From Turtle Island to France:

The *Kanata* Controversy and Decolonial Translation Practices

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ABSTRACT

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In 2018, Québécois playwright Robert Lepage and the French stage director Ariane Mnouchkine were in the spotlight of a transatlantic controversy over their theatrical coproduction entitled *Kanata*. While Anglophone and Francophone news outlets in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France tended to explain away the controversy in terms of a conflict between cultural appropriation and artistic freedom of expression, this thesis alters that discourse by re-articulating the controversy in more complexity from a translation studies perspective. The first sequence focuses on the evolution and production of the plays *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* to stimulate reflection on what might constitute decolonial theatre translation and/or adaptation practices. The second sequence shifts focus onto the transatlantic media controversy. Selected publications produced by news outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France are analyzed to outline their differential writing practices. Subsequently, I chart out the conditions of possibility of these writing practices by examining them within their contexts of production. This is followed by a comparison of Indigenous, settler and European receptions of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*. The divergent writing practices and discursive lacunae that are traced out between the contexts of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France are attributed to knowledge gaps in France on Indigenous Peoples and the history of settler colonialism in

the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context. The third and last sequence seeks to respond to these knowledge gaps with decolonial translation flow models and guidelines for decolonial and decolonizing translation practices in effort to consolidate Indigenous-settler solidarity politics and alter social consciousness around these issues in France.

RÉSUMÉ

From Turtle Island to France:

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En 2018, le dramaturge québécois Robert Lepage et la metteuse en scène française Ariane Mnouchkine se sont retrouvés au cœur d'une controverse transatlantique centrée sur leur coproduction *Kanata*. Alors que les médias anglophones et francophones au Québec/Canada/Île de la Tortue et en France tendaient à expliquer la controverse par une analyse en termes de conflit entre l'appropriation culturelle et la liberté d'expression artistique, la présente recherche modifie ce discours en réarticulant la controverse dans sa complexité d'un point de vue traductologique. Dans un premier temps, la recherche se focalise sur l'évolution et la production des pièces de théâtre *Kanata* et *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* dans le but de susciter la réflexion sur la constitution des pratiques de traduction et d'adaptation décoloniales des œuvres de théâtre. Dans un deuxième temps, la recherche réoriente l'attention sur la controverse médiatique transatlantique. Je soumets une sélection de publications journalistiques produites par des médias au Québec/Canada/Île de la Tortue et en France à une analyse discursive afin d'exposer leurs différentes pratiques d'écriture. Ensuite, je résume certaines conditions de possibilité de ces pratiques d'écriture en les analysant dans le contexte de leur production. Cette analyse est suivie par une comparaison des réceptions de *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* par les autochtones, allochtones[1] et Européens. Les pratiques d'écriture et

[1] settlers

les lacunes discursives entre le Québec/Canada/Île de la Tortue et la France sont attribués à des écarts de connaissance en France quant aux peuples autochtones et à l'histoire du colonialisme de peuplement dans le contexte de Québec/Canada/Île de la Tortue. Dans un troisième et dernier temps, la recherche vise à répondre aux écarts de connaissance en proposant des modèles de flux de traduction décoloniaux et en fournissant des pistes décoloniales et décolonisatrices pour la pratique de la traduction dans le but de consolider l'esprit solidaire entre les autochtones et allochtones/colons dans les luttes politiques et de conscientiser la France sur ces luttes et enjeux.

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The present thesis was researched and written in Tiohtià:ke, a historic gathering place for many First Nations, on unceded Indigenous lands that have been claimed as a homeland, traditional territory or birthplace by many Indigenous Peoples. In particular, the Kanien'kehá:ka have had a long historic relationship to these lands and are today recognized for their role as the stewards of the lands and waters upon which the population of Tiohtià:ke gather. It is important that these connections between the past, present and future be recognized and respected in ongoing relationships with the diverse population of Indigenous Peoples and settlers that now reside on these lands.[2] During the 2020 year, many gatherings have taken place to protect lands and waters in Tiohtià:ke and across Turtle Island. Earlier this year, settlers and Indigenous Peoples joined together in the streets, at encampments and rail blockades in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en whose lands were invaded by a militarized group of RCMP intending to force a pipeline through Wet'suwet'en traditional territory. In recent months, there have been gatherings throughout Tiohtià:ke in solidarity with 1492 Land Back Lane and Kanehsatà:ke, where struggles against settler colonialism, land development, expropriation and destruction have been playing out for decades.[3] It is in this spirit of solidarity between Indigenous

[2] I have based this land acknowledgement on the territorial acknowledgement authored by Waháhshon Shiann Whitebean, Dr. Karl S. Hele and Dr. Louellyn White agreed upon and passed by the Indigenous Directions Leadership Group for Concordia University.

[3] Six Nations of the Grand River, implicated in the 1492 Land Back Lane struggle, have filed 29 land claims: http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/csFiledClaims.htm. Ellen Gabriel from Kanehsatà:ke has written on continued struggles with the town of Oka since the Siege of Kanehsatà:ke (Oka Crisis) in 1990: https://sovereignvoices1.wordpress.com/2020/10/13/still-our-land/

Peoples, settlers, lands and waters that I have undertaken the work of this thesis.

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My thanks also go out to my friends Kiegan Irish, Emily Enhorning, Jessica Szarek, William Vallières, Daniel Dumas and Karim Chagnon for fruitful conversations. I am especially grateful to Kiegan Irish with whom I have been working on the podcast *The Poplar Tapes* since its inception in 2019. Thank you to all the contributors to the podcast who have helped maintain this creative space for reflection and thought to this

[4] Big thanks/Thank you very much in Kanien'kéha

date, including Dan Boos, Mike Fong, Jacob Irish, Alex Edwards, Anna Bishop and Patrick Case.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

I. Introduction

One of the most pressing and important existential questions that defines the contemporary life of settlers in Canada today is whether or not it is possible to live ethically as a settler in a settler colonial society built upon Indigenous lands. This existential question is one that concerns settlers in particular and it has no simple or straightforward answer, certainly none that can be determined by a settler alone. Although it is not the central research question to this thesis, it is an implicit question that runs throughout this work, given that research and translation practices embody ways of living and that settler translators translate in a settler colonial context. It is also a question that pertains to one of the major foci of this research project. In this work, I carry out a case study on a transatlantic media controversy that broke out in 2018 over a theatrical coproduction between Québécois playwright Robert Lepage and French theatre director Ariane Mnouchkine. I approach this case study from three main angles in order to shed light on the controversy itself and how a translation studies perspective can provide critical insights into the complexity of this transatlantic dispute. The research question that I attempt to answer in this thesis is as follows: in what ways can we understand Robert Lepage and Ariane Mnouchkine's play *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*, along with the transatlantic media controversy that broke out around its original version *Kanata*, as issues that concern translation, and how can translation respond to these issues in a way that could fruitfully serve Indigenous-settler solidarity politics?

I formulate a response to this question throughout the chapters that follow. In the current chapter, I provide context to the importance of this research topic, as well as a

summary of each consecutive chapter. To begin, the importance of this research topic can be ascertained by situating it within a broader contemporary political, social and historical context – namely, that of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous decolonial politics. Although Indigenous resistance, grassroots political organizing and decolonial efforts are not new, it seems that only in more recent years have the realities of Canada's colonial past and present gained visibility within a Canadian settler public. Historical events, movements and processes, such as the Siege of Kanehsatà:ke (1990), the #IdleNoMore movement (2012-present), Orange Shirt Day (2013-present), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015) have no doubt contributed to this visibility in recent years. What has accompanied movements to Indigenize and decolonize various sectors of Canadian settler colonial society is a new vocabulary and praxis for understanding the history of Canada, the place of settlers on these lands and for raising questions about the futurity of this nation's politics and Indigenous-settler relations. I aim to cultivate reflection on the relationship between translation, language, decolonization, decoloniality and Indigenization by situating my research project within the historical current of Indigenous-settler solidarity politics as a contribution to the push for decolonization, decolonial efforts and alternative political futures as a translation studies scholar and as a settler on these lands.

In chapter two, I provide an outline of the methodology, theoretical underpinnings and organizing principles that structure and give meaning to my thesis. Chapter three provides a historical survey of the origins of *Kanata*, its production process, the media controversy, the play's cancellation and the revival of *Kanata* in its new form *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*. This survey is followed by a summary of salient parts of the

storyline of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* and draws lessons from the controversy in the form of a reflection on possible decolonial and Indigenized practices for theatre translation/adaptation. In this way, the summary and critique I carry out in chapter three outlines ways in which *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* can be understood through the lens of translation studies.

Chapter four expands on chapter three by changing angles and shifting focus from the play to the media controversy. This is followed by another shift from the media controversy to the play's reception. These two shifts form the two main sections of chapter four – a media discourse analysis and comparative reception. In the first main section, I analyze Francophone and Anglophone articles published by news outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France on the subject of *Kanata* with special focus on convergent and/or divergent writing practices between each language sphere and geopolitical context. I apply decolonial theories from Linda Tuhiwai Smith and principles of Indigenous writing from Gregory Younging to the media discourse analysis in order to identify emergent or absent Indigenized/decolonial writing practices in the media articles studied. The writing practices that are found in the media discourse analysis are then studied in relation to their contexts of production in order to comprehend historical, social, political, economic and material processes and factors that shaped them. In this regard, they are considered ways of speaking/writing subject to a set of historical circumstances specific to place. The second main section compares the receptions of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* by Indigenous, settler and European publics. The findings of this chapter, which rely on a combination of history, reception studies, settler studies theory, decolonial theory, and principles of Indigenous writing practices, trace out

knowledge gaps in public consciousness in France when it comes to matters concerning settler colonialism and Indigenous-settler politics. These knowledge gaps, I argue, can be understood as transdiscursive lacunae that could be partially counteracted through translation and the cross-pollination of ideas between the French and English languages and the geopolitical contexts of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France.

Chapter five builds on chapter four by proposing a translation flow model that could respond to the knowledge gaps in France's public consciousness in effort to transform its ecologies of reception and sense of political and social relationality to Indigenous Peoples and Canadian settler history and society. After providing a set of arguments that illustrate the possible advantages of this translation flow model, I compile a number of guidelines on and examples of decolonial, Indigenized and decolonizing translation practices that could support Indigenous language revitalization efforts and/or help build Indigenous-settler solidarity politics in the French and English languages.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY AND THEORY

I. Introduction

To proceed, it is important to elucidate on what exactly is meant by the two terms "discourse" and "discourse analysis." This is important because certain underlying assumptions that structure notions of discourse as social practice and its relationship to power are critical to my understanding of language and translation in this thesis. Furthermore, it is necessary because I carry out a media discourse analysis in chapter four. The task can appear daunting knowing there exists no unanimous consensus on

what constitutes a concise definition of "discourse" and "discourse analysis." In fact, these two terms encompass a range of theories, disciplines and approaches that is simply too broad to account for in its entirety. Fortunately, however, many researchers have made contributions to the field of discourse analysis with the intent of providing a cursory map. In the ensuing pages, I draw forth a few of such contributions that can serve as guideposts for understanding the use of these terms in this thesis.

II. Discourse

According to Mary-Pat O'Malley's "Discourse" in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Human Communication Sciences and Disorders,* there are three general perspectives that one can take on the term "discourse." The first involves a formal and linguistics-oriented approach that emerged in the 1950s and sees discourse as that which concerns "language above the level of the sentence" (O'Malley 2019, 4). This approach focuses predominantly on the linguistic elements that structure texts – lines of inquiry might include "how do sentences and clauses work together? How do they affect the movement of meaning?" To answer these questions, researchers are inclined to employ the disciplinary language of linguistics (propositions, nouns, pronouns, substantives, phatic expressions, subordinate clauses, cohesive devices, etc) in the study and analysis of textual structure.

The second perspective sees discourse as "language in use." In other words, discourse concerns how people use language in specific social contexts. The social context of an utterance helps inform an analyst or reader what a piece of language can mean. This second perspective tends towards analyses that are situation-specific. As O'Malley writes:

> The idea is that discourse plays a role in creating and sustaining social practices, where chains of actions are carried out over and over again…in the same kinds of situations involving the same kinds of people…in this perspective, a question of interest is how discourse is used to help create and maintain practices that exert control over individuals and society as a whole (O'Malley 2019: 4).

For example, in North America it is common to be greeted by an employee upon entering a store selling commercial goods. On a superficial level, one might deduce that the employee's greeting is a genuine act of politeness. However, given the context of the utterance, the greeting simultaneously functions to produce and uphold public relations and brand image. The employee's speech act is in fact multifunctional. These functions and effects of the employee's speech act can be independent of the employee's own personal intentions. Another example is the common question, "Can I help you find anything?" This speech act can function to speed up and facilitate the process of consumption and the accumulation of capital. The speech act is therefore multifunctional in that it can help a customer find a product, while also upholding brand image and fulfilling the logic of capital accumulation integral to business ontology.

The third perspective on discourse is the idea of language as social practice and social construct. As opposed to focusing on the linguistic devices that string together and structure the sentences of a text or on situation-specific uses of language, this perspective understands discourse in much broader terms as systems of thought, knowledge and power that are enmeshed in political, religious, spiritual, cultural, historical, social and economic structures. The way that one writes, speaks or communicates in other mediums (i.e., Braille, sign language, film, visual art, etc) is profoundly shaped by interactive

traditions of fields of discourse – medical, political, scientific, religious, legal, sexual, racial, etc – and social practices that have been developed and institutionalized over time. It is through these discourses, distributed across various contexts and coordinated through different historical junctures (ex: law, criminality, judicial systems, policing, carceral systems) that certain forms of social and political organization, subject formations, social identities, power relations and many other forms of life emerge, endure and/or disappear.

Discourse is inextricable from power, as it is through the production of a myriad of discourses that power relations, which circulate through the fine meshes of intersecting micro-political and macro-political webs, can be produced anew or reproduced. Through the interactivity of discourses and modes of life over time, changes in discourse can transform – in some cases radically – the systems of truth, power relations, and entire ways of knowing, seeing, speaking and writing that define the worlds in which human beings reside. For example, world-historical processes of imperialism and colonization, which provided an impetus to the historical forces shaping early Industrial Revolutions that unfolded in Europe, both intertwined multiple regimes of discourse (racial, colonial, scientific, technical, sovereign, etc) and provided the conditions of possibility for the transition from feudal society to capitalism through Europe, radically transforming the discourses, systems of knowledge, modes of living, seeing, speaking and writing, and power relations that had formerly structured societies, populations and global relations.

III. Discourse Analysis

i. Preliminary Definition

Discourse analysis is about as broad and diverse as discourse itself, given there is no singular methodology or approach to discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a highly

interdisciplinary research and analytical practice. Numerous tomes have been published that provide outlines on discourse analysis and the diverse range of its applications.[5] The discourse analysis that I have designed for this research project is applied to three corpora of either Anglophone or Francophone media publications produced by news outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France. In the next several subsections, I lay out the design of my media discourse analysis in greater detail.

ii. Media Discourse Analysis Design

The media discourse analysis I carry out is divided into two main sections. The first section compares how non-Indigenous peoples were portrayed in bare-bones descriptions of *Kanata* in publications from a variety of media sources, which can be found in the subsection on media outlets. During my research, I noticed a peculiar writing practice in Anglophone media publications that does not surface in the Francophone publications and I inquire into its translation-oriented significance. The second section focuses on representations of Indigenous Peoples in the corpora I have built and it is divided into two parts: 1) Misnomers, Misspellings and Inappropriate Terms and 2) Indigenized Writing Practices. The first part involves the analysis of a collection of terms and word pairings found in publications produced by France-based news outlets that demonstrate the absence of an Indigenized and/or settler social consciousness in the writing practices. The second part applies Linda Tuhiwai Smith's notions of Indigenizing and representing and principles four and twelve from Gregory Younging's book *Elements of Indigenous Style*. Based on the findings of the analysis, I argue that Tuhiwai Smith and

[5] For example, Munday and Zhang's *Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies* (2017), Saldanha and O'Brien's *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies* (2014) and Tannen, Hamilton and Schiffrin's *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2015).

Younging allow us to locate the embryonic stages of Indigenized writing practices in mainstream media in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, whereas no such writing practices are observable in the corpus consisting of media publications produced by news outlets based in France.

The discursive lacunae outlined by these analyses are then studied in relation to their contexts of production. Through this layered analysis, the findings serve to illustrate not only the ways in which writing practices differ between media based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France, but also how these writing practices are connected to social consciousness and knowledge gaps between linguistic and discursive worlds. I propose that translation can play an invaluable role at responding to these gaps, while also acknowledging the necessity for carefully designed translation methodologies.

iii. Limits of Investigation

I do not intend to substantiate my claims on the basis of an empirical corpus-based approach. In other words, my intent is not to derive "general" and "objective" claims based on the assumption of quantifying ideology. An empirical corpus-based method is but one of many methods for constructing an idea of truth. In my case, I understand each media article I have selected as a social, political and historical product that posits its own claim to objectivity. After all, objectivity is one of the fundamental principles that constitute the epistemological foundations of mainstream journalistic practice.

This research project is also limited to and by the corpora designed for this study and by its theoretical approach. I have deliberately selected articles from mainstream and long-established media outlets and have not drawn from various subaltern media outlets

that are sure to exist in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France and which may have produced material on the topic of *Kanata* that could enrich the investigation. Given that every publication studied differs from the next in one way or another, and that there are multiple components to each article, I was compelled to focus on specific elements for the media discourse analysis. These elements are the representations of non-Indigenous people and Indigenous Peoples and the writing practices used in these representations.

iv. Article Selection Process

I selected the publications using the online newspaper database Eureka.cc on the basis of a specified media timeline. The media timeline I designed for my selection process consists of three periods. The first period spans from July 11 to August 1, 2018; the second period from September 1 to October 1, 2018; and the third period from December 15, 2018 to February 1, 2019. The choice of these timelines is based on tentpole media activity. The first period follows the publication of an interview and open letter on July 11, 2018 that launched the first public dialogue between members of the urban Indigenous community of Tiohtià:ke/Montreal and Lepage and Mnouchkine. It is within the span of this period that Lepage and Mnouchkine meet with signatories of the open letter and that Lepage eventually announces the cancelation of *Kanata* due to the withdrawal of the funding body Park Armory Avenue.

The second period follows Ariane Mnouchkine's press release "Le Ressaisissement" signaling the return of *Kanata* with its new name *Kanata – Episode 1 – La Controverse*. Théâtre du Soleil published this press release on September 5, 2018, quite some time after Lepage's production company Ex Machina announced the cancellation of *Kanata* in July. The press release drew attention in media on both sides of

the Atlantic.

The third and last period from which I draw articles follows the premiere of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* in Paris at La Cartoucherie. Unsurprisingly, the premiere attracted media attention in Canada and in France. The articles selected from this third period mainly serve as material for the comparative reception in the third section of chapter four. I also incorporate reviews into the comparative reception from the French theatre website www.theatreonline.com.

v. Media Outlets

The key words that I used in Eureka.cc were "Robert Lepage" and "Kanata." The results for each media timeline were abundant. In order to narrow the search, I selected publications from specific media outlets. The media outlets that I draw from are as follows: in the Anglophone sphere of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, I chose articles from the *CBC, CBC Radio, CBC Montreal,* and *The Canadian Press;* in the Francophone sphere of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, I chose articles from *Métro Montréal, La Presse, Le Devoir,* and *Radio-Canada*; and in the Francophone sphere of France, I chose articles from *Libération, Le Figaro, L'Humanité, Atlantico,* and *Le Monde.*

vi. Anglophone Media based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

I chose the *CBC, CBC Radio, CBC Montreal* and *The Canadian Press* because they provide local and national coverage and are established mainstream newspapers. As mainstream news outlets that have a significant status and extensive territorial reach, *CBC, CBC Radio, CBC Montreal* and *The Canadian Press* can be read as indicative of widespread writing practices. It should be noted that *CBC* follows its own set of journalistic standards and practices, which can be found on the *CBC* website.

vii. Francophone Media based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

I chose the media outlets *Le Devoir, La Presse, Radio-Canada* and *Métro Montréal* for a few reasons. First, they provide local and national coverage and reach a variety of audiences. Second, *Le Devoir* and *La Presse* are widely distributed and have been established for over a century. Third, I wanted to examine if there were consistent writing practices throughout each outlet. I decided to avoid selected articles from more popular and conservative outlets, such as *Journal de Montréal*. In fact, the latter published incendiary articles on *Kanata* and I did not want to provide a platform for the reactionary ideas that *Journal de Montréal* propagated. The purpose of my mentioning this is to acknowledge my own subjectivity in the article selection process.

viii. Francophone Media based in France

I chose the outlets *Le Figaro, Libération, Le Monde, L'Humanité* and *Atlantico* because the analysis can then be broadened to include various presupposed audiences. In particular, *Le Figaro, Libération* and *Le Monde* are three major national daily newspapers in France. The news outlets *L'Humanité* and *Atlantico* were chosen because they are on far opposite sides of the political spectrum. One of the purposes of diversifying the selection of media outlets in France was to see if there was a consistent tendency in the writing practices across target audiences. I decided to carry out this procedure only for the France context because my interest was in discovering whether or not Indigenized, decolonial or settler-conscious writing practices may have been used in French publications, especially in more left-wing news outlets. Given that such writing practices are found in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, it did not seem necessary to carry out the same procedure for that context. The purpose of this decision is not to suggest that

news sources in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island produce flawless articles. In fact, I remain transparent about the fact that media outlets and mainstream journalistic practices in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context have had a history of deleterious effects on Indigenous Peoples.

ix. Absence of Indigenous News Outlets

The fact that I have decided not to carry out a discourse analysis on articles selected from Indigenous media for this research project can be explained by a number of factors. First, I found that there was little coverage of the *Kanata* controversy in Indigenous-controlled media outlets. The only Indigenous-controlled media outlets that produced content about *Kanata* that I found were *APTN* and the podcast *Media Indigena* hosted by Cree journalist and producer Rick Harp. Admittedly, it is quite possible that there were many publications on other Indigenous media platforms that never came across my path due to the limits of my own sphere of visibility. Lastly, I have decided to focus primarily on media outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island that are not Indigenous-controlled because I am particularly interested in examining mainstream settler media in order to identify the emergence and limits of what could be considered Indigenous-settler discursive practices. In other words, I am interested in whether or not settler or European media produced any Indigenized discourse in their publications concerning *Kanata*.

x. Tools

I used the corpus management and text analysis software Sketch Engine to facilitate the media discourse analysis procedure. Prior to using Sketch Engine, I independently read numerous articles on *Kanata* that I had selected during the early

stages of my research. Once I began to notice patterns and divergences between articles and media spheres, I developed a framework and drew up a list of terms and names that would help constitute the analysis. I customized three separate corpora that contained the articles that I selected from each language and media sphere using Eureka.cc. I divided each of the three corpora into two periods – a pre-reception and post-reception period. This facilitated the process of locating reviews of the play. With this procedure in place, I used Sketch Engine to study the frequency of the appearance of terms and names, and the contexts in which they appeared, in order to reflect on the writing practices used in the articles selected.

xi. Translation Studies and Discourse Analysis

Translators are bound to reflect on the source language and the language of arrival when carrying out the task of translation. The process of reflection is integral to the constitution of an idea of each language. A translator's idea of language may, in its turn, be formed through a meta-language composed of numerous analytical frameworks. As a highly interdisciplinary field of research that has spawned a multitude of ways of thinking about language, it is no surprise that discourse analysis has shaped lines of inquiry in the field of translation studies. Discourse analysis began to gain prominence as an approach in translation studies research in the 1990s (Kim and Matthiessen 2017, 11). Accordingly, there has been a great deal of translation studies research that has explored the relationship between discourse and translation, such as in Hatim and Mason's *Discourse and the Translator* (1990) and in more recent works like *Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies* (2017). I do not engage directly with these works, given that the material and forms of analysis they present are not transferrable to my research focus and

theoretical approaches. However, the present thesis itself can be situated in relation, and as an addition, to translation and discourse analysis research.

