Cree language was also recognised for the Cree territory.

[5] An Agreement-in-Principle to create the Nunavik Regional Government was signed on December 5, 2007; however, the proposed Final Agreement on the Creation of the Nunavik Regional Government was voted against in a referendum on April 27, 2011. A new agreement has yet to be reached.

Nunavut	Government of Nunavut	Territorial[6]	*Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act*, SC 1993, c 29 *Nunavut Act*, SC 1993, c 28	In force: July 9, 1993 Current version: May 21, 2004 In force: April 1, 1999 Current version: February 26, 2015	*Official Languages Act*, SNu 2008, c 10 [replaces RSNWT (Nu) 1988, c 0-1] *Inuit Language Protection Act*, SNu 2008, c 17	In force: April 1, 2013 Current version: September 23, 2013 (original *OLA* adopted April 1, 1999) In force: September 1, 2009 Current version: April 1, 2013	Inuit (Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut), English and French	Government of Nunavut's Department of Culture and Heritage – Official Languages and Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit Languages Commissioner of Nunavut
Inuvialuit Region (Inuit lands of north-western Canada) Current	Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT)[7]	Territorial[8]	Inuvialuit Final Agreement (*Western Arctic [Inuvialuit] Claims Settlement Act*, SC 1984, c 24)	In force: July 25, 1984 Current version: April 1, 2003	*Official Languages Act,* RSNWT 1988, c O-1, and Official Languages Policy and Guidelines	In force: December 31, 1990 Current version: July 2, 2004 Policy: January 1998 Guidelines: August 1997	English, French, Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun[9]	GNWT's Minister Responsible for Official Languages Languages Commissioner of the NWT
Inuvialuit Region (Inuit lands of north-western Canada) Proposed	Proposed Inuvialuit Government	Inuit	Proposed Inuvialuit Self-Government Agreement[10]	To be determined	To be determined	To be determined	Inuvialuktun, English and French	To be determined

[6] Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) represents the Inuit within the territory.

[7] There are no Inuit communities within the Yukon, although the northernmost tip is Inuvialuit land.

[8] The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation (IRC) represents the Inuit.

[9] The GNWT has eleven official languages, with services according to "designated areas" (GNWT, Official Languages Unit 1997). As such, I have included only the language varieties indigenous to the region along with the territorially mandated English and French. The other official languages are Inuktitut, and several tongues belonging to the Dene and Cree. The majority of Inuktitut speakers live in Yellowknife, which is in Dene territory (GNWT, ECE 2015c, under "NWT Official Aboriginal Languages").

[10] The Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, the GNWT and the Government of Canada reached an Agreement-in-Principle on July 21, 2015.

Appendix 5: Inuit First and Home Languages

1 Region		2 Principal Language Variety	3 Total Population	4 Inuit Population	5 Inuit First Language	6 % of Inuit with Inuit First Language	7 Inuit Home Language	8 % of Inuit First Language with Home Language
Nunatsiavut		Inuttitut	2 906	2 535	505	20[1]	130	26
Nunavik		Inuktitut	10 784	9 640	9 515	99	8 985	94
Nunavut	Qikiqtaaluk	Inuktitut	15 760	12 605	11 915	94	10 175	85
	Kivalliq	Inuktitut	8 348	7 515	6 740	90	4 910	73
	Kitikmeot	Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut[2]	5 340	4 785	2 355	49	720	31
Inuvialuit Region		Inuvialuktun	5 635	2 743	552	20	130	24
TOTAL			48 773	39 823	31 582	79	25050	79

Source: Adapted from Dorais (2010, 293-295). Data from the Canadian census of 2006[3].

[1] In Nunatsiavut, Anglo-Saxon Settlers are counted amongst the Inuit and comprise a significant portion of the population. There is also a considerable Inuit population in Happy Valley-Goose Bay (Dorais 2010, 295).

[2] The linguistically defined varieties are Natsilingmiutut and Inuinnaqtun, which both fall under the Western Canadian Inuktun language group; however, the Natsilingmiutut variety uses the ICI syllabic writing system and is often named as Inuktitut by its speakers. The Kitikmeot Inuit Association states: "There are two Inuit languages in the Kitikmeot, Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut. Inuinnaqtun is spoken in the western Kitikmeot communities […]. Eastern Kitikmeot communities […], primarily descendants of the Netsilik Inuit, speak Inuktitut" (KIA 2016).

[3] The data collected in the 2006 census can be considered to be more reliable than that collected in the voluntary 2011 census (Inutiq 2014, 23).