IV. Theory

i. Decoloniality and Decolonization

I wish to make a conceptual distinction between the terms "decoloniality" and "decolonization" as they are understood in the context of this thesis. I base my definition of these terms on a distinction that Menominee and Bermudian scholar Rowland Ena͞emaehkiw Keshena Robinson makes in an essay called "Marxism, Coloniality, 'Man', & Euromodern Science." The purpose of engaging with Robinson's work here is solely to focus on the distinction he makes between "decoloniality" and "decolonization," as this distinction provides clarity and order to my ideas throughout this thesis.

i.i Coloniality/Decoloniality

In his essay, Robinson elaborates on the concept of coloniality in order to arrive at a definition of decoloniality. He writes:

> coloniality…refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, and thus, coloniality survives colonialism, being maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, etc (Robinson 2019).

Coloniality is therefore the persistence of colonialism beyond the concrete and easily locatable societal structures of colonial administration. In some sense, coloniality persists through discourse and while one could argue it operates on a metaphorical plane, it can also produce real social effects.

The terms “decoloniality” and “decolonial” relate to the concept of coloniality in that they involve transformative efforts on the levels of discourse, epistemology and ontology in order to uproot and alter patterns of power that have been formed by colonialism. To understand this concept more fully, it is helpful to define it in relation to decolonization.

i.ii Decolonization

Robinson borrows his definition of decolonization from Dene scholar Glen Coulthard’s book *Red Skin, White Masks* (2014). According to Robinson and Coulthard, decolonization is first and foremost about land and power. Decolonization and decoloniality are indeed interrelated, since the latter is required for shifting patterns of power and can be put in service of the larger project of decolonization. Yet, as Robinson points out, decoloniality does not immediately correspond to the material results – in particular, land – that are sought after in the process of decolonization. The three concepts that I borrow from Tuhiwai Smith, elaborated on below, can be understood as processes tied more closely to Robinson’s description of “decoloniality.”

ii. Indigenizing, Representing and Reframing

Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina Smith, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou Māori, is a professor of Indigenous education at the University of Waikato in New Zealand. I draw three concepts from her book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012). As mentioned previously, I apply two of her concepts – Indigenizing and representing – to my media discourse analysis in chapter four. I apply a third concept of hers – reframing – in chapter five. Although Tuhiwai Smith is not local to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, her concepts are nonetheless applicable to this thesis as

they are theoretical lenses through which one can envision decolonial processes without precluding the particularity and agency at work in the process itself. I would now like to turn to Tuhiwai Smith's decolonial concepts to discuss them in more detail.

ii.i Indigenizing

Tuhiwai Smith defines Indigenizing as:

> a centering of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors, and stories in the indigenous world and the disconnecting of many of the cultural ties between the settler society and its metropolitan homeland. This project involves non-indigenous activists and intellectuals (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 140).

ii.ii Representing

According to Tuhiwai Smith, representing is a decolonial form that emerges out of the ongoing struggle on the part of Indigenous Peoples to have the power to represent themselves. She writes:

> The representing project spans both the notion of representation as a political concept and representation as a form of voice and expression…Representation is also a project of indigenous artists, writers, poets, film makers and others who attempt to express an indigenous spirit, experience or worldview. Representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous peoples is about countering the dominant society's image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 151).

ii.iii Reframing

Reframing is a technique for gaining greater control over how Indigenous issues and social problems are discussed in various fields of discourse. Tuhiwai Smith explains:

> One of the reasons why so many of the social problems which beset indigenous communities are never solved is that the issues have been framed a particular way…the framing of an issue is about making decisions about its parameters, about what is in the foreground, what is in the background, and what shadings or complexities exist within the frame. The project of reframing is related to defining the problem or issue and determining how best to solve the problem (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 153).

iii. Indigenous Style

In his book *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and about Indigenous Peoples* (2018), Gregory Younging from Opaskwayak Cree Nation outlines twenty-two principles and recommendations for developing an Indigenized writing and publishing practice. The book is addressed to both an Indigenous and non-Indigenous audience. Younging's book is referenced heavily in chapters four and five. Chapter four applies principles four and twelve to the second part of the media discourse analysis in effort to locate Indigenized writing practices. Chapter five draws examples from Younging's book to draft out guidelines and takeaways for translators. Younging defines the two principles that I apply to the media discourse analysis below:

iii.i Principle Four: Recognizing Indigenous Identity

Indigenous style recognizes that Indigenous Peoples view themselves according to the following principles:

- They are diverse, distinct cultures.
- They exist as part of an ongoing continuum through the generations tracing back to their ancient ancestors.
- They have not been assimilated into mainstream Canadian society, and their national and cultural paradigms have not been fundamentally altered or undermined through colonization.
- They are currently in a process of cultural reclamation and rejuvenation, marked by significant participation from Indigenous youth.
- Natural cultural change and adaptation do not mean that Indigenous Peoples have acquiesced to mainstream Canadian society, nor that Indigenous cultures have been fundamentally altered or undermined (Younging 2018, 33).

iii.ii Principle Twelve: The Names of Indigenous Peoples

Indigenous style uses the names for Indigenous Peoples that Indigenous Peoples use for themselves. It establishes these names through consultation with Indigenous Peoples, and compilations of names done through consultation with Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous style provides notes of explanation about editorial decisions related to names. This is to acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples' names in English have evolved and are evolving.

Exceptions to this principle include:

- Specifically describing or discussing another term that has been used as a name for an Indigenous People
- referring to a proper name, or the name of an institution or document, that contains another name
- quoting from a source that contains another name (e.g., a historical source) (Younging 2018, 83).

iv. Reception Studies and the Horizon of Expectations

Reception studies, alternatively known in North America as reader-response criticism, encompasses a wide range of thinkers and theories. One of the seminal theorists that contributed to the establishment of this school of thought is Hans-Robert Jauss. In his 1969 essay "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," Jauss outlines reception studies in a way that can be understood as a reaction to a perceived decline in the quality of literary research and to Marxist historical materialism. The theories that emerged in reception studies, focusing on topics such as the reading process and the triangulated relationship between text, reader and author, provided new concepts and new approaches to styles of history writing and, therefore, a broad and rich terrain for research in literary studies.

Research models and theory developed by reception studies have influenced translation studies research. Prior to the introduction of reception studies into translation studies research, the latter was often modeled on comparative text- and linguistics-based analyses (Brems and Pinto 2013, 143). The incorporation of reception studies into translation studies introduced new methods for structuring translation analysis, shifting

the focus away from texts and terms towards the relationship between translations, readers and their broader contexts of reception (Brems and Pinto 2013, 143).

In this regard, reception studies can provide helpful theoretical tools and analytical approaches to translation studies. On the one hand, theorizing on the reading process and the reader-text-author relationship is pertinent to translation because a translator is entangled with a text both as a reader and as another kind of author. On the other hand, studying the reception of a work in a translated language can inform a researcher about the impact of a translated text on fields of discourse in another language and geopolitical context, but also how the context itself may give shape to a given translation.

In the context of this thesis, I study the reception of Lepage and Mnouchkine's play *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* in order to compare settler, Indigenous and European discourses. The divergences that I determine between these discourses can be framed within Jauss' concept of the horizon of expectations and serve to prop up some of the arguments that I make in relation to the findings in the media discourse analysis. Jauss introduces the concept of the horizon of expectations in his 1969 essay mentioned above. The concept is integral to Jauss' notion of the artistic and social functions of a literary work. According to Jauss, a literary work fulfills its artistic and social function when it challenges its reader to break through their horizon of expectations, which is a condition that pre-forms their perception. The horizon of expectations could be described loosely as a set of assumptions and familiarizations that enable a reader to recognize patterns in a literary work. For Jauss, what characterizes the "novelty" of a literary work – rendering it distinctly artistic – is the aspect of the work that is capable of transforming

one's horizon of expectations by introducing unfamiliar forms of perception, effectively altering discourse and potentially challenging the status quo. As a scholar of French literature, his case in point is *Madame Bovary* (1856) by Gustave Flaubert, a novel which he claims broke with French nineteenth-century stylistic conventions and altered public discourse in France.

In my case, I believe that the concept of the horizon of expectations has interesting implications for translation because translators in some sense are caught *between* horizons of expectations and because different discursive worlds are borne by different languages, themselves forming distinct horizons. I use the notion of the horizon of expectations both in chapter four and five in order to structure the comparative reception and to argue in favour of a translation flow model that I draw up in chapter five. In the following section, I consider Jauss' concept in relation to translation.

V. Translation Approach

i. Translation, Language and Social Practice

The theory of translation that I work with in this thesis relies on a conception of language that recognizes language as emergent out of social activity that is embedded in various historical, political, social, economic and material processes. Social activity varies in its complexity from one location and from one language to another, and these variations in historical and social dynamism produce distinct discursive practices that develop in separate language worlds and at different speeds, in separate temporalities and in different directions.

When considering the concept of the horizon of expectations and its relation to language and the field of translation, what begins to come to mind is the realization that

languages form spatiotemporal horizons and while seemingly infinite, languages can encounter their very limits when they encounter each other. However, in my view, one of the great and difficult tasks for a translator is precisely to transform the limits of their own language by striving to create a kind of common, though incomplete, horizon of experience between languages. In this regard, translation between languages can, to some extent, alter and expand one's horizon of expectations by making present and available what formerly did not exist within one's linguistic and discursive horizon – and so it is, for example, that monolingual English speakers may confidently claim to have studied the Classics without ever having learned, spoken or read a word of Greek.

This particular vision of translation, however, does not accurately reflect what translation has historically set out to do. Nor does it acknowledge the fact that translations in many ways are bound to historical contingency in peculiar ways that set them apart from the texts they may strive to re-create, although some translations may become original works in their own right. As prior translation research has shown, for example in the case of the Romans or the Belles Infidèles, translation methodologies and practices have varied over time and in some cases have significantly deviated from original texts to the point of drastic misrepresentation. The Roman translation methodology constituted a relation of domination, destruction and supremacy with the original text, while methodologies in the Belles Infidèles modified texts to fit the period's social conventions, such as propriety. Depending on the situation and the translator, the same can be said for the contemporary context. In many respects, these roles of translation have hardly changed. What translation does or *why* and *how* it is done a certain way also depends on numerous variables set up in the context in which the labour

of translation takes place. For example, in a commercial context such as marketing, translation practices may include transcreation and/or domestication. These practices have less to do with the task of creating a shared horizon of experience or unified political goal between languages and more to do with selling a product or service to an imagined target customer base with the aim of maximizing capital.

As I alluded to above, there always lie challenges to translators on the level of linguistics and social, political, economic and/or cultural norms, where a translator must wrestle with possible non-correspondences between language worlds. The irreducible linguistic difference that characterizes the structural dimension of languages, combined with the line of decision-making factors involved in editing and publishing processes, means that a translation is never a *complete* reproduction of the source language in the language and context of arrival. However, a source text does constitute one of the conditions of possibility for reading, interpreting and translating to take place – and in this regard, the source language and the source text condition the writing practice of the translator. To some extent, this relation could manifest itself in the form of reciprocity between language worlds and between the translator and source language. This framework is nonetheless overlaid with various other relational factors that affect a translator's writing practice, such as their familiarity with the source language and culture, their research approach and methodology, economic and commercial constraints, the audience and the publisher.

ii. Translation, Discourse, Power

Translation is not only tied to the transformation of the horizon of expectations or realm of available literatures and the possibility of creating a common horizon between

language worlds. As a writing practice, translation also produces discourse. By introducing works of literature (philosophy, critical theory, novels, etc) into another language, translation does the work of (re)inventing thought. The work of translation can be understood as the constitution of relationships between discursive currents that exist in separate language worlds. For example, English translations of Marx, Foucault and Fanon, even if they are incomplete reproductions of their original texts, created something new in English discourse. They provided conceptual frameworks and theoretical tools to the English language that can be used for structuring reality, analyzing the mechanics of power, comprehending the history and operations of capitalism, and so much more. From this perspective, translation is productive of social and political life. It is also intimately tied up with representations of alterity and does the work of re-representing in a target language the attempted self-representations articulated in the source language. While fragmented and incomplete, translation discourse is also connected to presence, visibility, access, survival, power, the production of social and political life, as well as representations of alterity, and the possibility of re-creating another language world's social reality in a separate language.

Distinct historical, social and political contexts, as well as different configurations of material relations and regimes of discourse, constitute the plurality of experiences and narratives produced on a micro- and/or macro-political scale in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France. These different social fields are shaped through location-specific historical dynamism and language in flux, which forms particular spaces of imagination and ways of speaking, seeing and writing. The use of the proper names "English" and "French" makes language out to be monolithic and homogeneous. Yet, a "single"

language – stratified, arranging hierarchies and arranged by them, philosophic, anarchist, communist, scientific, academic, governmental, corporate, etc – can be molded and altered in ways that reorganize horizontal and vertical power relations, change history and dethrone oppressive forms of discourse. While language can have a static character when generated through certain systems, such as bureaucracy which exercises repetitious writing practices and formats, on an individual and micro-political level language is always living and moving with our bodies through space and time, shifting and altering as we carry out our daily life activities. It is in this sense that many non-correspondences (besides linguistic difference) are generated in separate language worlds. The fact that there exist these gaps in languages, which are world-bearers,[6] is particularly interesting from a translation studies perspective. The relation of translation to the conception of language that I have articulated thus far is explored throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER III

FROM *KANATA* TO *KANATA – ÉPISODE I – LA CONTROVERSE*

I. Introduction

This chapter traces out the historical trajectory and evolution of *Kanata* from its conception to *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*. In view of there being no publicly available manuscripts to date, I have brought together a variety of disparate elements to

[6] In *The Work of Mourning* (2001), Jacques Derrida writes, "death takes from us not only some particular life within the world, some moment that belongs to us, but, each time, without limit, someone through whom the world, and first of all our own world, will have opened up in a both finite and infinite—mortally infinite—way" (Derrida 2001, 107). In light of this idea, one can understand not only language as world-bearer, but also every individual as an origin of the world in how they craft language throughout their lives.

assemble this narrative. Rather than concede to the idea that the unavailability of manuscripts is a limitation, I would like to recall that a textual version of the play would still be stripped of the stage-oriented elements creating a multilayered texture to the overall life of the play. Furthermore, every performance of a play is unique, not to mention that Lepage's directorial process often incorporates improvisation. Considering these two points, it would be difficult to maintain that a textual copy of either of the plays aforementioned would faultlessly reflect the performances themselves.

Given that the original version of the play *Kanata* was never staged, I rely on remnants of Lepage's vision that I have found in news stories and the documentary *Lepage au soleil: à l'origine du Kanata* (2019) by Québécois film director Hélène Choquette. Choquette's film is the product of two years of footage from 2016 to 2018 and it documents aspects of the production process of *Kanata*. In order to provide a summary on *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse,* I contacted Théâtre du Soleil in search of a manuscript of the play. There being no manuscript available, Théâtre du Soleil provided me temporary access to archival footage of a performance of the play recorded on January 25, 2020. The summary is based both on the footage of the play and my transcription of the footage. For brevity's sake, I have chosen salient details from her documentary and from other sources to provide information on the original structure and themes of *Kanata*, as well as the production process and the final play.

II. Origins of *Kanata*

According to *Kanata*'s coauthor and dramatist Michel Nadeau, Robert Lepage approached him with a budding idea for the play in 2015 (Paul 2018). Nadeau claims that Lepage was inspired by Canada's political context. At the time, the conservative

government under Stephen Harper showed little interest in pursuing the enquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), a colonial epidemic that afflicts Indigenous Peoples across the country (Paul 2018). The MMIWG epidemic, a sensitive and distressing topic to say the least, turned out to be one of the main themes Lepage would incorporate into his play. Besides Canada's political climate, however, it is quite possible that the main motive for his play would be Ariane Mnouchkine, a renowned avant-garde French stage director and founding member of the Théâtre du Soleil, one of the most heavily funded theatre companies in France (Kiernander 1993, 4). Mnouchkine made a proposition to Lepage that he was eager to accept. She proposed that he direct a play with her troupe of actors (Héliot 2017). The opportunity Mnouchkine presented to Lepage would prove to be a remarkable historical moment for both the Québécois playwright and the French theatre community alike – for the first time in 54 years, Mnouchkine would entrust the Théâtre du Soleil, the name of the company and the troupe itself, to another theatre director (Héliot 2017). As an admirer of Mnouchkine's work, Lepage was ecstatic and accepted the offer. He would spend two years working with the Théâtre du Soleil on what would come to be known as "*Kanata*" in international media headlines.

III. The Basic Structure of *Kanata*

Lepage describes the trajectory of *Kanata* in an interview with *Le Figaro* published on November 23, 2017. The play would begin in Quebec City during the nineteenth century, move to twentieth-century Manitoba and end in twenty-first century Vancouver (Héliot 2017). In the same interview, Lepage provides a few details on each of the acts. The first act would focus on King George IV and Edmund Kean. Kean was a

famous nineteenth century Shakespearean actor who visited Quebec and met with members of the Huron living in a settlement named Jeune-Lorette, a former First Nation allied to New France now transformed into the urban reserve commonly known today as Wendake (Choquette 2019). The second act would portray the horrors of the Indian residential school system and the third act would be based on real world Canadian serial killer Robert Pickton, known to have confessed to the murder of forty-nine women, the majority of whom were Indigenous (Choquette 2019). The play was also set to go on an international tour. Opening in Paris, it would travel across the Atlantic Ocean to New York City and close its curtains in Quebec.

IV. The Production Process

In this section, the production process of *Kanata* is considered from two angles – the consultations with Indigenous Peoples and the creative process. I have decided to focus on these angles because of their pertinence to the controversy that broke out around *Kanata*. It should be noted that these angles are limited by the amount of available cultural material on this subject and that I do not go into depth on the creative process, but provide general remarks that touch on some of the problems with the play. All this to say that there are many processes that go unaccounted and for two main reasons – either mention of them would be purely out of a drive to satisfy one's curiosity or their inclusion would provide tangential analyses meriting a separate research paper.

i. The Consultations

Contrary to a popular misunderstanding that surfaced during the controversy, Lepage did consult select members of Indigenous communities. However, the number of Indigenous Peoples consulted was tremendously marginal for such a colossal project.

Overall, Lepage and his entourage met with thirteen Indigenous Peoples. Of these thirteen people, only seven appear in Hélène Choquette's documentary *Lepage au soleil: à l'origine du Kanata* (2019). Only two of the seven Indigenous Peoples that appear in Choquette's documentary are named: Ceejai Julian and Sykes Powderface.

Ceejai Julian appears most prominently throughout the documentary. She is from a reserve called Nak'azdli based in Fort Saint James in British Columbia. She shares stories with *Kanata*'s cast and crew, including how the Indian residential school system impacted her personal and family life and even reveals that she is the sole survivor of the Robert Pickton murders. However, her story is interrupted by cut scenes and editing, leaving gaps in the viewer's knowledge of the breadth and depth of her consultation.

Sykes Powderface is an Elder from the Stoney Nakoda Nation in Morley, Alberta. He tells the troupe a story about how his people were stripped of their freedom to practice their culture when Banff National Park was transformed into a hunting destination for world-class game hunters in the nineteenth century. Then park superintendent George Stewart played a major role in prohibiting Stoney Nakoda from accessing their lands. Powderface's daughter also appears in the documentary, but her name and her profession are left undisclosed. Throughout the remainder of the documentary, Lepage and the cast and crew meet an unnamed man who, based on preceding scenes, is implicitly from the Stoney Nakoda Nation, a pan-Indigenous performance group, an Indian residential school survivor and an Indigenous woman involved in the arts community in British Columbia.[7]

Through independent research, I found enough information to provide additional

[7] The vagueness of this summary is due to the lack of information and context provided in the documentary.

context to the majority of unnamed Indigenous Peoples in Choquette's documentary. The name of Sykes Powderface's daughter is Corleigh Powderface. She is a Traditional Knowledge Keeper and cultural advisor. The group of Indigenous performers that the cast and crew of *Kanata* meet is under the wing of Sandra Laronde, an internationally acclaimed and award-winning director, producer, choreographer and performer who founded Red Sky Performance, a leading contemporary Indigenous performance company based in Toronto. The Indian residential school survivor is named Stephen Lytton. He is from the Nlaka'pamux First Nation and has worked as an actor, writer and community activist. Lastly, there is Margo Kane, a Cree-Saulteaux performing artist and writer. The information and context that I have provided for Powderface, Laronde, Lytton and Kane is nowhere to be found in Choquette's documentary. In a *Le Devoir* article, Mnouchkine names six more Indigenous Peoples who were consulted and who were not featured in the documentary. The list of names includes Cowboy Smithx, Marcel Godbout, Sonia Gros-Louis, Guy Sioui Durand, Christian Laveau and the Mohawk translator Wahiakeron Gilbert (Lalonde 2018).

Although Lepage did consult Indigenous Peoples, a grave mistake made by news outlets was to jump to Lepage's defense on the basis of the assumption that consultations somehow automatically equate to legitimacy and acceptability. In fact, both Cowboy Smithx and Sandra Laronde, each of whom Lepage had consulted separately, felt that their advice was ignored and that their names were merely instrumentalized as a defense for the play's flawed production (Hamilton 2018). Margo Kane claimed her advice to Lepage during consultation was to shelf the project because the story would be told

through his eyes (Hamilton 2018).[8] Guy Sioui Durand explained that he was consulted on the content of the play, but did not support the process (Hamilton 2018). On these points, one can willfully admit that consultations were an integral part of Lepage's production process. However, based on the accounts provided by Smithx, Laronde, Kane and Durand, evidently Lepage did little of substance with the actual advice that he was given. Ultimately, one is left with the bitter reality that at least some of these consultations he had with Indigenous Peoples were merely tokenistic maneuvers. One question this raises, and which I would like to address, is the extent to which Lepage's consultations with Indigenous Peoples gave shape to the play itself. To approach this question, it is helpful to begin by looking at the play's creative process.

ii. The Creative Process

There are notable scenes in Choquette's documentary that serve to suggest that the creative process of *Kanata* was exclusive to Lepage and the French and Québécois cast and production team. For example, there are numerous scenes wherein Lepage and the other creators of *Kanata* are seen rehearsing on stage and others where they are seen having private meetings together. Furthermore, scenes in which *Kanata*'s creators are brainstorming ideas for the play are always exclusive to Lepage, the cast and the production team. In one scene, members of the cast use what they had learned from the consultations as a springboard for inventing new ideas to be in the play, departing from Indigenous stories and experiences. This creative independence was a central part of Lepage's conceptualization of the play. In fact, he explains in the documentary how

[8] There is in fact footage in Choquette's documentary where Lepage openly discusses Margo Kane's remarks about the problems with his production.

Kanata is a means for the French actors to tell their own personal stories through the experiences of Indigenous Peoples.[9] There is another scene in which Lepage even explains how he and the sound designer Ludovic Bonnier decided against researching Indigenous music in favour of inventing a kind of melting pot-style music inspired by all of the cultures that constitute Mnouchkine's troupe, a music that would be cloaked as stylistically Indigenous.[10]

Although Lepage and *Kanata*'s cast traveled to different parts of the country to consult with certain Indigenous Peoples, learn fragments of the history of Canadian colonialism and immerse themselves in the landscapes and environments they would be attempting to "export" to French and American imaginations, one thing remained certain – not a single Indigenous person would actually be included in the writing process, directorial process, the cast or production team. This omission was far from an oversight. As mentioned earlier, Lepage was already advised by Margo Kane not to pursue his project due in part to the absence of any Indigenous talent (Hamilton 2018; Choquette 2019). Furthermore, Lepage was well aware of the fact that creating fake Indigenous Peoples was problematic and disrespectful. In 2010, Lepage produced *Totem* with Cirque

[9] "On se sert de leur histoire pour parler de notre misère à nous, de nos combats à nous, de nos contradictions, de nos paradoxes. C'est important dans le projet que bien que parfois qu'on joue des cris, des hurons, des gens de Squamish, que les gens demeurent afghans, avec leur histoire de réfugié afghan, qu'ils demeurent français. Les gens ont tous des parcours politiques, culturelles, différents et il faut qu'ils arrivent, sous le prétexte qu'on parle des parcours des autochtones, c'est un prétexte pour qu'ils parlent d'eux" (Choquette 2019).

[10] "[Bonnier] m'a dit: 'est-ce que tu veux vraiment qu'on fasse une recherche sur la musique amérindienne en générale au Canada ou est-ce que tu veux qu'on fasse notre affaire à nous autres, et qu'on s'inspire des cultures qui sont dans le spectacle?' Alors, pourquoi pas inventer notre affaire ? Pourquoi pas faire une musique autochtone influencée de tous les éléments culturels qui font parties du spectacle ?" (Choquette 2019)

du Soleil and worked with Huron-Wendat singer Christian Laveau, who gave Lepage similar advice (Fennario 2018). To return momentarily to the line of questioning that concerns the extent to which the consultations gave shape to the play, in light of what has been discussed thus far, it is clear that the creative process was inventive and exclusive and that Lepage remained unmoved by some of the advice that he had received. The fact that Lepage's play was barely shaped by the consultations is all the more conspicuous and plausible when considering the controversy that broke out around the play. For further context, the following section provides a general survey of the *Kanata* controversy and how it would influence the topic of the final play *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*.

V. A Public Dialogue turned Controversy

Set to stage in Paris for the Paris Autumn Festival at the Théâtre du Soleil, it is no surprise that Lepage and Mnouchkine's transatlantic theatrical coproduction *Kanata* would soon enough gain media visibility. On July 11, 2018, about five months from show time, the independent Francophone newspaper *Le Devoir* published an interview between journalist Catherine Lalonde and Ariane Mnouchkine. Three days later, the same newspaper published an open letter, signed by Indigenous artists, activists and intellectuals, along with non-Indigenous community members, addressing both Mnouchkine and Lepage. The two articles, entitled "« Kanata » : Les amérindiens du Canada lus par Lepage et Mnouchkine" and "Encore une fois, l'aventure se passera sans nous, les Autochtones?" respectively, constitute the first public dialogue between Indigenous Peoples and the creators of *Kanata*. As such, I believe they are excellent points of departure for contextualizing the controversy prior to its being swept up in a

flurry of media articles. It should be mentioned, however, that I do not intend to provide an in-depth analysis of these two articles, but rather to summarize the crux of the conflict on the basis of the texts. In order to do so, I identify the main thread from Lalonde's article that is picked up in the open letter and I provide a general summary of the issues and arguments that the letter raises.

i. Mnouchkine and the Open Letter

A major portion of Lalonde's article is dedicated to Mnouchkine's philosophy of theatre and her opinions on race and politics. However, these details are not of central concern in the open letter. The main detail from Lalonde's article that resurfaces in the open letter concerns Mnouchkine's response to one of Lalonde's questions. Lalonde asks whether or not Mnouchkine believes it is important that Indigenous Peoples inhabiting "North America" recognize their own history in *Kanata*. Mnouchkine says in reply that it is important to her that Indigenous Peoples "nous dise 'Vous nous avez compris, vous avez compris, et vous avez compris parce que vous avez su imaginer ce que ça pouvait bien vouloir dire'" (Lalonde 2018). This citation is directly taken up and challenged in the open letter.

ii. Concerns Raised by the Open Letter[11]

The open letter, published by *Le Devoir* on July 14, 2018, raises a few concerns about *Kanata* and its production process. The authors explain that what they have to say comes from a place of respect – it is "odeiwin" or "speech from the heart," the term for "truth" in the Anicinape language. The main issues that run through the text are those of invisibility and the challenges Indigenous Peoples face when it comes to being respected by the public majority or when it comes to finding funding for their own artistic projects.

The authors inscribe the power dynamics set up by Mnouchkine and the production of the play, along with the issue of invisibility, into a long European tradition of excluding Indigenous Peoples from participating in their own personal and collective self-representation. This long European tradition has resulted in an unfathomable number of misrepresentations of Indigenous Peoples in European narratives and imagery. By excluding Indigenous Peoples from the possibility of participating in the production of the historical narrative that will tell the story of *Kanata*, Mnouchkine and the play fall within this long tradition of exclusion and erasure. This leads the authors of the open letter to write, "On nous inventera, on nous mimera, on nous racontera, parce qu'elle a

[11] Kateri Aubin-Dubois, Wolastoqijk; Carole Charbonneau, Atikamekw; Maya Cousineau Mollen, Innu-Québécois; Yvon Dubé, Atikamekw; André Dudemaine, Innu; Dave Jeniss, métis Malécite; Maïtée Labrecque-Saganash, Eeyou (Cree); Louis-Philippe Lorange, Atikamekw; Yvette Mollen, Innue; Caroline Monnet, Anicinape; Émilie Monnet, Acininape; Nakuset, Cree; Caroline Nepton-Hotte, Innu; Kim O'Bomsawin, Abenakis; Sylvain Rivard alias Vainvard, Métis Abenakis; T8aminik Dominique Rankin, Anicinape; Marie-Josée Tardif, Métis; Cyndy Wylde, Anicinape et Atikamekw; Alexandra Lorange; Sébastien Brodeur; Séna Houndjahoué Lahaye; Alain Fournier; Catherine Harisson-Boisvert; Taras Kulish; Caroline Marcoux-Gendron; Éric Mutquin; Marjolaine Olwell; Gabrielle Piché; Johanne Roussy; Mario Saint-Amand; Isabelle St-Pierre.

compris, parce qu'ils ont compris. Pardonnez notre cynisme, mais avons-nous vraiment été compris ?" (*Le Devoir* 2018). In other words, how could it be credible to say that Indigenous Peoples have been understood if Indigenous Peoples continue to be excluded, invisibilized and ignored?

Further on, the authors of the open letter claim that they do not wish to censor the play, but encourage collaboration with members of Indigenous communities, with Indigenous talent, in order to remedy the situation. The letter also explains that in line with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's ninety-four Calls for Action and the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Canadian government and Canadian citizens have a duty to work towards reconciliation, which means including, respecting and listening to what Indigenous Peoples have to say – that is, their speech from the heart, odeiwin.

The open letter ends by addressing Lepage's philosophy of acting. It reads, "monsieur Lepage s'est prononcé dans les dernier jours en affirmant qu'incarner un personnage implique de pouvoir jouer une autre identité, voire un autre genre. Oui, c'est vrai. Mais cette incarnation s'inscrit dans un contexte social et historique." The issue with Lepage's notion is that it is ahistorical – it does not consider how social, historical and political contexts shape the power dynamics at play in the creative process. This critique is followed up by a closing statement that celebrates Indigenous survival, "Nous ne sommes pas invisibles et nous ne nous tairons pas. Nous avons nos plumes à la main et nous vous dirons encore et pour longtemps : je suis, NOUS SOMMES" (*Le Devoir* 2018).

iii. The Media Controversy

After the publication of these two articles, a media firestorm took off in Anglophone- and Francophone-speaking worlds on both sides of the Atlantic. The publications that ensued repackaged the public dialogue as a "controversy," a package that varied in shape and content depending on to whom it was addressed, though often including similar themes. The two most common themes that were woven throughout media articles were the concepts of artistic freedom of expression and cultural appropriation. This became the central axis around which the debate and controversy would revolve, even though neither one of the two concepts was explicitly mentioned in the open letter.

As the controversy gained traction on mainstream and social mass media, Mnouchkine and Lepage quickly agreed to meet with the signatories of the open letter. The meeting between Lepage, Mnouchkine and thirty-four of the signatories took place on July 19, 2018 and lasted approximately five to six hours. Those who attended left with mixed feelings, as no changes would be made to the play. Lepage said that he would reserve space for Indigenous artists in a theatre venue that he was in the midst of building, and which opened its doors to the public on September 7, 2019. Mnouchkine made a general invitation to Indigenous artists and performers to use her stage at the Théâtre du Soleil. Yet, while these forms of compensation might appear as gestures of good will, neither of them would improve *Kanata* in any way, shape or form. They would ultimately fail to account for the harm this play would cause and fail to restore a relation of respect towards Indigenous Peoples.

With no resolution to the situation in sight and ongoing debate on social media,

the third coproducer Park Armory Avenue withdrew funding for the project. On July 26, 2018, Ex Machina published a press release in which Lepage announced the cancelation of *Kanata* and of its international tour. From this point onward, the curtains would close on Lepage and Mnouchkine's *Kanata*. However, as the following September rolled around, the spectre of *Kanata* would return to haunt the media landscape – only this time, it would return with a new name.

VI. Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse

i. "Le Ressaisissement" – A New Play is Born

On September 5, 2018, the Théâtre du Soleil published a press release entitled "Le Ressaisissement," in which Mnouchkine would declare that Lepage and the Théâtre du Soleil would continue with the project, now named *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*. As suggested by its new title, the play would allegedly incorporate the media controversy, a creative maneuver that presents itself ostensibly as a meta-ontological collaboration with Indigenous Peoples. Despite being foreground in the title of the play, however, only two scenes in *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* would attempt to replicate the controversy itself.

As theatregoers would learn on opening night, the new play underwent significant changes from the original *Kanata*. The first two acts were gutted from the project, therefore removing key components that would provide context to Canada's legacy of colonialism, though one is still left wondering how carefully and thoroughly this past would have been represented in the first place. These acts were replaced with superficial references to a few mechanisms of Canadian settler colonialism. There are allusions to the sixties scoop, the Indian residential school system and resource extraction at the

beginning of the play, but they come across as mere footnotes, summarizing the history of Canadian colonialism with no dialogue or narration in the span of roughly the first five minutes. The sixties scoop and the Indian residential school system reappear, in implicit and explicit forms, as motifs later on in the play. However, the vast majority of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* takes place in twenty-first century Vancouver. The following subsections provide a summary of the structure, settings, central characters and main plotline of the play.

ii. *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse:* Basic Structure and Settings

Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse is composed of twenty-six scenes. Overall, forty actors partook in the play's production. Most of the play is set at the beginning of the second millennium in Vancouver's downtown east side. However, there are various stage sets, as the audience is transported from the National Art Gallery of Canada based in Ottawa to a spacious loft on East Hastings street in Vancouver; from a safe injection site on East Hastings to the city's local police department; from Robert Pickton's farm on the outskirts of Vancouver to a classy restaurant in Ottawa; from an accent coach's apartment to the streets of East Hastings, and so on and so forth. The play includes four languages. Throughout the play, the characters often alternate between spoken Parisian French and spoken English, with synchronized Standard French subtitles projected onto the background. Two of the supporting actors' characters speak Persian[12] and there is a scene in which one of the characters claiming to be Mohawk (Kanien'kehá:ka) plays a recording of kanien'kéha language lessons. Multilingualism and translation are integrated

[12] Tanya Farrozhad and Leyla Farrozhad.

in a way to complement some of the play's underlying themes.[13]

iii. The Characters

The story of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* is told through a process of interweaving the lives of the leading character and numerous supporting characters. Although there are numerous characters, I have chosen to focus on those most prominent and pertinent to the play's plotlines. These characters include Miranda, Ferdinand, Rosa, Tanya Farrozhad, Leyla Farrozhad, Tobie, and Tanya's biological mother. The lead character, Miranda, is a young white middle-to-upper class French woman and aspiring painter who has moved from Paris to Vancouver with her boyfriend Ferdinand, an aspiring actor. Both exhibit a sense of youthful naïveté and optimism in their life decisions and aspirations to become great artists. Rosa, a social worker employed at a safe injection site on East Hastings Street in downtown Vancouver, has close ties with the homeless and marginalized communities depicted in the play. Her character has tensions with the Vancouver police department over their negligence with regard to the numerous missing persons reports she has filed. Tanya Farrozhad, a sex worker and drug user who has run away from home, first meets Rosa, and then later Miranda, when the latter is inadvertently roped into a conflict with Tanya's drug dealer. Tanya and Miranda also meet Tobie, a documentary filmmaker who claims to be part Huron. Leyla Farrozhad, a

[13] Such themes include cultural universalism, the "melting pot" and the universality of assimilation. For example, one scene involving a video projection of an Indigenous woman sharing her experiences at residential school is followed immediately by another scene where a French actor striving to become a Hollywood star is being trained to have an English accent. These scenes deliberately staged back-to-back flatten out the contextual differences, suggesting that the assimilation of Indigenous Peoples via the Indian residential school system is comparable to French-speaking actors being assimilated by the Hollywood film industry.

conservator-restorer who works for the National Art Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and claims to be Mohawk, is later revealed to be Tanya's adoptive mother. Tanya's biological mother makes an appearance at the end of the play.

iv. The Main Plotline

Although their characters are integral to the multilayered texture of the play's story, Ferdinand, Rosa, Leyla, Tobie and Tanya's biological mother are mainly plot devices that function to develop Miranda and Tanya's characters. The main plotline revolves around Miranda and Tanya, as well as the Robert Pickton murders. As Miranda's and Tanya's characters develop, so do their social bond and their personal depth. The play, however, takes a very dark turn in the fifteenth scene, when the character representing Robert Pickton uses drugs to lure Tanya and her highly intoxicated friend back to his farm. After her friend falls unconscious from inebriation, Tanya is portrayed surrendering to her drug addictions after initially refusing to be subdued by Pickton, who ultimately fulfills his depraved sexual fantasy involving her gruesome murder in his trailer. Tanya's friend awakens from her stupor and, noticing the murder (through a sickening graphic and gratuitous representation),[14] manages to escape to the police in terror. The murder is reported and Pickton is brought into custody.

v. Miranda's Controversy

Tanya's death serves as inspiration for Miranda. She decides to design and mount an exhibition that will showcase the portraits of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls – all of whom, apart from Tanya, Miranda has never seen or met in her life. As the play progresses, Miranda completes her portrait of Tanya and decides to show

[14] This scene's gratuitous violence would later be criticized, as I discuss in Chapter four.

a cell phone picture of the painting to Tobie. In this scene, a character playing the role of an "Indigenous" film producer enters the room and Tobie invites her to have a look at Miranda's work. The film producer then notices that Miranda has multiple portraits of Indigenous women on her phone and she inquires about them. This scene launches the audience into the play's reimagining of the *Kanata* controversy, where Miranda becomes a mouthpiece for Lepage's personal views.

Framing her project as a noble cause, Miranda gets into an altercation with the film producer and later with a social worker, as a controversy begins to stir in Vancouver over the fact that Miranda has not sought permission from the families of the victims whose portraits she intends to paint. After being told by a social worker that because she is not a drug user, she could never understand what the victims had gone through, Miranda runs off to find a syringe so she can become a drug user. Tobie finds Miranda and intervenes. They go back to Miranda's apartment, where they smoke opium together. It is in this dreamlike sequence and euphoric scene, where Miranda and Tobie are doing acrobatics in a flying canoe, that Miranda, through the act of self-intoxication, is implied to "truly understand" the Indigenous women who were murdered by Pickton.

vi. The Closing Scene

Shortly after her experience on opium, both Tanya's adoptive mother and biological mother contact Miranda. They arrange to meet at Miranda's apartment. Tanya's biological mother, aware of Miranda's project, tells her that she needs time to think before giving permission. Tanya's mothers leave Miranda's apartment and the play comes to and end with Miranda weeping over Tanya's passing. Facing the audience, she begins to paint an invisible portrait alone in her apartment.

VII. Conclusion

This chapter has provided both a general introduction to the problems and issues that were raised with regard to the production process of *Kanata* at the dawn of the media controversy, as well as a glimpse of the content and structure of Lepage's two plays. The flaws of the production have raised questions that inspire reflection on what might constitute a more ethical, Indigenized or decolonial artistic process and framework for theatre translation and adaptation. The open letter published in *Le Devoir* called attention to the historical power dynamics and the extractive logic at work in the stages of research for the production of *Kanata*. This extractive logic can be understood as what Callison and Young call "parachuting," a common practice in mainstream Canadian investigative journalism that involves dropping "into Indigenous communities unaware of the long histories, cultural contexts, and colonial relations at stake in the stories they seek to tell" (Callison and Young 2020, 189).

The practice of parachuting extends beyond the domain of journalism into various professions and operates on the assumption that one can grasp the profound and long-standing complexity of issues that a particular community of people faces with as little effort, time and relationship-building as possible. As Callison and Young explain, "this has often meant an erasure of Indigenous presence, title, geographies, settler and extractive colonialism" (Callison and Young 2020, 189). Now, a counterclaim to this argument may profess that the plays *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* were never erasing Indigenous Peoples because the topics of those plays revolved precisely around the effects of Canadian society on Indigenous lives. This counterclaim would be a deluded one, however, as it ignores the misrepresentative mechanisms at

work in the artistic process and the real voices of Indigenous Peoples who spoke out against the play's continuation of Indigenous erasure and invisiblization.[15]

There are a few lessons that can be drawn from the controversy that surrounded the production of *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* for the domain of translation studies and I would like to foreground them here. Although *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* were not textual translations of an original story or play, they did involve a process of adaptation – in particular, the adaptation to a Parisian stage and audience. In the context of translating a play for the stage, a translator must be prepared to think through both a textual translation methodology and a methodology for translating/adapting the play's original research and production process. The production of a play focused on Indigenous-settler relations in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context would no doubt require the regular application of an incisive power analysis and a relative familiarity with this place's (settler) colonial history, as well as a developed sense of reflexivity. For example, one would have to be capable of understanding why a nineteenth century European anthropologist's account of an Indigenous People would not be a reliable source on which to base the construction of an Indigenous character. Beyond the questions concerning Indigenizing or decolonizing one's writing practices in the process of translating the textual dimension of a play lie those concerning the adaptation of the play to the stage. This process of adaptation encompasses a wide range of extratextual elements, such as the choice of actors, lighting, music, aesthetics (props, set design, etc) and more.

[15] The erasure of Indigenous Peoples has been, in fact, an old settler colonial practice at work in the myth of the "vanishing Indian," a myth that was especially promoted by early settler artists and writers, such as Duncan Campbell Scott.

The tensions that arose around Lepage's play tell us something important about theatre translation and adaptation – namely, that the translation and adaptation of a play concerning Indigenous Peoples must include Indigenous Peoples in the production. This inclusion not only integrates the principle of self-determination, but also creates a collaborative space in which new forms of critical depth and insight can emerge and in which Indigenous participants can be agents of history-making and cultural production. These conditions and relations of production exemplify an ethical framework that is necessary for decolonial and Indigenizing theatre productions, as well as public imagination, and ultimately must be considered by any translator designing a methodology for translating and adapting an Indigenous play or a play involving Indigenous characters.

I expand on these reflections in chapter five, which is devoted almost exclusively to Indigenized and decolonial translation practices. Having considered some of the implications that the controversy surrounding *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* has for theatre translation and/or adaptation, it is an appropriate time to examine the complexity of the controversy in more detail by considering additional variables at play that connect or disconnect Indigenous Peoples, settlers and the population of France. The media discourse analysis and comparative reception in the following chapter provide guideposts for navigating these multiple terrains.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIA DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND COMPARATIVE RECEPTION

I. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I identified certain aspects of the controversy surrounding *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* that can be instructive to the realm of theatre translation. In this chapter, I expand on why and how we can understand the controversy and Lepage's two plays as the instantiations of an issue that fundamentally concerns translation. Whereas chapter three examined the relationship between adaptation and the theatre production process, chapter four carries out a media discourse analysis of Anglophone and Francophone publications on the controversy, as well as a comparative analysis of the reception of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* by European, Settler and Indigenous publics. This chapter serves two main ends. First, it serves to illustrate how certain writing practices in the publications that are studied reflect both translation issues and the relationship between language and historical, social and political forces. Second, the observations that are made in this chapter serve as supporting arguments for the construction of a translation flow model that I articulate in finer detail in chapter five.

Given the breadth and variety of media publications on *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*, I have narrowed the media discourse analysis down to specific corpora whose designs I have already described in chapter two. The media discourse analysis concentrates on two salient writing practices – those representing non-Indigenous Peoples and those representing Indigenous Peoples all of whom inhabit Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The first subsection focuses on certain implications that

the appearance of the term "settler" in Anglophone publications has for translation studies. The second subsection analyzes media publications on the basis of theories borrowed from Tuhiwai Smith and principles outlined by Gregory Younging. The combination of the theories and principles make possible a reading that can identify what could be described as Indigenized writing practices.

II. Media Discourse Analysis

i. Representations of non-Indigenous Peoples

The excerpts that I have brought together for this research were intentionally chosen for their striking similarities, but most importantly for a particularly conspicuous difference that stands out in the Anglophone publications. In my view, this difference in detail, as slight as it may appear to be, is no less remarkable, especially from a translation studies perspective. The excerpts below are taken from nine different Anglophone and Francophone publications that constituted the corpora for this project. Each excerpt provides a bare-bones description of *Kanata,* as it was presented to various publics.

F/Q/C/TI[16] 1. "La création était décrite comme une relecture de l'histoire du Canada à travers le prisme des rapports entre Blancs et Autochtones" (Carabin 2018)

2. "Le sujet de votre pièce Kanata, une relecture de l'histoire du Canada à travers le prisme des relations entre autochtones et Blancs au Canada…se veut un sujet délicat. Surtout si nous ne sommes pas présents dans cette relecture" (Picard 2018)

[16] Francophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

3. “Un projet de spectacle-fleuve qui relate en trois moments, à trois époques différentes, l’histoire des relations entre Blancs et Autochtones au Canada” (Clément 2018)

F/FR[17] 1. “Le spectacle *Kanata*, consacré au premiers habitants du Canada, est annulé **à** cause des réactions très hostiles de certains autochtones » (Héliot 2018)

2. « Kanata se présente comme une relecture de l’histoire du Canada à travers le prisme des rapports entre Blancs et Autochtones » (Ubertalli 2018)

3. « Le texte du spectacle serait une relecture de l’histoire du Canada excluant les créateurs issus des Premières Nations » (Héliot 2018)

A/Q/C/TI[18] 1. “His new production, Kanata, tells the history of our country by exploring the relationship between Indigenous people and white settlers” (Berman and Schlanger 2018)

2. “Indigenous activists who met with Robert Lepage say the Quebec theatre director did little to address concerns about the lack of Indigenous input in his upcoming play about Canada’s settler history**”** (Deer 2018)

3. “The show, which claims to explore Canada’s history ‘through the lens of the relationship between white and Aboriginal Peoples,’ will be

[17] Francophone France
[18] Anglophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

performed in Paris in December by a French acting group"

(Rakobowchuk 2018)

While the similarities between the excerpts can be explained as slight variations and/or translations of the description of *Kanata* that appeared on the Théâtre du Soleil's website,[19] there are two details to which I attach particular and striking significance. First, the fact that the bare-bones descriptions of *Kanata* explicitly stated that the play would be about the *relation* between Indigenous Peoples and Whites/settlers is noteworthy because the production of *Kanata* was actually founded on what essentially amounts to a *negation* of relations with Indigenous Peoples. Who were the *creators* of *Kanata*? The French of France and of Quebec. In this regard, a decolonial translation/adaptation strategy would seek to redefine the relations of production. Secondly, the appearance of the term "settler" in the English media articles is especially interesting from a translation studies perspective. As a matter of fact, this term appears in four Anglophone articles,[20] while no clear equivalent term for designating settler peoples ever appears in the *Kanata* descriptions in the Francophone articles. To elaborate on why the term "settler" has no clear equivalent in the Francophone articles and how this pertains to translation studies, it is worthwhile considering some of the conditions of possibility for the historical formation and emergence of the term "settler" in Anglophone discourse.

[19] This description has since been removed. However, journalist Morgan Lowrie references the theatre company's website in an article in 2018 published by *The Canadian Press*.

[20] Deer 2018; Kestler-D'Amours 2018; Berman and Schlanger 2018; *CBC Montreal* 2018

i.ii Settler Discourse: A Brief History

According to the *Routledge Handbook on Settler Colonial Studies,* the term "settler colonialism" was first used in the English language in the 1920s to describe a particular iteration of British colonialism in Australia (Veracini 2017, 4). However, this was still prior to the term's entrance into an organized and systematic discourse. The period of decolonization during the 1950s and 1960s, and the proliferation of discourses, methodologies and terminologies that emerged out of poststructuralist theories, postcolonialism and critical theory, were all important historical precedents to the eventual development of settler studies as a distinct discipline, which was consolidated in the 1990s and 2000s (Veracini 2017, 3). An important detail that must be kept in mind is that seminal theorists for this discipline, such as Patrick Wolfe, were in fact English speakers. As a matter of fact, Wolfe also happened to live in Australia and happened to be a settler himself. To these points, foundational settler discourses emerged out of the historical, political and social processes specific to a settler colonial context and in the English language. It is worthwhile noting that the combination of theoretical frameworks that came together to form settler colonial analyses have a significant debt to Indigenous activists and researchers, who had already begun the work of tackling many of the questions that would later be raised by settler studies[21] (Pillet 2019, 20).

[21] For example, Innu writer An Antane Kapesh's *Eukuan nin matshi-manitu innushkueu/Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (2019), first translated from Innu-aimun into French and published in 1975, denounces various mechanisms and effects of colonialism in Northern Quebec that could be understood through a settler colonial analytical framework. For example, she describes how an Indian residential school built in 1953 in Sept-Îles functioned to erase her children's knowledge of Innu-aimun, culture, history and tradition, as well as how municipal police and the RCMP worked to remove Indigenous populations from the land, indebt and brutalize them. These could fall under the process of the "logic of elimination," which I discuss in the following section.

i.iii Settler Colonialism

As Wolfe explains in his paper "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006), settler colonialism is a specific mutation of colonialism. Whereas the term "colonialism" evokes the past and has historically sought cheap or free labour and resources, settler colonialism is a perpetually invading societal structure that ultimately seeks land and where the colonizing population comes to stay. In order to acquire land, settler colonial strategies and tactics are devised and renewed in as many ways as possible to eliminate the Indigenous populations that live on the land the invading society seeks to acquire. As Wolfe indicates, one of the mechanisms that can be deployed for acquiring land is the invention of a racialized discourse of elimination.[22] For Wolfe, the desire for land is what draws the essential distinction that differentiates settler colonialism from other forms of colonialism. Dalie Giroux's *L'œil du maître : figures de l'imaginaire colonial québécois* (2020) describes in detail similar settler colonial mechanisms enacted by Quebec following the historical, economic and material formation of Quebecois subjectivity and a Quebec state in the francophone imagination and psyche. Giroux's work also brings to light forgotten Francophone decolonial undercurrents of history.

i.iv Transdiscursive Lacunae

At a conference hosted by Figura-NT2 Concordia that was held at Concordia University on March 24, 2016, professor René Lemieux called attention to the discursive

[22] One example of this racialized discourse of elimination in the Canadian settler colonial context is the Indian Act of 1876. The Indian Act of 1876 established a regime of discourse in which "Indian" became a measurable and targetable "race" that could be eliminated through invented processes of enfranchisement, blood quantum or out-marriage.

gap between the Anglophone and Francophone worlds in matters concerning settler studies. This discursive gap had less to do with the lack of conscious reflection on the subject of colonialism and anticolonialism in Francophone discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. In fact, Francophone Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars such as Georges Sioui, Dalie Giroux and Michel Morin have been shaping a tradition of decolonial, Indigenous and anticolonial thought unique to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island for quite some time. Instead, this discursive gap could perhaps be said to have been connected to a lack of reflection in Anglophone and Francophone translation discourse on the discipline of settler studies. The absence of linguistically equivalent terms to "settler" or "settler colonialism" in the French language does not equate with a lack of conscious reflection on this peculiar sociopolitical phenomenon. For it is not the terms themselves that indicate inherently a social consciousness of the qualities that characterize settler colonialism, but rather the analytical and conceptual frameworks assembled in a given language for interpreting the colonial present. New material, reflections and insights in the French language could in fact contribute richly to settler studies in English.

However, there remains to be an apparent lack of conscious reflection on settler colonialism in both English and French on Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. This lack of conscious reflection is no doubt the result of a variety of mechanisms that contributed to the production of the mass oblivion of Canadian settler colonial history, not all of which I could name within the confines of this thesis. However, a prominent and interesting explanation for such a lack in the Quebec context could be connected to one of the mythologies fashioned during the sovereigntist movement in the 1960s and 1970s that led

to a re-imagining of a colonized Quebecois people, failing to notice the colonial relations and histories between New France, Francophone Quebec and Indigenous Peoples (Mills 2010, 29). It was, in fact, a movement that had partly been fueled by the impetus of decolonial and anticolonial movements unfolding worldwide, such as in Cuba and Algeria. This nation-building narrative would then crystallize certain historical readings and understandings of terms colonialism and decolonization (and their linguistic variants). To some extent, then, it is the task of decolonial research to chip away at the deep sedimentation formed by the legacies of this popular narrative and re-uncover alternative buried histories of colonialism in relation to Francophone Quebec. For example, a certain history of colonization in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island is linked to the role of François-Xavier-Antoine Labelle (nicknamed "curé Labelle" and "roi du Nord" in French), in this case to the colonization of the Laurentians during the nineteenth century.

A significant amount of time has passed since the 1960s, and there is no denying that hundreds of years of resistance, Indigenous resurgence, the rise of Francophone Indigenous cultural production, and the increased visibility of Indigenous intellectuals, artists, musicians and political struggles in the public sphere have already begun the work of undoing the colonizer/colonized schema set up between Anglophone Canadians and Francophone Québécois in the nation-building narrative previously mentioned. The shifting perceptions in Quebec's historical psyche around this schema are articulated through the critical perspectives of Francophone Indigenous Peoples, translations of Indigenous literatures and francophone decolonial theorists in Quebec/Canada/Turtle

Island.[23] Yet, in light of *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* and other fairly recent projects, such as Dominic Gagnon's *of the North* (2015),[24] the need for mass psychic transformation unmistakably remains. This claim also holds with regard to the Anglophone imagination in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.

The example above helps illustrate the way in which social imaginaries that play out historically can create an economy of narratives that shape the evolutionary use of a term and that certain narratives can create theoretical impasses. This has happened both in the Anglophone- and Francophone-speaking regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island each according to various and differing processes. However, this does not mean that an Indigenous, anticolonial and decolonial tradition of thought has not already existed in the Francophone world of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. This tradition has been shaped for decades by Francophone scholars, activists and researchers, such as Dalie Giroux, Georges Sioui, Jean Morisset and Eleonore Sioui, and has formed a context of reception for the translation of settler studies discourse from English into French. In recent years, Francophone scholars such as Dalie Giroux, René Lemieux, Karim Chagnon, Simon Dabin and Benjamin Pillet have been building their repertoires with the settler colonial

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[23] For example, *see* Georges Sioui, Dalie Giroux, René Lemieux, Karim Chagnon, Pierrot Ross-Tremblay, Natasha Kanapé Fontaine, Naomi Fontaine, Maya Cousineau-Mollen, Benjamin Pillet, Joséphine Bacon, Guy Sioui Durand, Kim O'Bomsawin, Elisapie Isaac, and Anna-Khesic Kway Harper (Kiki Harper).

[24] Gagnon's experimental film *of the North* was a montage of footage either filmed by Inuit, filmed by individuals filming Inuit and/or filming the landscape of northern Canada. Inuk artists Tanya Tagaq and Stephen Puskas criticized the film for its racist and colonial portrayals of Inuit and the north. On top of this, a lot of the footage Gagnon used in this film is unrelated to the North and/or Inuit culture. For example, there is a scene in the film that depicts two drunk men fighting and this scene was actually filmed in Texas. To learn more, *see* "L'affaire of the North: penser l'appropriation par la traduction" (2017) by René Lemieux and Simon Labrecque, available on *Trahir*: https://trahir.wordpress.com/2017/05/26/labrecque-lemieux-ofthenorth/

history of Canada and Quebec in relation to Indigenous lands by translating and incorporating theory from Anglophone-speaking settler studies scholars.[25] The Anglophone world and imagination could consolidate relations of solidarity with Francophone decolonial, anticolonial and Indigenous currents of thought by translating these scholars and these traditions into English.

i.v French Terminology – "Settler" and "Settler Colonialism"

To circle back momentarily to the terms "settler" and "settler colonialism" in relation to translation studies discourse, Lemieux proposed the following terms as possible solutions for Francophone translators when translating settler studies discourse from English:

> S'il y a des équivalents en français de *settler colonialism*…colonialisme, mot qui en anglais vient du français, ce n'est pas un problème. Le problème c'est le *settler*, on en parlera difficilement…le colonialisme du colon, mais plutôt on utilise surtout colonialisme de peuplement ou encore colonialisme d'établissement. On pourrait proposer une dernière option, puisque l'équivalent au temps de la Nouvelle France de *settler* était habitant, on pourrait parler de colonialisme d'habitation (Giroux and Morisset 2016).

[25] *See* Dalie Giroux "Les langages de la colonisation: Quelques éléments de réflexion sur le régime linguistique subalterne en Amérique du Nord" (2017), René Lemieux "Autochtones/immigrants: quelques notes sur la critique d'une remarque du Gouverneur général" (2017), Karim Chagnon "Colonialisme, universalisme occidental et traduction" (2020), Simon Dabin "Suis-je un colonisateur ?" (2019) and Benjamin Pillet "Discours décolonial, préfigurations et dispositifs : allié.e.s et complices anarchistes à Montréal" (2019) and "Le Décolonialisme et ses déclinaisons" (2019).

In what follows, I carry Lemieux's suggestions forward into the ensuing analyses to determine if any French terms for "settler" or "settler colonialism" emerge in Francophone media discourse. Given their differential geopolitical contexts, I study Francophone publications based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France separately.

i.vi Francophone Media in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

In the articles published by Francophone media outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, terms that reference colonialism appear as follows:

Colonialisme	3	Colonisé	1	Colonialisme de peuplement	1
Colonisation	2	Coloniaux	1	Colonialisme d'exploitation	1
Colonial	1	Colonisateur-Colonisé	1		

It should be noted that the frequency of the appearance of these terms does not correspond to the number of articles in which these terms are mentioned. Out of all 19 articles that composed this Francophone corpus, only six mention any of the terms listed above.[26] The six terms in the first two columns from left to right are not deployed in a context that explicates a vision of settler colonialism. However, the third column includes two terms that indicate a differentiation between classic notions of colonialism and settler colonialism. In an interview with journalist Catherine Lalonde for *Le Devoir*, art historian Jean-Philipp Uzel provides an insightful analysis of the transatlantic controversy by pointing out the difference between Canada's settler colonial context and what he deems

[26] Carabin 2018; Girard 2018; *ICI Radio-Canada* 2018; Lalonde 2018; Paul 2018; Rioux 2018.

to be France's postcolonial context. Considering Lemieux's reflections in the previous section, the fact that Uzel provides an elementary definition of settler colonialism[27] to *Le Devoir*'s readership signifies that settler studies discourse has gained traction, perhaps only peripherally, in at least some Francophone institutions in Quebec.[28] Although Lalonde's article does not directly designate the settler readership with an equivalent term to "settler," the presence of the notion of settler colonialism – "colonialisme de peuplement" – in Francophone media discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island at least recontextualizes the readership within a present that is continuous with a colonial past. This observation is not to suggest that there scarcely exists a social consciousness of settler colonial phenomena in Francophone discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. I have described how this is not the case in the previous subsections. Rather, this is to emphasize the fact that the realities of settler colonialism concerning Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island *are* to some extent present in Francophone media discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Let us consider this in comparison to Francophone media discourse in France.

i.vii Francophone Media in France

In the corpus of Francophone publications originating in France, there is no mention of such a conception of colonialism. The frequency of terms referencing colonialism appear as follows:

Colon(s)	2	Colonialisme	1

[27] "l'empire s'est installé, est toujours présent, et restera ; il est encore une réalité quotidienne" (Lalonde 2018).
[28] Jean-Philippe Uzel teaches contemporary and Indigenous art in the Department of Art History at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

Colonisation	4	Colonisateur(s)	1
Colonial(e)	2	Soft-colonialisme	1

The terms in the chart above appeared differentially in five of the total 17 articles selected.[29] However, these references to colonialism are not clearly associated with the peculiar phenomenon that is settler colonialism. There is an acknowledgement that Canada has a colonial history, and certain articles cite the Indian residential schools[30] by way of example, yet the theoretical premises that structure perception from the vantage point of settler studies do not surface. Therefore, these texts could not be said to actively produce an effect on the readership in France that introduces settler (colonial) discourse. Instead, a reader would require prior knowledge of the notion of settler colonialism and its continual existence in the form of Canada. If settler studies theory gained more attention in France, there would be many avenues for research on the settler colonial relations between France and Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, as well as between France and its "overseas departments and territories."[31]

The translation of Indigenous, decolonial and anticolonial cultural works produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and beyond would be a helpful tool for creating common referents of discourse and contexts between the English and French

[29] Beauvallet 2018; da Silva 2018; de Saint-Hilaire 2018; Gayot 2018; Prokhoris 2018.
[30] Beauvallet 2018; da Silva 2018; de Saint-Hilaire 2018; Héliot 2018; Héliot 2018; Ubertalli 2018.
[31] Despite the Treaty of Paris (1763), France still benefits from its legacy as a settler colonial empire. For example, the fact that Standard French is taught widely in French immersion programs across Canada produces access to a potential physical and mental labour force beyond France's national borders. Furthermore, settler colonial relations are playing out in former French colonies. Thomas Burelli at Ottawa University has carried out research on this subject.

languages and their worlds of imagination. The construction of the commonality of such referents, however, would also depend greatly on a given translator's methodology and practice, the publisher and various other factors for resisting certain forms of assimilationism that could risk effacing the alterity of the source product.

i.viii The Construction of Settler Publics

The appearance of the term "settler" in the selected English media publications symbolizes the entrance of settler discourse, if only just slightly, into English mainstream media. Certainly, the articles did not integrate robust settler studies analytical frameworks that provide detailed contexts to Canada's settler history. However, the term is no less transformative of the readership's subjectivity, acknowledging the reality that Canada is a settler state with a population of settlers. As a style of history writing, settler studies can provide another story about the history of this country and its population. Its discourse provides some of the thought-provoking tools necessary for understanding the history of this country from an Indigenous perspective. That is, it calls upon a world of relationality and historical continuity long forgotten by the mainstream public,[32] and it forms an historical setting and political space within which many Indigenous Peoples articulate their lived experiences. The use of the term "settler" generates a settler subject, codifying

[32] For example, the five phases of treaty making and diplomatic Indigenous-settler legal relations, the policy of elimination/assimilation implemented by the Indian residential school system, and the Indian Act of 1876 are all historical processes that have shaped and continue to shape Canadian settler society as it exists today. Yet, these historical processes that inform us about Canada and its origins have generally been kept out of the mainline education system. There have been slight modifications depending on various factors, such as region, institution, and program. Since the TRC's 94 Calls to Action, certain public institutions have, for example, integrated the history and impacts of the Indian residential school system on Indigenous Peoples into public education. However, *how* that story is told, *who* tells it and *what* has remained left out means there can still be a great deal at stake (Reith and Stewart 2015).

the non-Indigenous population of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island into an historical, political, social and economic space-time, introducing readers into new positions of relationality and new forms of self- and collective awareness. The writing practices that constitute settler studies research in English could create new spaces of critique in the imaginary continuum of the Francophone speaking public by means of a combination of diligent translation work and inventive reflection. These new spaces of critique could in theory bolster and raise a mass consciousness that could give shape and form to settler publics in the French language, altering contexts of reception.

As discussed, the embryonic stages of the formation of settler publics were visible in Anglophone and Francophone discourses in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, yet no such sociopolitical formation representing Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island could be said to have taken shape in the selected Francophone media discourses produced in France. This lack of a locatable settler consciousness[33] in France's media discourse is relatively unsurprising and I expound on why that is in section three. As will be shown in the following subsection, a similar pattern of this absence can be located in the writing practices involved in representing Indigenous Peoples.

ii. Representations of Indigenous Peoples

Having analyzed the historical significance of the writing practices tied to settler studies and how translation could contribute to social transformation in French discourse

[33] A settler consciousness defined through settler studies, decolonial and Indigenized discourse, as well as through certain writing practices. This would be opposed to a kind of settler unconscious bias that has been formed by various settler colonial discourses and mechanisms. Decolonial and Indigenous literatures, along with settler studies and even postcolonial theory, can help reveal the many processes that constitute settler subject formation.

and the reader-subject, it is time to examine and analyze the differential representations of Indigenous Peoples throughout the Anglophone and Francophone publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France.

The first part of this analysis examines misnomers, misspellings and inappropriate term choices in the France-based media publications chosen for this study. The second part compares writing practices in Anglophone and Francophone media publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France to throw light on the noticeable differences as to how Indigenous Peoples are represented. With a reading mediated through the theoretical optics provided by Tuhiwai Smith and Younging, which were outlined in chapter two, I locate what could be described as nascent and fledgling Indigenized writing practices by Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists in both the Anglophone and Francophone media publications produced in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The results of these analyses are then contemplated within their contexts of production in section III and put in service of the translation flow model that I propose in chapter five.

ii.i Misnomers, Misspellings and Inappropriate Terms

In this subsection, I have selected formulations from France-based publications exhibiting writing practices that could be considered erroneous from a settler perspective.[34] These writing practices demonstrate a lack of familiarity with ways of speaking and reporting on Indigenous Peoples, some of which may be considered

[34] A settler perspective as defined by an at least introductory level to settler self-consciousness and knowledge of Indigenous politics.

offensive in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.[35] In the following paragraphs, I provide context as to why and how the formulations I have handpicked exhibit problematic writing practices.

"Amérindien/Indien d'Amérique du Nord/Indiens autochtones"

The term "Amérindien" appears six times in four of the articles published by media outlets based in France.[36] This term has largely been deemed unacceptable and outdated by Francophone-speaking Indigenous public figures.[37] The term "Amérindien" is a calque of "Amerindian," translated from English into French and is an exonym predicated on a translation of a letter and Christopher Columbus' navigational incompetence.[38] Believing he had arrived in India when reaching Turtle Island, Columbus wrote and sent a letter to Luis de Santángel in which Columbus described his environment and the inhabitants he encountered in similar terms (Oliel 2016, 1). The term "Amérindien," a portmanteau for "Indien d'Amérique," is derived from a European

[35] I do not wish to downplay the reality that racism and offensive speech against Indigenous Peoples is still rampant in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. In fact, there is still a great deal of room for improvement in journalistic practices when it comes to reporting on Indigenous Peoples in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. However, my purpose here is to examine how this particular case study demonstrates that language and writing practices are indeed evolving differently on either side of the Atlantic and even in the same language.

[36] da Silva 2018; Gayot 2018; Prokhoris 2018; Ubertalli 2018.

[37] In an article entitled "Non, les Autochtones ne sont pas des Amérindiens" published by Ghislain Picard, the Chief of the Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador, Picard outlines why "Indien" and "Amérindien" are unacceptable French terms for designating Indigenous Peoples. According to Picard's article, Quebec's Minister of Education took an initiative in collaboration with an Indigenous consultation committee to make changes to public school textbooks. One of the changes included the removal of the term "Amérindien." In an interview called "WAGNER #34 – Maïtée Labrecque-Saganash" on the podcast *Wagner*, Saganash claims that "Autochtone" should be used in place of "Amérindien."

[38] The term "Amerindian" in English is the contraction of "American Indian" and was created in 1899 by the American geographer John Wesley Powell.

perspective and from a European story of colonization, misrecognition and navigational error. In the Francophone-speaking regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, the term "Autochtone" has been gradually replacing the term "Amérindien," though not all settlers have adopted this writing and speaking practice.[39]

However, contrary to what we see in France, the initiative to remove the term "Amérindien" from the province of Quebec's public school textbooks marks a shift away from the use of this term in public discourse and a change in writing/speaking practice. The term "Amérindien" appears four times in four separate articles published by Quebec-based media. However, the first two appearances of the term take place in direct quotations from Ariane Mnouchkine and Kevin Loring. In this case, only two Québécois journalists actually chose to use the term "Amérindien" to refer to Indigenous Peoples in general.[40]

The context of the term "Amérindien" described above implicitly explains why "Indien d'Amérique du Nord" is a term that is considered to be inappropriate for settlers to use to describe Indigenous Peoples. This formulation appears once in an article published by *Le Point* (2018) journalist Olivier Ubertalli. Ubertalli uses the term in an effort to educate the French public on the three official groups of Indigenous Peoples

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[39] For example, not once does the term "Amérindien" appear in the "Peuples autochtones : guide terminologique" written by Tonina Simeone and edited by Olivier Leblanc-Laurendeau for the Library of Parliament's HillNotes blog.

[40] This is not to suggest that newer terms in French and English that have been adopted in ways of speaking and writing in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island to replace the dated terms "Amerindian" and "Amérindien", such as "Indigenous" or "autochtone," are any less of an exonym. However, these newer terms do not have the same connotations. The new terms are also subject to change. To learn more, *see* "A rose by any other name is a mihkokwaniy" (2012) by Chelsea Vowel: https://apihtawikosisan.com/2012/01/a-rose-by-any-other-name-is-a-mihkokwaniy/

currently recognized by Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982 – the Indian, Métis and Inuit(s) peoples. In place of "Indian/Indiens," Ubertalli uses "Indien d'Amérique du Nord," likely to avoid confusing peoples from India with Indigenous Peoples. Yet, Ubertalli's substitute has never been an official terminology in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, it would be rare to hear such a manner of speaking. In fact, beyond the legal context in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, the terms "Indian/Indien" have been replaced with "First Nations/Premières Nations."[41] Besides being a misnomer, the terms "Indian/Indien" have been saturated with offensive, colonialist and racist connotations due to their functionality throughout colonial history over time. For the reasons outlined above, the formulation "Indien autochtone" is also unacceptable – not to mention that it makes no logical sense. In the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, if one were to hear the word pairs "Indigenous Indian/Indien autochtone," one would be confused as to whom this formulation refers.

Whereas in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island Anglophone and Francophone contexts, there are ongoing efforts to learn Indigenous perspectives, which is a condition of possibility for presupposing Indigenous publics in settler writing practices, such an effort was clearly not made by the French journalists who used the terms "Amérindien," "Indien d'Amérique du Nord," and "Indien autochtone" in their publications to refer to Indigenous Peoples.

[41] The term "Premières Nations" itself is a calque translation of the English term "First Nations."

“minorités autochtones canadiennes”

On the podcast *Media Indigena*, Cree host Rick Harp was joined by Candis Callison from the Tahltan Nation and Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate professor Kim Tallbear for a roundtable discussion on social media debates stoked by a tweet. In that particular episode, entitled “Why Indians aren’t tripping over Trump’s ‘Indian Country’ tweet”, the evolution of terminology is a focal point for discussion. Once Harp, Callison and Tallbear explain why the criticism coming from settlers regarding Trump’s use of the term “Indian Country” in a tweet reveals settler ignorance of legal history, given that “Indian Country” has a legalistic application, they carry the discussion forward with an examination of other terms. One such term happens to be “Indigenous Canadian.” Tallbear argues that “Indigenous Canadian” is problematic because it “extends the state authority back historically before the moment the state existed.”[42]

Beyond this issue of inscribing the authority of the Canadian state into a historical past to which it does not belong, the formulation “Indigenous Canadian” also creates an effect implying that Indigenous Peoples are Indigenous to Canada. To my knowledge, the discussion between Harp, Callison and Tallbear has not been translated to the Francophone community. The arguments advanced by Tallbear are helpful for thinking through how to write about history and the way Indigenous Peoples are represented in history. With these reflections in mind, “minorités autochtones canadiennes” mirrors the formulation “Indigenous Canadian” and manifests a problematic writing practice. Framing Indigenous Peoples within the discourse of “minorities” and “minority rights”

[42] Rick Harp, Candis Callison and Kim Tallbear,“Why Indians aren’t tripping over Trump’s ‘Indian Country’ tweet”, December 31, 2019, in *Media Indigena*, produced by Rick Harp, podcast, MP3 Audio, 38:33.

discourse is also a problematic writing practice. Not only does it in some sense perform the very thing it names (i.e., minoritization happens in the act of naming a minority), this writing practice also has the effect of delegitimizing and erasing Indigenous Peoples as diplomatic and sovereign peoples.[43]

"tribus autochtones/tribus autochtones amérindiennes"

Since I have already discussed the terms "Amerindian/Amérindien," I primarily focus on the term "tribu" in this example. In the Anglophone and Francophone-speaking world within the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, it is uncommon to speak of Indigenous "tribes" and far more common and acceptable for settlers to speak of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Nations, members of Indigenous Nations, or in more particular terms. South of the border, however, the term "tribe" is commonplace, although there is no single and unified perspective on the use of this term. In *Indian Country Today*,[44] Shawnee-Lenape legal scholar Steven Newcomb outlines the historical

[43] Gerald Taiaiake Alfred has criticized the use of the term "sovereignty" when describing Indigenous power in *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (2009) because it is a concept of statehood and power originating in the European tradition. In this context, I mean to use the term "sovereign" in a sense that acknowledges Indigenous Peoples as having autonomous systems of governance and power that are nested within and without settler political constructs. In other words, my intent is not to assimilate Indigenous Peoples within European concepts of sovereignty and power in my use and re-definition of the term.

[44] Recalling Harp, Callison and Tallbear's discussion, the American legal category "Indian Country" has been taken up into the title of publication *Indian Country Today*, formerly known as *The Lakota Times*. As Gregory Younging, as well as Harp, Callison and Tallbear, have all pointed out, the use of the term "Indian" is only acceptable for settlers to use in specific contexts, such as when referring to law or historical documents. According to Younging, a settler could use the inappropriate terminology "Indian" when discussing this term as terminology, referring to a proper name, institution or document or quoting a source (Younging 2018, 73). However, it all boils down to the context of reception, as well, considering that Younging can neither speak for everyone nor for every situation. Settlers must always be prepared to make mistakes and recognize their own human fallibility.

context of the American use of the term “tribe” instead of “nation.” He explains that the terms “tribe” and “nation” came into use during negotiations between British and American commissioners at the end of the War of 1812.

According to Newcomb’s account, the terms in fact embody the political aspirations that Great Britain and the United States expressed during their talks. On the one hand, Great Britain spoke of “Indian nations” when referring to the Indigenous Peoples inhabiting the land because British commissioners desired to establish an Indian buffer state. Therefore, for the British, “nation” was preferable to use when referring to Indigenous Peoples since the term bears great political significance. On the other hand, the American commissioners who attended the talks following the War of 1812 were opposed to Great Britain’s diplomatic project of creating an Indian buffer state. When referring to the Indigenous Peoples of the lands upon which they had settled, the Americans refused to use the term “nation” and made repeated use of the term “tribe” instead, the former being perceived as too dignified and politically powerful (Newcomb 2004).

Although Newcomb’s article is a bit dated, his history lesson can still teach us a great deal about some of the problems with the term “tribe.” Not only is the term tethered to connotations of the European notions of “primitiveness,” “uncivilized,” or “inferiority” that were instrumental in building a racialized logic of domination and conquest, but there was also a political purpose behind the American commissioners’ choice of this term — namely to discredit and delegitimize Indigenous political power and status. His insights shed light on the negative multifunctionality of the English term “tribe.” However, it should also be noted that while the term “nation” may appear to have

attributed dignified and politically powerful qualities to Indigenous Peoples, the term "nation" also took on the shape of the settler colonial aspirations of Great Britain (Giroux 2017, 72).

In *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018), Younging of the Opaskwayak Cree Nation also speaks of the inappropriateness of the term "tribe," underlining its degrading connotations (Younging 2018, 63). In the Francophone-speaking context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, the term "tribu" is also considered offensive. According to an Indigenous terminology style guide compiled by Union des municipalités du Québec (UMQ) published on April 26, 2006, the term "tribu" is generally seen as a pejorative term and therefore Francophone settlers are encouraged not to use it (Guide terminologique autochtone 2006, 15).

The word combinations "tribus autochtones" and "tribus autochtones amérindiennes" appeared in only one article published by a French media outlet. The article, entitled "'Kanata-Épisode 1 – La Controverse' de Robert Lepage - un génocide à visage humain," was published in *Atlantico*, a right-leaning outlet that appeals to a neo-conservative public (Lherm 2011). The term "tribu" does not appear in any of the selected Francophone publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.

Overall, the writing practices that have been analyzed in this subsection exemplify a lack of knowledge and unfamiliarity with ways of writing, seeing and speaking that are characteristic of journalistic writing practices in the Anglophone and Francophone publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The examples above were pulled from publications spanning the political spectrum – from the left-wing *Humanité* to more right wing and conservative news outlets such as *Le Figaro* and *Atlantico*. The reasons

according to which the commonality of these erroneous writing practices in France-based articles can be understood are elaborated on in section III. However, it will be more convenient to provide this additional context once the remainder of the analysis of writing practices has been completed. With this in mind, let us carry onto the next part of the analysis.

ii.ii Indigenized Writing Practices

This particular analysis is set up by incorporating Tuhiwai Smith's theories of Indigenizing and representing, along with Younging's principles four and twelve, as structuring frameworks that provide the theoretical optics for locating and recognizing Indigenized and/or decolonial writing practices. This analytical approach does not necessarily presuppose that journalists consciously deployed Tuhiwai Smith and Younging in their writing practices. Rather, Tuhiwai Smith's theories and Younging's principles constitute the conditions of recognizability through which the decolonial or Indigenized effects of certain writing practices can be understood – they provide decolonial/Indigenized contexts of analysis.

The inclusion of Indigenous Peoples in publications can be considered a practice of what Tuhiwai Smith describes as Indigenizing discourse. These inclusions create a space within the text and within public discourse where Indigenous voices, stories and perspectives have a certain degree of narrative agency. However, these individual narratives can enter into relations of tension with the parameters of acceptable discourse as determined by given journalists and newsrooms. In providing a platform for a certain degree of narrative agency, made possible through the Indigenized spaces in certain publications, Indigenous Peoples interviewed, cited or authoring articles have partial

leeway for self-determination. In this sense, the inclusion of Indigenous voices, perspectives and stories in a journalist's writing practice can be understood as a particular iteration of Tuhiwai Smith's notion of representing. These inclusions should also be understood in the broader context of the *Kanata* controversy, which ultimately was about Indigenized and decolonizing artistic practices and cultural production. The absence of Indigenous perspectives and participation in media narrative productions otherwise places the journalist in a position of total control over how Indigenous Peoples are represented. Inclusion is not foolproof, however, as journalists are capable of writing detrimental articles even while also including Indigenous voices, perspectives or stories.

Below, there are three separate charts displaying the number of times a particular Indigenous public figure (e.g. filmmakers, authors, etc) appeared in each corpus. The same names are provided in each of the charts and they correspond to the Indigenous public figures. I chose these public figures based on the media articles that I read. I provide context to these charts and follow up with excerpts taken from media publications that in my view illustrate the presence or absence of Younging's principles four and twelve in the writing practices used (see page 19).

Francophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

Kevin Bacon-Hervieux	1	Maya Cousineau Mollen	4	Nakuset	3
Andrew Dudemaine	0	Maïtée Labrecque-Saganash	1	Kevin Loring	3
Kim O'Bomsawin	3	Guy Sioui Durand	3	Charles Bender	1
Stephen Puskas	0	Dave Jenniss	1	Caroline Monnet	1

Out of all nineteen selected Francophone publications sourced from media outlets

based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, there were eleven in which at least one Indigenous person's perspective and voice was included in the news story.[45] For brevity's sake, I have chosen only three examples from the selected Francophone articles to illustrate how an Indigenized writing practice corresponds to the representation of Indigenous Peoples. These examples are as follows:

> Example 1: "L'ancien directeur artistique du Festival Innu Nikamu et réalisateur innu Kevin Bacon-Hervieux a lui aussi partagé son avis" (Paul 2018)
>
> Example 2: "M. Lepage et la femme de théâtre Ariane Mnouchkine…avaient rencontré les signataires d'une lettre ouverte publiée dans le Devoir pour en dénoncer certains aspects et signée par de nombreuses personnes, dont la réalisatrice abénakise Kim O'Bomsawin" (Carabin 2018)
>
> Example 3: "'On va nous accuser de nous en prendre à la liberté d'expression ; ce n'est pas le cas, proteste pour sa part l'acteur huron-wendat Charles Bender" (Delgado 2018)

When reading the excerpts above in relation to Younging's principles four and twelve, one can locate certain characteristics that reflect an Indigenized writing practice. While these excerpts do not demonstrate principles four and twelve in their entirety, they do meet some of the principles' criteria. For example, recognizing the diversity and distinctness of Indigenous Peoples and their cultures is an integral part of principle four. The distinctness of an Indigenous Peoples can be determined through a writing practice

[45] Carabin 2018; Clément 2018; Cloutier 2018; Couture 2018; Delgado 2018; Giuseppe 2018; Lalonde 2018; Laurence 2018; Métro Montréal 2018; Paul 2018; Radio-Canada 2018.

that exercises precision and particularity, rather than generalities. To use precision in one's writing practice is also connected to principle twelve, which involves using "the names for Indigenous Peoples that Indigenous Peoples use for themselves. It establishes these names through consultation with Indigenous Peoples, and compilations of names done through consultation with Indigenous Peoples" (Younging 2018, 83).

Although the terms "innu," "abénakise," and "huron-wendat" are evidently Gallicized and written according to the rules of French grammar, Kevin Bacon-Hervieux, Kim O'Bomsawin and Charles Bender have all used these terms respectively to self-identify when addressing the public. With the multiplication of Indigenous language revitalization initiatives, there are signs that emerging writing practices have begun to replace exonyms with endonyms. This qualifies as another Indigenized writing practice, one that could be referred to as a practice in decolonial resistance, and it has been gaining traction on a variety of Indigenous and Left media platforms, such as *Contrepoints Media* and *Real Peoples Media*.[46]

Anglophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

Kevin Bacon-Hervieux	0	Maya Cousineau Mollen	1	Nakuset	3
Andrew Dudemaine	1	Maïtée Labrecque-Saganash	1	Kevin Loring	2
Kim O'Bomsawin	4	Guy Sioui Durand	1	Charles Bender	2
Stephen Puskas	1	Dave Jenniss	1	Caroline Monnet	0

[46] The resurgence of endonyms can be understood as a linguistic resistance to the assimilation by exonyms. This writing practice is even deployed in Ka'nhehsí:io Deer's articles published for the *CBC* in which Deer is recognized as "Kanien'kehá:ka," the endonym in Kanien'kéha for "Mohawk" or "the people of the flint/stone."

Out of the eleven Anglophone articles selected from media outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, eight of them included at least one Indigenous perspective.[47] I have drawn forth three examples to illustrate what could be considered as elements of an Indigenized writing practice in the Anglophone publications chosen for this research project. Bearing in mind the preceding analysis, the writing practices included in the examples below are similar:

> Example 1: The list of critics of *Kanata* is also growing, with more than 500 signatures added to an open letter written by Kevin Loring, a Nlaka'pamux playwright, actor and director from the Lytton First Nation in British Columbia" (Deer 2018).
>
> Example 2: "Innu writer Maya Cousineau Mollen travelled to Paris from Quebec hoping to find that Robert Lepage had heard the grievances of Indigenous artists about his play "Kanata"" (Valiante 2018).
>
> Example 3: "Abenaki film director Kim O'Bomsawin, whose documentary about missing and murdered Indigenous women Ce silence qui tue was released in the spring, signed the open letter published in Le Devoir" (Berman and Schlanger 2018).

In the first example, Ka'nhehsí:io Deer's writing practice exemplifies the precision writing put forth in principle twelve and the recognition of Indigenous Peoples as distinct, in accordance with principle four. In this example, Loring is identified by

[47] Berman and Schlanger 2018; *CBC Montreal* 2018; Deer 2018; Deer 2018; Lowrie 2018; Rakobowchuk 2018; Kestler-D'Amours 2018; Valiante 2018

means of a transliteration of the endonym for his People – Nlaka'pamux. The second example could have been more precise by specifying the Innu traditional homeland, which Innu Elders refer to as Nutshimit.[48] However, the use of the term "Innu" still exemplifies a practice that avoids collapsing Maya Cousineau Mollen's geopolitical Indigenous identity into the blanket term "Indigenous." In this sense, it is another example of a writing practice that could be considered Indigenized according to Younging's principles four and twelve. The third example – Abenaki – is evidently an Anglicization of the French "abénakis." Both terms are derived from an endonym compounded by the terms "w8ban"[49] (light) and Aki (land), which mean people in the morning of or people of the East" (Conseil des Abénakis d'Odanak, 2020). Kim O'Bomsawin's home community is Odanak, an Abenaki First Nations reserve located north east of Tiohtià:ke/Montreal, near the St. François River.

Given that O'Bomsawin is Francophone, one might argue that the use of the term "Abenaki" does not coincide with the term that O'Bomsawin uses to self-identify – namely, abénaki. Yet, one has to recall the fact that the nationalistic notion of linguistic

[48] A commonplace term that has come into use is the Innu-aimun term "Nitassinan," translated into French as "notre terre à moi, à lui, mais sans toi" (Bacon 2018). The Innu poet Joséphine Bacon explains that the term "Nitassinan" is a political term that became commonplace during political action and negotiations and that effectively reimagined the land through a system of property and possession. She says, "ce n'était jamais « c'est ma chasse », « c'est ma rivière », « c'est mon lac », « c'est ma montagne ». Il n'y avait pas ce genre de possessif, ce genre de possession, parce que la terre n'appartenait à personne. Par contre, on avait un respect pour elle, car c'est elle qui nous nourrit et qui nous soigne. Donc, on n'avait pas ça, *nitassinan*. Le possessif « notre terre », ça, c'était quelque chose qu'on n'utilisait jamais. C'est devenu *nitassinan* à cause de la politique. C'est un mot politique, *nitassinan*, finalement" (Bacon 2018).

[49] According to the Grand Conseil de la Nation Waban-Aki, a tribal council comprising Odanak and Wôlinak, the symbol "8" is one of the oldest linguistic forms in the Abenaki language. It represents a nasal "o" sound (Grand Conseil de la Nation Waban-Aki, 2020).

purity and tendency to conflate language with identity is a settler colonial myth (Monty Hill 2016). In other words, the fact that Indigenous Peoples speak English does not make them less Indigenous. The reality of the present is that Odanak is a First Nations reserve that exists in a context where various historical forces, such as assimilation, have worked together to establish French and English linguistic hegemony. Given these circumstances, Abenaki/abénaki peoples are more than likely going to express themselves in French and also sometimes in English. The fact that the two proper names Abenaki/abénaki may refer to differing economies of narratives in each separate language is certainly one that should be noted. Nevertheless, the use of the term Abenaki or abénaki does not make the writing practice "un-Indigenous."

Francophone France

Kevin Bacon-Hervieux	0	Maya Cousineau Mollen	1	Nakuset	0
Andre Dudemaine	2	Maïtée Labrecque-Saganash	0	Kevin Loring	0
Kim O'Bomsawin	1	Guy Sioui Durand	0	Charles Bender	0
Stephen Puskas	0	Dave Jenniss	1	Caroline Monnet	0

Out of the seventeen French publications originating in France that were selected for the corpus, only four mention the names of specific Indigenous Peoples – that is, their full names, not their Indigenous Nationhood.[50] Olivier Ubertalli's article is the only one that includes a statement from an Indigenous person, while the rest of the articles merely mention the names of Dudemaine, O'Bomsawin and Cousineau Mollen. Ubertalli's article is also the only article that demonstrates a writing practice approximating the

[50] Beauvallet 2018; Héliot 2018; Héliot 2018; Ubertalli 2018.

practices observed in the Francophone and Anglophone publications produced in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The vast majority of the Francophone publications originating in France do not show any signs of the same writing practices. Maintaining consistency with the previous analyses, I have chosen three examples of the writing practices used in the French publications. They are:

> Example 1: “L'acteur et dramaturge métis Dave Jeniss, signataire de la lettre, confie au *Devoir* : « Ne pas avoir de comédien autochtone dans *Kanata* est un flagrant manque de respect envers ce qui s'est passé et les répercussions que ça a eues »” (Ubertalli 2018)
>
> Example 2: “Deux des signataires de cette lettre, Maya Cousineau-Mollen et Kim O'Bomsawin, étaient accueillies en France pour assister à la première de Kanata, à l'invitation du collectif Décoloniser les Arts qui organisait ce lundi une rencontre avec elles (à laquelle n'était pas conviée l'équipe du spectacle)” (Beauvallet 2018)
>
> Example 3: “La juriste en droit autochtone Alexandra Lorange,[51] qui avait assisté

[51] In February 2020, news publications revealed that Alexandra Lorange falsely claimed to be a member of the Atikamekw community. I have left her out of the media discourse analysis in light of these findings. This issue of what has come to be referred to in English as “pretendianism” is entangled in settler politics, as well as debates and clashes between European concepts of identity/citizenship and Indigenous approaches to determining community membership. For further reading on this subject, I recommend looking at Audra Simpson’s *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (2015) and Kim Tallbear’s *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (2013). It is also worthwhile to look at research by scholar Darryl Leroux, who has researched extensively on discourse surrounding Métis politics of recognition.

à cette réunion, avait jugé la rencontre fructueuse, de même

qu'André Dudemaine , directeur du Festival Présence autochtone"(Héliot 2018)

As remarked on in subsection I, French media publications were inclined to describe or refer to Indigenous Peoples in general and, in some instances, in terms that would be considered misrepresentative to an Indigenous and/or settler-conscious audience. Apart from Ubertalli's use of the term "métis" when identifying Dave Jenniss (whose name he misspells) and which is slightly more specific than a term like "Autochtone," there are no visible writing practices in the French publications selected for this analysis that reflect those mirroring Younging's principles four and twelve as observed in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island publications. A large majority of the publications produced in France – including those analyzed for this project – did not even include Indigenous perspectives, with the exception of a few articles that included a brief excerpt from the open letter that was published in *Le Devoir*. In this regard, neither would Tuhiwai Smith's conceptual frameworks "Indigenizing" and "representing" be relevant to the writing practices structuring the French publications either. Ubertalli's use of the term "métis" is most probably an incidental occurrence, as he makes terminological errors elsewhere in his article.[52] From this standpoint, it seems highly plausible to assume Ubertalli does not have any conscious awareness of the writing practices that have been evolving on the other side of the Atlantic and why they are important.

iii.iii Conclusion

To conclude, I have drawn forth a number of examples taken from news outlets based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France to illustrate the differing writing

[52] A selection of these errors were mentioned in subsection I.

practices and terminology that correspond to the representation of non-Indigenous peoples and Indigenous Peoples. In the first part of this chapter, I investigated some of the implications that a settler conscious writing practice has for the field of translation and how translation could contribute to transforming the French reader-subject into a settler audience. In the second half, I called attention to writing practices in left- and right-leaning France-based media outlets to demonstrate their lack of settler social consciousness. To the contrary, the writing practices in publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island indicate a fledgling form of Indigenized writing practices. In the following section, I consider how historical, political and social forces specific to geopolitical context can be understood to play an invaluable role in the shaping of writing practices. At the same time, they can help explain the absence of settler-conscious writing practices in France's media discourse.

III. Contexts of Production

i. Anglophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

Obviously, I cannot account for the totality of historical, social and political forces that have shaped and continue to shape the English language spoken and written throughout Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Despite this impossibility, there are a number of historical a prioris that are worthy of consideration when it comes to defining the contexts of production of the publications that were studied. Indigenous Peoples have been resisting the forces of settler colonialism for centuries. Yet, one of the most remarkable periods of resistance in historical memory followed Pierre Trudeau's 1969 White Paper policy, which aimed to abolish the Indian Act of 1876 and the federal- and crown-Indigenous relations therein articulated. This period, at times categorized as the

Red Power movement,[53] saw a rise in grassroots mobilization of Indigenous Peoples across Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Throughout the seventies, this mobilization consolidated a broad-based Indigenous movement struggling for political power, recognition and authority. These struggles led to the formation of Indigenous political entities, such as the National Indian Brotherhood (1968-1982), replaced by the Assembly of First Nations (1982-present), the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (1971-2001), renamed Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (2001-present), and the Native Council of Canada (1970-1993), replaced by the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples. All of these political entities would play fundamental roles in fighting for and securing Aboriginal[54] rights. This tremendous nationwide collective work of remembering and survival connected to Indigenous knowledges and memories of nation-to-nation relationships shaped settler public consciousness from the ground up, altering settler imagination and changing the course of history – inevitably affecting ways of seeing, speaking and writing.

Besides the Red Power movement, there have been numerous other high-profile historical, social and political events shaping Indigenous-settler relationships and settler consciousness over the years. For example, the Siege of Kanehsatà:ke (1990), otherwise

[53] Political activist, theologian and scholar Vine Deloria Jr. of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe is said to have coined the term "Red Power" to describe the collective political movements of the 1960s involving Indigenous Peoples colonized by the United States. The term also came into use to describe a similar period of activism in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.

[54] Although in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, the term "Indigenous" has begun to replace the term "Aboriginal," the latter term is still used in legal contexts. Given that many of the battles led by the aforementioned groups involved legal relations, I have used the term "Aboriginal" and not "Indigenous." In fact, Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982, a version of Canada's Constitution Act redrafted in the 1980s, recognizes "Aboriginal" rights and peoples (First Nations and Indigenous Studies 2009).

known as the “Oka Crisis” in settler media, received coverage “unlike any other Aboriginal event in Canadian history,” dominating media discourse as it unfolded (Anderson and Robertson 2011, 222). The #IdleNoMore movement (2012-present) and the Wet’suwet’en solidarity movement (2020) exemplify major historical moments of reckoning that have roused settler public consciousness on some of the stakes at play for Indigenous Peoples and the environment when it comes to industrial projects, resource development and extractive industry.

Beyond these collective expressions of political mobilization, the Anglophone world of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island has seen the development of disciplines devoted to Indigenous education. Pierre Trudeau’s White Paper policy was in some sense a catalyst also for the development of Indigenous Studies programs. The first of such programs available in English emerged at Trent University in 1969, although it took years before Indigenous Peoples were included in the development and structure of these programs (Taner 1999, 292). The National Indian Brotherhood (1968-1982) and local Indigenous organizations brought attention to the needs of Indigenous Peoples and called for initiatives in Indigenous-controlled education (Taner 1999, 293), pushing for the introduction of courses, programs, departments and colleges devoted to the study of Indigenous law, culture, languages, and history into established universities. The institution of Indigenous-controlled education in universities across Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island has provided the conditions of possibility for the continual production of discourses according to Indigenized methods and practices, re-shaping the imaginative landscape and history of this vast continent. Beyond the educational apparatuses that have been set up, there are numerous Indigenous media outlets in the

Anglophone-speaking world that participate in the production of social reality in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, such as *APTN, Media Indigena, One Dish, One Mic, Real Peoples Media, Red Power Media,* and numerous forms of citizen journalism on social media platforms.

The constellation of Indigenous media, Indigenous forms of education, and political activism all contribute and have contributed to the production of discourses on a variety of levels that articulate Indigenous knowledge systems, political philosophies and worldviews, and the diverse and collective experiences of Indigenous Peoples in relation to the settler population and settler colonial state of Canada. These historical, social and political factors have without a doubt shaped, and continue to shape, the history of this country and the way that settlers think, act, speak, write and see. Yet, when it comes to the findings in the media discourse analysis, one of the most striking factors that would have impacted mainstream media writing practices in a direct sense would have been the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's eighty-sixth call that:

> Canadian journalism programs and media schools…require education for all students on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal–Crown relations (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015, 296).

In 2018, journalists, newsrooms and university media courses should have had access to the newly updated eighteenth edition of the Canadian Press Stylebook, which incorporated many, though not all, of the propositions made in the "Style Guide for Reporting on Indigenous People" (Carpenter 2017). The latter is a general guide that was

edited by Lenny Carpenter and that included a handful of Indigenous contributors in its writing process. The guide provides introductory contexts to Indigenous Peoples in Canada, the Métis, First Nations, Inuit and Two Spirit people. One of the guide's recommendations is strikingly similar to principles four and twelve in Younging's *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018): "Whenever possible, be specific about the group, people or community, and defer to the community or individual(s) on how they prefer to be identified. In all instances, capitalize" (Carpenter 2017, 3).

Even though mainstream settler Canadian media has had a deficient track record in its representations of Indigenous Peoples, as Young and Callison have illustrated in their book *Reckoning: Journalism's Limits and Possibilities* (2020),[55] the historical, political and social factors outlined above provide context to the emergence of the writing practices observed in Anglophone media based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Indigenous Peoples have fought to be remembered and to be recognized from new perspectives and in new terms, changed the way that settlers speak, write and see and have therefore shaped the writing practices available in the English language. Grassroots organizing and political struggle have been an integral process to reshaping settler journalism and its construction of a "public."

[55] For example, Callison and Young discuss how mainstream Canadian media handled the murders of Tina Fontaine and Coulten Boushie. In a *The Globe and Mail* (2018) article, fifteen-year-old Fontaine was framed as being responsible for her own death. During Gerald Stanley's trial in the murder of Colten Boushie, the trial was commonly referred to in mainstream media as the "Boushie Trial," suggesting the victim was on trial for his own death, which also perpetuated criminalizing stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples.

ii. Francophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island

Although the Francophone- and Anglophone-speaking worlds overlap in many ways, there were nonetheless social, political and historical processes specific to the province of Quebec that bore great changes in the regional power dynamics between Indigenous Peoples and Québécois settlers. In particular, the construction of hydroelectric dams throughout the province had a serious impact on Indigenous-settler relations. The creation of Hydro-Québec in 1944 helped pave the way for industrial resource development in regions such as Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Côte-Nord, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean and Gaspésie.

The nationalization of electricity under Jean Lesage in 1962, combined with the revolutionary dynamism of Quebec, envisioned Hydro-Québec as an emblem for what would become the Quiet Revolution and as a tool for liberation through prosperity for many Francophone Québécois (Savard 2009, 48). Yet, this idealized vision of liberation and Quebec's power collided with the reality that Hydro-Québec's major industrial projects were transforming the traditional territories of Indigenous Peoples, jeopardizing their traditional practices, knowledges and forms of livelihood.[56] Populations that have been directly affected by hydroelectric projects range from the Atikamekw and Cree to the Inuit, Innu and even Kanien'kehá:ka Peoples.[57] The rapid rate of resource development projects was met with the first pan-Indigenous organization representing

[56] These forms of destruction, and their effects, persist to this day, such as on unceded Atikamekw territory, where industrial felling operations have been destroying the White birch population and local ecosystem.

[57] For further information, see An Antane Kapesh's *Eukuan nin matshi-manitu innushkueu/Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (2019), Gjerstad's *Napagunnaqullusi Ullusi: So That You Can Stand* (2015) and Audra Simpson's *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (2015).

Indigenous Peoples inhabiting the lands claimed by Quebec. This organization was called l'Association des Indiens du Québec (1965-1977) and it would temporarily fill in the gap in political discourse with regard to Indigenous worldviews, Title and political rights (Savard 2009, 51).

Quite possibly the most outstanding of these hydroelectric industrial projects was the La Grande project, otherwise known as the James Bay Project, introduced by PLQ leader Robert Bourassa in 1971. The James Bay Project was fundamental to Bourassa's political platform, which promised one hundred thousand new jobs and economic prosperity for Quebec society. Leading to the construction of one of the largest hydroelectric systems in the world, the James Bay Project was highly contested by the Cree and Inuit, rendering it a multilingual political affair[58] (Gjerstad 2015). Organized resistance to the project brought construction to a halt in 1973. The halt in construction made national media headlines and raised settler public consciousness of Indigenous Title and rights that had until then gone unrecognized. The negotiations that ensued culminated in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, a monumental modern treaty and land claims agreement that was the first of its kind in the history of the Canadian state. Yet, the agreement has certainly not brought an end to industrial projects and resource development in the province, both of which continue to cause ecological destruction and affect Indigenous Peoples.

[58] As Ole Gjerstad's film *NAPAGUNNAQULLUSI - So That You Can Stand* (2015) shows, social memory of this political affair also persists in Inuktitut. Negotiations, debate and discussions had to be negotiated between the Québécois people and Inuit. In this regard, translation between French and Inuktitut was required.

Besides large-scale industry and economic factors local to the province of Quebec, the Siege of Kanehsatà:ke (1990), the #IdleNoMore movement (2012-present), as well as the Wet'suwet'en solidarity movement (2020) have had an impact on settler public consciousness in the Francophone world of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. These political battles and struggles have given shape to important Indigenous-settler solidarity politics in the fight for the protection and defense of Indigenous lands and waters. As these solidarity politics continue to grow in both the French and English languages, so too does settler consciousness of Indigenous struggles and knowledge systems, in addition to an understanding of the settler colonial history of Quebec and Canada.

In particular, the #IdleNoMore movement marked a turning point of reckoning in Quebec's mainstream media. According to Dominique Charron, a Québécois settler who was closely involved in the movement, Francophone media coverage of #IdleNoMore was highly inept:

> On attribuait à l'ensemble d'une communauté ou, pire, à l'ensemble des premiers peuples les affirmations de chefs ayant leur propre visées politiques…On confondait « Autochtone », « Premières Nations », et « Amérindien », « Innu » et « Inuit », « communauté » et « réserve » (Charron 2018, 34).

The clumsy writing practices that Charron describes above call to mind the errors that were observed in the media discourse analysis of France-based media publications. Although the mistakes are not identical, the erroneous writing practices observed in France-based publications certainly displayed confusion and unfamiliarity with Indigenous politics on the part of the French journalists. It is true that in the Anglophone and Francophone worlds of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, the TRC's eighty-sixth

recommendation has not been fully implemented and that there is no standardized editorial guide on reporting on Indigenous Peoples. However, the organization Idle No More Québec, which was created a few weeks following the beginning of the #IdleNoMore movement (2012-present), played and continues to play an important role at filling in the editorial gap of Indigenized writing practices in Francophone media (Charron 2018, 34). As a locus for the production of Indigenous discourse in French, Idle No More Québec also holds Francophone settler journalists accountable for errors in their writing practices and/or provides further contextualization to news stories, introducing new ways of seeing, speaking and writing into public currents of thought. Considering the absence of Indigenized journalistic stylebooks on the Francophone mediascape, the presence of an organization like Idle No More Québec in the public sphere therefore plays an invaluable role in the shaping of settler Francophone discourse and writing practices.

The historical, social, economic and political factors outlined above are complemented by the fact that there also exist, somewhat similarly to the Anglosphere, numerous Indigenous Studies certificates and programs available to French-speaking publics.[59] On top of these disciplinary loci that give shape to Francophone settler imaginations, language and writing practices, there are Indigenous- and/or settler-run publishing houses and a literature festival that support the dissemination and production

[59] Examples of universities in the Francosphere of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island that offer Indigenous Studies certificates and programs include Université Laval, Université de Montréal, Université du Québec à Montréal and Université du Quebec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue.

of Indigenous discourses in many and varied forms, such as prose, poetry, and essays.[60] All of these serve in some way as repositories of Indigenous systems of knowledge and memories. The factors described above, among others, form some of the conditions of possibility that help to understand how and why the writing practices in the Francophone settler media studied in the discourse analysis displayed fledgling Indigenized writing practices. The sources of Indigenous currents of thought are located in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, shaping the French language anew and altering Quebec's position in history and, therefore, Québécois subjectivity.[61]

iii. Francophone France

The context of production in France differs from that of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The disciplinary infrastructures and historical, social, political and economic factors that define France's public imaginaries are not configured and organized in the same way as in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. For one, settler colonialism is not a lived reality in Metropolitan France. Whereas settler colonial states are political structures of invasion that seek land, the elimination of the Indigenous Peoples that occupy it, and are populated by settlers, Metropolitan France created settler relations of domination beyond the national borders that delineate its imperial core. As opposed to being populated with settlers, Metropolitan France today is highly diverse and includes peoples historically subject to France's former settler colonies. Many of those who could be considered to

[60] For example, the publishing houses Édition Hannenorak, Mémoire d'Encrier and Prise de Parole, and the literature festival Kwahiatonhk.
[61] For example, Natasha Kanapé Fontaine's collection of poems *Manifeste Assi*, "Assi" meaning "land" in Innu, is in part a reminder that there exists another land, another geography, another sense of place that pre-existed the conception of the province of Quebec.

make up this demographic have contributed to the production of a French intellectual tradition that has shaped the Anglophone intellectual tradition, while also remaining distinct in other ways.

As early as the 1930s, writers like Aimé Césaire and Léopold Senghor, commonly associated with what came to be known as the Négritude movement, had introduced anticolonial discourse into the French intellectual sphere (Williams 2003, 183). As a reaction and revolt to the Eurocentricity of French education, the Négritude movement had begun the work of developing a new lexicon and use of language in French thought that would conceive of new modes of expressing contemporary African experience and history. These modes of expression were no doubt also intermeshed with the violent transcontinental processes of colonialism, conquest and slavery that had laid the foundations for globalization. However, discourse surrounding colonialism, anticolonialism and decolonization in France took a peculiar historical trajectory that would not be systematically organized within the discipline "postcolonial studies" until long after this same discipline's development in the Anglophone world (Moura 2008, 263).

In particular, the decolonization of France's settler colonies in Algeria defined a process of profound historical change leading to serious reflection and political debate in France on the question of French colonialism and its effects. The Algerian Revolution also inspired a rethinking of post-enlightenment politics in France's intellectual sphere, French cultural production,[62] and even left a lasting impression on Jacques Derrida's

[62] For example, in the form of cultural production, including Frantz Fanon's *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) and *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961), Jean-Luc Godard's *Le Petit Soldat* (1963) and Agnès Varda's *Cléo de 5 à 7* (1962).

thought and philosophy[63] (Shepard 2006, 5). Yet, by the end of the 1960s, France had imagined itself to have solved the question of colonialism.[64] French bureaucrats, politicians and journalists had contributed to a narrative in which decolonization took on the form of a progressive development and victory for the French Republic (Shepard 2006, 11). This further reified the belief that decolonization and colonialism were now a closed chapter for France. Although it is true that the transformation of Algeria's legal, institutional and economic relations to France occurred on a national and international scale, which in some sense does amount to real material and structural decolonization, the persistence of coloniality, which survives colonialism, was never addressed.

From the late 1960s onwards, public discourse in France would be dominated more so by questions revolving around immigration instead of colonialism. The political energy of the workers' strikes and student demonstrations of May 1968 had found further expression in immigrant activism (Bleich 2004, 173). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, antiracist and immigrant groups would organize around claims to difference similar to those that had been made by regionalist movements in France.[65] France's public

[63] The work of Jacques Derrida, shaped by the events of the Algerian Revolution, would in its turn serve as inspiration for the development of postcolonial studies in the Anglophone world. Gayatri Spivak in particular has been influenced by Derrida's work. The work of Frantz Fanon, shaped by the Algerian Revolution, has also shaped the writing practices and theory of Yellowknives Dene scholar Glen Coulthard in his work *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (2014).

[64] Sylvain Bourmeau, Thomas Brisson and Rocé. "Ce que sont vraiment les postcolonial studies", December 1, 2018, in *La Suite dans les idées*, produced by Sylvain Bourmeau, podcast, audio, 41:03.

[65] A variety of movements were initiated by minority language groups in French regions to protect their languages and cultural differences. The political dynamism of the 1950s and 1960s, along with the theoretical frameworks and literatures produced by writers like Aimé Césaire and Malcolm X, fueled the rise of self-styled internal decolonial movements led by Brittany and the Occitan movement against the political domination of Paris over the rest of France (Williams 2003, 104). Poets including Paol Keineg and

discourse would be punctuated both by antiracist discourse and anti-immigrant discourse, given that the far-right political party Le Front National gained widespread appeal in 1983 (Bleich 2004, 174). Despite a growing anti-immigrant sentiment, however, there were largescale initiatives on the part of educators and researchers in France to reshape public education in hopes to better reflect its immigrant populations, though these changes have been highly debated and met with resistance (De Cock 2018).

The shift from "colonialism" to "immigration" in French public discourse, however, was not permanent. Furthermore, this shift did not put an end to the production of literature and theory on the history of colonialism, decolonization and, eventually, postcolonial theory in French. In 2005, the 23 February 2005 French law on colonialism resuscitated political debate and public discourse on France's colonial past and its relation to Algeria. As the French scholar Jean-Marc Moura has argued, "the debates generated by [the new law] had brought forgotten colonial themes to the forefront of public debate in France for the first time since the colonial period" (Moura 2008, 266).

For Moura, who has played an important role in establishing postcolonial studies as a discipline in France, the 23 February 2005 law was a pivotal moment shaping the evolution of postcolonial discourse in France. Earlier the same year, the antiracist and anticolonial organization Les Indigènes de la République was established and launched their manifesto, but it would be the national debates stirred up by the law on colonialism

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Christian Keginer, for example, produced work that challenged damaging clichéd Romantic portrayals of France's provincial regions (Williams 2003, 105). In fact, the Breton and Occitan movements at this time also expressed solidarity with the victims of French colonization.

that gave momentum and greater visibility to this organization.[66] Les Indigènes de la République has, in fact, made colonialism a consistent and central issue in French politics ever since the organization was established (Moura 2008, 266). Beyond this organization, numerous contemporary scholars, such as Romuald Fonkoua, Souleymane Bachir Diagne, Françoise Vergès and Gerty Dambury, along with artists and other collectives, contribute to shaping French thought and discursive currents on the topic of colonialism, postcolonialism and/or decolonization. However, these critical spaces and currents are still met with resistance from proponents of French Republican thought (Moura 2008, 268).

For example, the antiracist and decolonial organization Décoloniser les arts based in Paris has been accused of *being* racist. Yet, the obtuse logic that structures such argumentation operates on the assumption that antiracist discourse endorses racial essentialism by virtue of simply talking about race. However, antiracist discourse is more about acknowledging that "race" may not exist, but racism does, and that there is a real history of theories of race and racial subjects that were invented by modern European philosophers. These theories insidiously continue to circulate and produce real social effects and consequences. Analyzing power relations and uncovering hidden forms of systemic racism require an ability to talk about racialized discourses and how they function. As one might expect, Ariane Mnouchkine herself has openly condemned the Décoloniser les arts organization (Le Monde 2019). What perhaps complicates the relationship between French Republican thought on the one hand, and decolonial and

[66] Houria Bouteldja, one of the organization's founders, published *Whites, Jews, and Us: Toward a Politics of Revolutionary Love* (2016). In the foreword, Cornel West describes the book as anti-patriarchal, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist (Bouteldja 2016, 7).

postcolonial thought on the other, is the fact that the former tends to preclude particularisms of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion and so forth. In other words, French Republican abstract universalism may leave itself no space for thinking critically about specific categories such as race or gender, and consequently, neither the contextual nor analytical discourses that can accompany them.

With these remarks in mind, there certainly do exist theoretical spaces hospitable to decolonial and postcolonial thought within the context of France, although they do not necessarily constitute veritable hubs for the production of discourses and writing practices able to fully grasp the political and social complexities of Indigenous-settler relations in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Instead, French currents of thought on decolonization, colonialism and postcolonial critique have tended to address more local phenomena, such as racism in France's arts and culture or the legacies of colonialism in France's overseas departments, though they are not entirely limited by these foci.[67] From this standpoint, it becomes much clearer why news outlets in France were prone to using writing practices representing Indigenous Peoples based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island that could be considered erroneous from an Anglophone or Francophone Indigenous or settler conscious perspective in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context. Regardless of their ideological position on the political spectrum, the French journalists whose publications were studied were simply unknowledgeable on the evolution of Indigenized and decolonial writing and speaking practices and about the problems brought about by settler colonialism. In contrast, Francophone and Anglophone discourses in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, I have attempted to argue and show, deploy writing

[67] To learn more, see *Decolonisons les arts !* (2018) and the podcast *Kiffe ta race*.

practices that suggest forms of settler social consciousness have taken shape.

iv. Conclusion

The contexts of production that I have described in the previous paragraphs have sought to outline the differences and similarities between the Anglophone and Francophone contexts of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France. The historical, social, political, material and economic factors I called attention to certainly do not summarize the magnitude and breadth of the ongoing struggles and forms of cultural production that have shaped and continue to shape Anglophone and Francophone settler imaginaries in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The purpose of mentioning these factors was to pinpoint a few of the historical precedents whose effects and impacts continue to resonate with the present. By drawing attention to the ways in which language and writing practices emerge out of historical, political, social, economic and material circumstances, and the social activity that plays out therein, I have provided layered contexts that can inform how and why an Indigenized writing practice was more visible in Anglophone and Francophone publications in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island when compared to France.

The appearance of misspellings, misnomers and inappropriate terms in France-based media publications, not to mention the remarkable absence of Indigenous perspectives in these publications, can be in part attributed to the fact that European journalists based in France are not situated within the same horizons of expectations as settler journalists. On top of this, the lively social and political activity in France currently gives rise to ways of speaking, seeing and writing that are tied to France's own localities, institutions and historical contexts that differ quite significantly from the settler colonial context of the Canadian state. While in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island there are

disciplinary programs, organizations and/or stylebooks that can inform journalists on how to report on Indigenous Peoples, (e.g., Indigenous Studies programs, Younging's style guide and Idle No More Québec), no such equivalents seem to exist in France. No doubt this is due in part to the fact that Indigenous Peoples are not necessarily composites of France's social reality and readerships. As I discuss in the next section, this observation becomes even clearer when comparing settler, Indigenous and European reception of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*.

IV. Comparative Reception of Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse

i. Reception of the play in France

For the most part, *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* received rave reviews from France's publics and media alike. On the website TheatreOnline.com, an online platform devoted to the theatre world in Paris and Île-de-France, *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* has an overall four-star rating. The ratings for Lepage and Mnouchkine's play are recorded as follows:

(Theatre Online 2020)

Indeed, the vast majority of France's public reviews on the website were positive. Many of them speak highly of the play. For example, consider Nella A. and Robert L., both of whom gave the play a five-star rating:

> **Robert L:** Excellent spectacle: la direction, le texte, les jeux des acteurs, mais surtout la sensibilité pour traiter un sujet aussi complexe. Digne des meilleures

œuvres du Soleil et d`'Ariane. Félicitations (Theatre Online).

Nella A. : Excellent car percutant. La question des autochtones du Canada évite tous les clichés et complaisances, pour donner des aperçus d'une réalité vivante et pourtant transgénérationnelle, où les traumas continuent d'effectuer leur travail de sape et de souffrances (Theatre Online).

There are numerous reviews that praise Ariane Mnouchkine and Lepage and how they handled the delicate and controversial subject matter. There were also a few people who attended the play and were disappointed. However, with the exception of one reviewer, those who gave the play one-star or two-star ratings scarcely offer any criticism that directly relates to the way Indigenous Peoples are represented in the play, the power relations of the production of the play and/or some of the play's disturbing scenes.[68] The majority of criticisms revolve primarily around the pace of the play, bad writing, poor acting, superfluous characters or scenes, oversimplification of complex subject matter, and the use of Canadian clichés and stereotypical characters. For example, the reviewers Marie Hélène F. and Olivier S. claim that the play is full of clichés, but neither one expands on the clichés to which they refer.[69] Marie Hélène F. happens to be the only reviewer who notes Lepage's oversight when it comes to how Indigenous Peoples were represented on the stage – stereotyped as destitute drug addicts and sex workers – and how Indigenous Peoples have been organizing and battling for decades to build a

[68] The scene in the play where Tanya Farrozhad is murdered by Robert Pickton is in particular a graphic murder fantasy that is gratuitous and gruesome.

[69] It remains unclear if they are referring to the clichéd representations of Indigenous Peoples or the homeless, for example. If their critiques were more explicit, one would be able to deduce that Marie Hélène F. and/or Olivier S. are capable of recognizing the clichéd cultural signifiers (braids, a longhouse, feathers, White saviour complex) that were integrated into the play.

promising and bright future.

Recalling Jauss' concept of the horizon of expectations, each reviewer can be considered as a point in a historical, social, cultural, economic and political matrix that shapes their horizon of expectation. The positive reception of the play by publics in France seems to suggest an absence of ways of seeing, reading, analyzing and recognizing that could articulate a variety of the play's oversights and issues when it comes to its representation of Indigenous Peoples, inappropriate scenes, the play's production process, Lepage's grossly inadequate re-imagining of the controversy, and the play's superficiality when it comes to recounting the history of settler colonialism. To compare and contrast the generally favorable reviews in France, let us now turn our attention to the reception of the play by Indigenous and settler publics in Quebec.

ii. Reception of the play by Indigenous and Settler Publics

A number of Francophone and Anglophone publications produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island interview some of the signatories of the open letter who went to see *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* at La Cartoucherie in Paris for the Paris Autumn Festival. These signatories include Innu writer Maya Cousineau Mollen, Abenaki filmmaker Kim O'Bomsawin and Huron-Wendat sociologist and art critic Guy Sioui Durand. Among them in general, the play was not well received. Cousineau Mollen, O'Bomsawin and Sioui Durand offer a number of worthy remarks to consider:

> To O'Bomsawin, the depiction of the white-settler relationship with Indigenous people felt superficial and simplistic. The play overlooked decades of efforts by Indigenous women to shine a light on the violence experienced by their community, she said. "We've been trying for years so that people can hear us,

saying: 'Hey, there's a problem here: we're losing women,' O'Bomsawin said (*CBC Montreal* 2018).

[Maya Cousineau Mollen :] Je ne recommanderais pas le spectacle à des familles autochtones touchées par le drame des femmes assassinées, car il présente [cette réalité] de façon trop graphique et je me demande vraiment à quoi sert dramatiquement cette violence. Elle pourrait avoir un effet dévastateur à Vancouver auprès d'un public qui connaît cette réalité intimement (Laurence 2018).

Guy Sioui Durand…n'a pas aimé la façon dont Lepage a intégré dans sa pièce une artiste française qui se demande si elle a le droit de peindre des portraits de femmes autochtones assassinées…"C'est comme si, en mettant la controverse dans le théâtre, Lepage et le théâtre se posent en victimes, à travers les victimes que sont ces femmes" (Valiante 2018).

The remarks that O'Bomsawin, Cousineau Mollen and Sioui Durand offer above have no real equivalents in the critical discourse surrounding the play in France. Cousineau Mollen's critique is especially remarkable, because it reveals that the brutality and raw violence that Lepage used to "artistically" represent the murder of Tanya Farrozhad is too disturbing for an audience based in western Canada. In fact, I can confidently say that the disturbing scene to which she refers would also not be well received in other regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The absence of Indigenous perspectives in the play and the disturbing murder scene are indicative of the fact that *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* excludes Indigenous Peoples from its target audience. The play was not produced with Indigenous Peoples in mind as an audience – it was produced for a

European audience.

Although there were indeed certain members of the Canadian settler public who had favorable reviews of the play, many settlers – Canadian and American – criticized the play for a variety of reasons. In a *CBC Radio* interview, settler journalist Carly Maga shares her perspective on the play:

> I think as it is, it would not be very well [received in North America]. In the reviews that have come out afterwards, it has generally received very positive reviews in France, and the Globe and Mail, and the Toronto Star, which is the paper I wrote for, and the New York Times have all had similar criticisms around its portrayal of the issues that it tackles and the lack of real development in the characters (*CBC Radio* 2018).

The French art historian and settler Jean-Philippe Uzel, who moved to Quebec about twenty-five years ago and has gained familiarity with the settler colonial context of Canada, also disapproved of the play. He explained to *Le Devoir*, "Ça donne vraiment une vision misérabiliste de la situation des Autochtones du Canada ; une vision vraiment noire, biaisée" (Lalonde 2018). There are many additional articles in the Anglophone and Francophone worlds of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island that include critiques and commentaries from O'Bomsawin, Cousineau Mollen and Sioui Durand. However, these critiques and perspectives go unacknowledged in France's media discourse based on the publications studied.[70]

[70] There is only one article among those selected for the France-based corpus in which an Indigenous perspective is included – the journalist Ève Beauvallet briefly mentions how Kim O'Bomsawin and Maya Cousineau Mollen were disappointed by the play and its use of clichés.

iii. Conclusion

The comparison of receptions above serves to illustrate a few points. First, Lepage's refusal to collaborate with Indigenous Peoples and address their concerns resulted in a play that was not only disappointing, but also quite possibly so harmful and offensive that it would be inappropriate for a Vancouver-based audience, as Cousineau Mollen points out. The fact that the representation of the killing of an Indigenous woman on stage is a product of Robert Lepage's gaze and personal imagination raises many ethical questions in a context where sexism, racism and male supremacy are common characteristics of white settler heteropatriarchy and where white settler men have historically played a critical role in the dehumanization of Indigenous women and girls.[71] Secondly, the reviews that were studied and their differential distribution across contexts can be linked back to the remarks I have made both on the contexts of production of the media articles and those in the media discourse analysis. The fact that *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* was generally well received in France and that certain reviewers, like Nella A., were unable to recognize the clichés and stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples in the play is symptomatic of the absence of an Indigenized and settler social consciousness. Such a consciousness can only begin to emerge in France by changing its horizons of expectations and building a living discourse that requires familiarization with Indigenous literatures, perspectives, speaking and writing practices. An important part of creating these horizons of expectations in France involves the translation of Indigenous struggle,

[71] One can turn to cultural production on the subject as evidence. Indian residential school survivors testify to sexual and physical abuse, for example. Sto:lo author Lee Maracle's book *I Am Women: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* reveals many details on the effects of colonialism on Indigenous womanhood and disturbing realities about white men.

culture and artistic works from English into the French language. Another important part of fulfilling the same task is to export Francophone Indigenous cultural and artistic works, as well as Francophone decolonial currents of thought originating in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, to France. This combination of intralingual and interlingual translation could help create larger networks of solidarity with Indigenous Peoples based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.

Yet, one might ask what relevance the proposition above has if France has its own local social and political issues to resolve. Why is it important to do such translation work and encourage the cross-pollination of these ideas? A preliminary answer to this question is that Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island forms the layered wreckage of the British and French Empires on Indigenous Nations. Although France transferred its settler colonies to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the contemporary settler colonial context demarcated and imposed by Quebec and Canada on Turtle Island is advantageous for French speakers and France alike. Citizens of France form part of the settler population inhabiting Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, especially in its Francophone regions. On the condition that they are to continue to settle for the foreseeable future, quite possibly bearing with them old world and romantic ideas about the "New World" and Indigenous Peoples, then the work of Indigenizing and decolonizing France's imaginary landscape is important for transforming their relationships to this land and to Indigenous Peoples. It is vital for cultivating settler solidarity politics and growing the struggle to defend Indigenous lives, lands and waters.

CHAPTER V

INDIGENIZED AND DECOLONIAL TRANSLATION PRACTICES

I. Introduction

The previous chapter called attention to the way in which languages, writing practices and translation are connected to social activity and the emergence of such activity out of the interaction between historical, political, social, economic and material forces. With the findings from the media discourse analysis and comparative reception, I set forth the hypothesis that publics – including journalists – in France displayed an unfamiliarity with the kind of social settler consciousness that characterize the writing practices in Anglophone and Francophone publications based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and many of the readings of *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* by Indigenous and settler publics. The thesis investigation up until now has provided context to a number of the variables at play in the *Kanata* controversy from a translation studies perspective. In this final chapter, I set out to expand on the need for translation work and the cross-pollination of ideas between Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France mentioned at the end of chapter four. With this in mind, I argue that this work can be done using translation flow models that I base on a relation between Dalie Giroux's concept of the "Atlantic paradox" and the notions of language and translation that have been developed throughout this thesis. Once this position has been argued, I present a variety of examples of Indigenized and decolonial practices that can serve as guidelines for future translation research, reflection and artistic cultural production.

II. Translation and Cross-Pollination

As noted in the conclusion of chapter four, interlingual and intralingual translation and the cross-pollination of ideas are crucial to the introduction of Indigenized and decolonial discourses into Francophone thought in France. Combined with the translation of settler studies theoretical approaches, these currents of thought could create new spaces of critique and insight that would alter the horizons of expectations in Francophone discourse in France and therefore retrace the limits of the thinkable. The prioritization of these forms of translation and the cross-pollination of ideas can introduce new forms of possibility into Francophone thought, discourse and language in France. Bearing with them new understandings of space, subjectivity, power relations, history, geography, and so forth, settler studies, Indigenous and decolonial discourses may provide the conditions for cultivating a kind of settler consciousness that could sow the seeds for growing Indigenous-settler solidarity politics in Francophone thought in France. A single step in a much broader process of decolonizing world history may involve shifting translation flow directions. For example, the cross-pollination alluded to above could also be achieved in a reversed translation flow direction from Francophone discourse into English discourse, and through the export of Francophone decolonial literatures originating in France to the Francophone contexts of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. This could provide Francophone and Anglophone discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island with new critical insights into decolonial theory but also deconstruct representations of France in the Anglophone and Francophone imaginations in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island from the perspective of subalterns in France. In some sense, this kind of circulation has already been happening, but only very marginally.

The way that human beings understand history, place, power relations, and other variables can come to inform how decisions should be made and/or how to act morally and ethically in relation to others and the world. The translation of the aforementioned discourses and the cross-pollination of such ideas between English and French, and Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and France, could entail new forms of political and social organization and, therefore, social and political transformation. In turn, these transformations could arguably alter the ecologies of reception in France. Of course, the methodologies and writing practices that a translator develops and implements in their translation process will weigh heavily on how these ecologies of reception take shape. With this point in mind, a translation flow model may be particularly advantageous. One possible form it could take is depicted in the chart below:

TRANSLATION FLOW

Anglophone (Q/C/TI) → Francophone (Q/C/TI) → **FRANCE**

Simply put, the translation flow model above describes a path where a work of Indigenous literature or other form of Indigenous cultural production in English produced in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island is translated into French in a Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context before being exported to France. Another decolonial translation flow model for introducing decolonial representations of Indigenous Peoples and of Quebec and Canada in the French imaginary in France could take this form:

TRANSLATION FLOW

Francophone QC/C/TI → **FRANCE**

In the example above, the decolonial translation flow model is intralingual. It would involve exporting subaltern experiences expressed by Indigenous and decolonial thinkers and writers in French and produced in Francophone regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island to France. The combination of both models described above could form a bilingual decolonial strategy that could re-define representations of Canada, Quebec and Indigenous Peoples in the Francophone imagination in France on the terms of subalterns in two languages – French and English.

It should be noted that the models I have proposed above have been specifically designed as decolonial translation flow strategies that could respond to the gaps in Francophone discourse in France on questions concerning the histories of colonialism and settler colonialism that specifically concern Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and Indigenous Peoples on this land. It is through this translation and cross-pollination of ideas from Francophone and Anglophone regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island to France that the Francophone imagination in France would have access to decolonial representations of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The advantages of the translation flow models above are presented in detail in the following section.

III. Settler Colonial Frontiers: Refusing the Atlantic Paradox

i. Dalie Giroux's "Atlantic Paradox"

In her compelling and insightful collection of essays *Parler en Amérique: oralité, colonialisme, territoire* (2019), political theorist and philosopher Dalie Giroux describes what she calls "le paradoxe atlantique" or "the Atlantic paradox," a paradoxical translation flow according to which subaltern works of literature written in North

America and/or in Indigenous languages make a detour through former colonial metropolises where they are translated before circling back to be sold on North American markets (Giroux 2019, 74). She cites by way of example "Voyage au Groenland par sa littérature" (2016), an article published in *Le Devoir* about the translation trajectory of three literary works that were written in Greenlandic, a branch of the Eskimo-Aleut language family with close ties to Inuit languages in Canada. The three works were first translated into Danish, and then translated into French in France, before subsequently being shipped to Tiohtià:ke/Montreal. One of the questions that this trajectory appropriately raises is "what is at stake when these literary works, and the Indigenous language in which they were written, are interpreted and represented by the imaginaries of two Old Worlds of Europe?" Giroux makes an interesting proposition – she claims that the literary works written in Greenlandic may have resonated more profoundly with the Eskimo-Aleut language speaking community residing in Tiohtià:ke/Montreal. This leads me to raise the following three questions: What could have been gained had this particular language community formed the context of interpretation, reception and translation? How would the French language have been shaped by the translation practices that could have been developed in that situation? What footprints may the Danish and French translators have alternatively left lingering behind on the imaginative terrain of those translated works?

Although there are no straight answers to the questions just raised, I believe that what Giroux's suggestions has interesting implications for thinking about translation practice and the epistemologies that can inform how we interpret foreign languages and represent alterity. This leads me to argue that the translation of Indigenous works

(literature, film, music, speeches, etc) produced and published in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island should be translated *here*, that is, on Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, as opposed to in Europe.

ii. The Need to Translate "Here"

The necessity for a translation flow model by which Indigenous works produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island are translated between languages within the same geographical expanse, or better yet within the same locality, is argued in the following paragraphs according to four important, non-exhaustive factors. To begin, one has to reflect on language in terms other than monolithic and homogenizing proper names – in this case, other than the names "English" and "French." These two terms overlook the internal complexity and differential distribution of power relations and forms of organizing life in language.[72] Language must be conceived in a way that recognizes that the ways in which we see, speak, think, write and listen are in fact intricately embedded in the complexity of place. Institutions, organizations and the living publics that participate in everyday life, for example, are generative of discourses, consciousness and forms of life. These components, and many others that make up the social complexity of

[72] A corporate executive speaks a language with powers that are different from those exercised by the language of a barista. A court judge speaks a language whose power relations differ from the language spoken by a hairdresser. A language expressing imperialist, colonialist or racist ideas deploys power relations that are different from a language expressing anticolonial, anticapitalist and antiracist ideas. "English" and "French" are layered with internally complex vertical and horizontal power relations from one context to the next. They are not homogeneous. It is often said that "English," for example, is the globally dominant language. While in many respects this claim is certainly true, one still has to define what "English" means. For example, one could even argue that it is more so the language of global Capitalism that dominates the world, as it has found expression in numerous languages and has therein introduced idioms of the logics of the accumulation of capital, exchange value, property systems and so forth.

place, constitute constellations of discursive practical activity. These constellations differ not only from one neighbourhood, city or region to the next, but more profoundly from one language and country to the next. In this regard, the need to translate Indigenous cultural works from English into French (or vice versa) "here" – that is, in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island – can be understood when considering language in this sense. While certain forms of language are to some degree "frozen" by normative structures (bureaucracy, administration, state education, etc), many other forms are in states of flux according to the social activities that define and re-define place from one context to the next. Accordingly, the writing and speaking practices developed in these places are different from each other.

For the sake of further elucidation, let us consider this reflection on language in relation to Jauss' concept of the horizon of expectations and how these two pertain to the translator. Plainly speaking, in order for a translator to translate, they must first be capable of reading the source text and knowing the source language. Once one has factored in the concept of the horizon of expectations, what is at stake in the translator's reading process becomes much clearer. If the horizon of expectations can be understood as that which forms the conditions of possibility for the recognizability of patterns, styles, motifs, networks of signification, humour, intertextual references, cultural references, and other elements considered to form the texture of a given text or speech act, what needs to be recalled is that how a translator *sees* and *reads* – i.e. the conditions of possibility for recognizability – is largely shaped by the historical dynamism and social practices, as well as the language, in which a given translator is immersed.

To these points, could it be possible that being immersed in the horizons of

expectations of the source language and source language contexts provides advantageous conditions for a translator to craft their translation writing practice in the target language? While translators could indeed simply immerse themselves in literature and text, as they inevitably will, there are nonetheless numerous advantages to one's immersion in the interconnectivity of place beyond the digital realm. One such advantage is having access to speech, to living language. As Walter Benjamin has said, "of all literary forms [translation] is the one charged with the special mission of watching over the maturing process of the original language and the birth pangs of its own" (Benjamin 2007, 73). What better way to watch over the maturing process of an original language and the emergent formations of one's own than by immersion, than by one's lived experience in relation to a common material urban environment, one's ability to attend unrecorded events in person and to build relations with people each of whom is a locus productive of new knowledge and discourse, insights and perspectives?

This brings me to my second argument, namely that it would be more amenable to translate Indigenous literatures between the English and French languages in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context because this very context forms the site of settler colonial, Indigenized and decolonial discourses specific to these lands. Indigenous Peoples live on these lands in urban, rural and remote contexts, and the settler colonial Canadian state, a historical societal formation that is propped up by various operative discursive regimes – settler expansion, resource extraction, policing, urban development, etc – forms a configuration of frontiers affecting Indigenous Peoples directly. The settler colonial context – discursive, processual, structural – is a material reality conducive to the shaping of languages of resistance, settler colonialism, political struggles, survival,

anticapitalism, liberation, decolonization. It is *here*, in the heterolingual context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, where the histories of Indigenous and settler forms of life and experience on this land are playing out and articulated at public events, through Indigenous-controlled media and organizations, blockades, low-profile demonstrations, generating new discursive practices, critical insights and perspectives.

By no means do I intend to argue, however, that decolonial currents of thought do not exist in France and that they would not bring insights into research on the subject in English. I have already pointed out in chapter four that such currents exist in France and therefore create points of reception in Francophone discourse in France for the importation of similar literatures produced elsewhere. Rather, what I mean to argue is two things. First, that the decolonial currents of thought here and those in France differ from each other. Second, that the translation of Indigenous literatures – intralingual and interlingual – would provide certain conditions of possibility for France to re-interpret its own colonial history in relation to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, introduce conceptions of Canadian and Quebecois settler colonialism, and transform understandings of Indigenous Peoples. There is certainly research in France on Indigenous Peoples and on colonialism, but it is not as prominent in France as it is in Francophone- and Anglophone-speaking regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. In the previous chapter, I tied this particularly to the fact that the realities of settler colonialism and Indigenous Peoples are a living history in Francophone and Anglophone discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Furthermore, it is tied to loci of intellectual production.[73]

[73] Researchers in France who have paid attention to Indigenous writing practices include Crystel Pinconnat at the Université d'Aix-Marseille. She published a paper called "Le roman amérindien contemporain pour la jeunesse ou la récupération autochtone d'un

The third argument is that French and English are the official languages of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. Dynamic and cosmopolitan cities like Tiohtià:ke/Montreal form bilingual, not to mention multilingual, immersive spaces. The Francophone-speaking Indigenous Peoples and Québécois inhabiting these lands are also influenced by English-immersive spaces that have no parallel in France. Here, the conditions of possibility for cultivating a translator-subjectivity that is intimately interconnected and familiar with members of Indigenous Nations, the land, and decolonial, Indigenized and/or settler colonial thought in the French and English languages are multiplied. These currents of thought in turn can inform a translator's process of critical reflection upon which the acts of reading, interpreting and writing are contingent.

Lastly, certain methodologies and strategies that a translator should be required to adopt in order to decolonize or Indigenize their writing practices would be very difficult, if near impossible, to carry out from a distance. One such example could be principles six

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capital culturel bafoué" (2017) on the role of Indigenous literatures in forming counter-representations of Indigenous Peoples in children's literature. Agnès Delahaye at the Université Lumière Lyon II researches on settler colonialism, though she has not focused her attention specifically on the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context. Gilles Havard has carried out research on the history of the relations between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples in North America, which culminated in his book *Histoire des coureurs de bois: Amérique du Nord 1600-1840* (2016). Cécile Fouache has carried out some research on Indigenous issues in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context. Professors and researchers Romuald Fonkoua, Claudine Leblanc, Guillaume Boccara, François Regourd, Cécile Brochard, Bakshi Sandeep, Roy Hélène, Bertrant Van Ruymbeke, Orzio Irrera, Claire Joubert and Matthieu Renault, all of whom are based in France, have research interests in colonial, postcolonial and/or decolonial theory. However, none of their publications that I have found available through knowledge- and research-sharing platforms have created a space for Francophone or Anglophone Indigenous perspectives and writing practices. None of this is to say that their research is not important, but this is merely to assert my previous argument, which is that Francophone discourse in France has scarcely been Indigenized or decolonized by Anglophone or Francophone Indigenous and subaltern perspectives based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island.

and nine from Younging's *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018). This is looked at more closely in the following section.

IV. Indigenous Publishing and Translation

i. Collaboration and the Role of Relationship

Given that a translator is simultaneously a reader, translator and editor, and that translators often work with publishing houses, Younging's guidelines on Indigenous publishing in his book *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018) are indispensable for any translator intending to translate a work of Indigenous literature produced in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. As mentioned above, there are certain methods or strategies for Indigenizing one's writing practice that could be difficult to operationalize from a distance. Consider Younging's principles six and nine:

Principle Six: Collaboration

> Work in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples and authors to ensure that Indigenous material is expressed with the highest possible level of cultural authenticity, and in a manner that follows Indigenous Protocols and maintains Indigenous cultural integrity (Younging 2018: 107).

Principle nine: The role of relationship and trust

> Indigenous style recognizes the essential role of relationship and trust in producing works with authentic Indigenous content, and the source of relationship and trust in truthfulness, honesty, mindfulness about community impacts, and continuity with history and heritage (Younging 2018: 108).

The principle of collaboration places emphasis on cultural authenticity. According to Younging, every collaborative project and every contributor is different and there is no single or standardized creative process. The difference unique to every contributor, contribution and project risks being eclipsed by a production or research process that does not handle the particularity of sourcing information and knowledge with care and attention. By broadening the circle of contributors, one can ensure that many voices are being heard and that Indigenous Peoples are not being spoken for, but instead are the ones speaking (Younging 2018: 43). Just as there is no standard or single research or creative process, so too there is no single set of Indigenous Protocols that must be followed. Younging describes Indigenous Protocols as equivalent to Indigenous laws. They are systems of knowledge that govern ways of working and being together, providing a framework for ethical conduct and interpersonal and inter-communal interaction (Younging 2018: 48). Indigenous Protocols will reveal themselves in the collaboration process. As an example, Younging cites Cree-Métis scholar Deanna Reder who incorporates wâhkotowin, the Cree word for kinship, into her collaborative practice. For Reder, one of the foundations to collaboration is building kinship relationships.[74]

Certainly, digital media and telecommunications infrastructures can, depending

[74] There are a number of examples of collaborative translation in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context that are worth mentioning here. Settler Arianne Des Rochers and Innu poet Natasha Kanapé Fontaine have collaborated on the translation of two works by Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. These works include *On se perd toujours par accident* (2020)/*This Accident of Being Lost* (2017) and *Cartographie de l'amour décolonial* (2018)/*Islands of Decolonial Love* (2013). Another noteworthy example is the collaborative translation work that went into Chloé Leriche's film *Avant les rues* (2016). Leriche wrote her script in French, which was then translated into the Atikamekw language by the non-professional Atikamekw actors involved in the production. A linguist specialized in the Atikamekw language was then tasked with subtitling the film in French (Chagnon 2020, 273).

on the context, facilitate and enable collaboration at a distance through platforms such as social mass media, videoconferencing, crowdsourcing and crowdfunding. However, depending on the project, the contributors and each distinct set of Indigenous Protocols, it could be difficult for a translator to cultivate relationships, trust and a sense of mindfulness of community impacts. In-person encounters, and spending time with and in a community, can overcome the abstraction and disembodiment effectuated through digital contexts and communication. One has to recall that Western research practices have had a harmful history on Indigenous Peoples. In fact, Tuhiwai Smith begins her introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2018) stating that even the term "research" itself stirs up silence and conjures bad memories when uttered in Indigenous contexts (Tuhiwai Smith 2018: 1). Contemporary research practices still cause harm to Indigenous Peoples, such as in journalistic practices – thinking back to the notion of "parachuting" cited in chapter three – or in artistic research practices, such as those implemented by Robert Lepage himself. Given this reality, it may not always be possible to build relationships simply by contacting someone using digital media. This is far from saying that digital media and telecommunications must be abandoned altogether – these infrastructures are highly useful and helpful in other regards. In other words, depending on the context of production and collaboration, these infrastructures could have limitations on the ability to fulfill principles six and nine cited above.

ii. Eurostructure and Indigenous Style

In his book, Younging includes a case study of a dialogue between Sto:lo author Lee Maracle and her settler editor Marc Côté. This case study can help illustrate further

the importance of principles six and nine, but also provides insights into what can be at stake in a translation process. Lee Maracle begins by describing the tense relationship between her writing practice and European editing:

> Indigenous writing is about writing from the centre to the edge, to create a circle. We don't say things in a linear way. We have long sentences and we grocery-list things with lots of semicolons…It's all connected to the first line and wraps up with the last in a wheel of understanding. To put something into 'Eurostructure,' I have to find a way of breaking it down into a line-by-line map. I'll do that in some cases, but if something has gone on for ten thousand years, I'm not changing the way we say that" (Younging 2018, 35).

The excerpt above introduces the term "eurostructure," which Maracle explains is a typical non-Indigenous editorial regime often used by editors and publishers. What characterizes the tension between eurostructure and Maracle's writing practice is the opposition between linearity and circularity. The tension of this opposition played out in an equal give-and-take relationship reached through dialogue with Marc Côté, who willingly and readily listened and asked questions about Maracle's writing practices and stylistic choices (Younging 2018, 35). Further in, Marc Côté reveals his side of the experience working with Maracle:

> There were several times when I raised things that Lee disagreed with. One time I said, 'This is redundant.' 'No it isn't, Marc.' 'Yes it is, Lee.' 'No it's not.' And then I explained how the section read to me as redundant. She listened and then explained why it wasn't. Indigenous writing contains elements of storytelling that

> appear repetitious to a non-Indigenous mind, but which are not repetition. We heard each other and, as a result, we made very careful changes (Younging 2018, 37).

The challenge for Maracle and Côté was to find a balance between Eurostructure and Maracle's Indigenous writing practice to render her vision and voice accessible to a European audience. The example of the working relationship between Maracle and Côté demonstrates the importance of collaboration and the role of relationship and trust outlined in principles six and nine. Had there been no Indigenized and dialogical dimension to the editorial process, Côté may well have made changes to the structure of Maracle's writing practice, such as to remove repetition or break up ways of speaking that have lasted for thousands of years, which would not have honoured cultural integrity, authenticity and continuity with history and heritage.[75]

In the context of a decolonizing strategy of translation, a translator should ideally create a working relationship with the Indigenous author of the source text and with their publisher in a way that manages to Indigenize the editorial practice in the target context and language. As the case study shows, it was through listening to Maracle's perspectives that Côté learned to recognize the importance of certain writing practices and how they

[75] At times, honouring cultural integrity, authenticity and continuity with history and heritage is not possible in translation or in written form, since communities may prefer to safeguard oral history and oral culture (Folaron 2015, 7). The transcription of orality may also entail the alteration of an older dialect, which changes the way things are said (Folaron 2015, 7). Settlers should also keep in mind that conflating Indigenous Oral Traditions and Traditional Storytelling with archaism or anachronism is a colonial reflex. Oral Traditions and Traditional Storytelling are living, which means that they adapt to historical circumstances and variably change from one generation to the next. So while certain Oral Traditions may, for example, connect ancestors with younger generations, they are also rooted in the present (Dumbrill and Green 2008 ; Iseke and Brennus 2011).

constitute the characteristically Indigenous integrity of her work. In other words, Maracle's perspectives were brought into Côté's horizon of expectations and shaped his reading process. In the absence of such a dialogical relationship and without the resources available in French, a translator based in France, for example, may then fail to recognize distinctly Indigenous writing practices and consequently never have even engaged in an attempt to recreate them in the language of arrival through their translation practice. In such a scenario, a work of Indigenous literature may undergo dramatic transformations as it passes through the translator's editorial regime and the target publisher's editorial regime. This could very well lead to processes of erasure and the destruction of alterity. A dialogical relationship with a given Indigenous author involving a negotiation process between languages and syntactic possibilities could create a space where both author and translator together find ways of expressing Indigeneity in the language of arrival.

iii. Economic and Structural Aspects

Another ethical practice that should be addressed, especially by settler translators and researchers, pertains to structural and economic concerns. For example, settlers should carry out appropriate research into the sources of funding for a given project. While federal research-funding agencies are indeed components of the settler colonial state, which in itself is rife with ethical contradictions, it may be a less controversial funding body than a corporate entity involved more directly in culturally genocidal processes of land dispossession and ecological destruction. Furthermore, settlers should do the necessary research to ensure that their funding is not misallocated.[76]

[76] In 2013, Anishinaabe student Rachelle Mckay filed a Human Rights complaint with Dalhousie University. She had been hired by Dalhousie for a Student Success Coaching position, but the university exploited her Indigenous identity by deciding to fund her

Another aspect that should be considered by settlers is their structural position in settler society and the kinds of relations that are established between settlers and Indigenous Peoples at the outset. Settler translators may carry out research that demands time, contribution and/or participation from Indigenous Peoples. People should be paid for their time, labour and help, and payment should be determined respectfully and through discussion. This should be obvious, but it is not always the case. Younging brings this aspect to mind in principle ten:

> Indigenous style recognizes the importance of royalties to Indigenous Peoples and authors—and compensation to individual Indigenous contributors, and to Indigenous communities and organizations—as part of fair and respectful publishing relationships (Younging 2018, 57).

IV. Approaches, Terms and Actions

i. Linguistic and Holistic Approaches

In the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, there are two broad approaches to decolonial translation practice that I have noticed during my research. These approaches are similar to Karim Chagnon's observations on the role translation currently plays in

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position with a Shell Canada grant set aside for Aboriginal Student Support services, instead of paying her directly. This lowered the pay offered by the positions offered through the Aboriginal Student Success program at the university (Howe 2013). Although McKay's case does not concern translation specifically, it is a good example of how funds can be misallocated in underhanded ways. Settlers should be wary of possible loopholes that could allow them to take advantage of funding that has been set aside specifically for Indigenous Peoples. Verifying sources and misallocations may not always be possible with limited access to information, but it is an important step in ethical research.

Indigenous cultural resurgence.[77] The first one can be aligned with Indigenous language revitalization efforts. This decolonial translation practice implements a kind of reverse translation process wherein anglicized or Gallicized terms for categorizing Indigenous Peoples are replaced with endonyms and/or traditional names from Indigenous languages. For example, the replacement of the "Mohawk people" with "Kanien'kehá:ka," the term "Iroquois" with "Haudenosaunee," the "Shuswap" with "Secwepemc," and so on.[78] Broadly speaking, this practice essentially involves the integration of Indigenous languages into one's writing practice. This particular decolonial translation practice is of a linguistic order in that it counters assimilative processes into English and French linguistic forms and structures. Incorporating Indigenous languages into one's writing practice then becomes a form of decolonial translation – one that simultaneously involves decolonization and revitalization. By "revitalization" I do not mean to suggest that the languages have been dead, but that the writing practice itself is partly the product of historical, political, social and material efforts channeled towards the growth of communities of Indigenous languages speakers.

The second decolonial translation tendency is holistic in that it is of an epistemological and cosmological order. This involves the organization of contexts that shape how Indigenous political philosophies, Traditional Stories, laws, languages and additional aspects of Indigenous worldviews can be communicated and understood in the

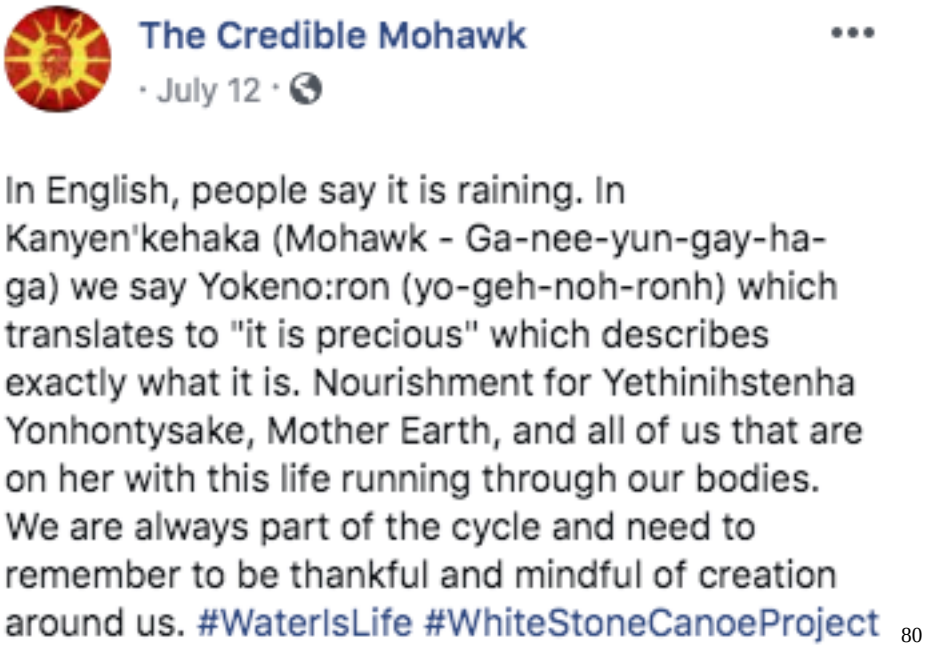
[77] "La traduction joue donc un rôle prépondérant dans deux domaines de la résurgence culturelle autochtone : 1) la diffusion des arts autochtones tels les littératures, le théâtre et les arts visuels, où se manifestent de façon marquée le lien entre la langue et la culture ; 2) la revitalisation des langues autochtones, qui exige une forme de traduction de l'apprentissage des langues et des savoirs" (Chagnon 2020, 267).
[78] For example, Innu poet Natasha Kanapé Fontaine's *Manifeste Assi* (2014) mixes Innu-aimun and French.

French and English languages. In many respects, this tendency is complementary to the former, depending on the learning environment. Whereas immersive language learning programs may not involve interlingual translation whatsoever, Indigenous language courses offered at organizations or institutions may create pathways of thought through English and French to and into a given Indigenous language (Chagnon 2020, 267). For example, the late Elder Melvin Tekahonwèn:sere Diabo of the Bear Clan from Kahnawà:ke, who taught Kanien'kéha at Native Montreal and Concordia University, synthesized language, culture and history in his language teaching style. By combining the interlingual translation of Kanien'kéha and English with historical and cultural contexts, along with personal storytelling and community-oriented research, Diabo provided a more holistic approach to understanding and translating Kanien'kéha.[79]

This second decolonial translation strategy is not always strictly tied to the linguistic aspects of the revitalization of Indigenous languages. There are ways of speaking in French and in English that are deployed in decolonial efforts, as illustrated in subsections three and four in the following pages. Decolonial theory and discourse can create a sensibility and reflexivity in translators that is careful, respectful and inquisitive when it comes to translation processes. Furthermore, it can be integrated into a translator's epistemological framework for carrying out a translation practice. In the following pages, I provide a number of examples of this second tendency.

[79] If the traditions of decolonial and Indigenous thought and literatures in the English language did not exist, the context into which Indigenous languages would be translated would not be the same. Translation involves the representations of another language in a target language and these representations depend on the contexts of interpretation, systems of knowledge production, and regimes of discourse and writing that have been developed in the context of production of a given translation.

ii. Sha'tekayenton "Andrew" Brant and Yokeno:ron



[80]

(The Credible Mohawk 2020)

The excerpt above was posted on social mass media by Sha'tekayenton "Andrew" Brant, Turtle Clan member of the Kanien'kehá:ka and co-founder of the White Stone Canoe Project, a decolonial and Indigenous solidarity project aimed at providing public access to information on solidarity movements and at educating Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous peoples on Haudenosaunee history. Brant's post can be read as a decolonial and Indigenized translation practice that fits the second tendency previously discussed. Brant reveals how Kanien'kehá:ka worldview is embedded in his translation of the kanien'kéha term "yokeno:ron" as "it is precious." Brant's translation practice involves constructing a context that makes "it is precious" understandable as a translation

[80] I took this screenshot on September 27, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/TheCredibleMohawk/photos/a.106496257634998/159384242346199/

that refers to the phenomenon of falling rain. In order to render this translation intelligible, Brant walks his readership through Kanien'kehá:ka worldview and philosophy. It is by means of understanding the life-giving agency of rain in ecological systems, as nourishment for the earth and for human beings, that one can begin to understand why "it is precious" is the proper translation of the kanien'kéha term "yokeno:ron." If one were to translate "yokeno:ron" as "it is raining," the Kanien'kehá:ka worldview and philosophy would be erased. Brant's translation practice involves the production of an Indigenized context of interpretation that determines the linguistic order of words.[81]

iii. 1492 Land Back Lane and Holding Space

On July 19, 2020, Land Defenders from Six Nations of the Grand River brought the construction of a housing development project at Mckenzie Meadows in Caledonia, Ontario to a halt. The toponym "Mckenzie Meadows" was soon renamed 1492 Land Back Lane, articulating a frontier of Haudenosaunee decolonial and anticapitalist struggle against the annexation of their land by settler expansionism reiterated in the contemporary form of urban sprawl. As Unangax̂ scholar Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang have argued, "In the process of settler colonialism, land is remade into property and human relationships to land are restricted to the relationship of the owner to his property. Epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to land are interred, indeed made pre-modern and backward." (Tuck and Yang 2012, 5).

1492 Land Back Lane is a resistance struggle against the transformation of land

[81] A similar kind of practice is set up between Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa in "Translating Time: A Dialogue on Hopi Experiences of the Past" in *Born in the Blood: On Native American Translation* (2011).

into private property and capital, and against the profound violence that comes from disrupting Indigenous relations to land. For further context, the company Foxgate Development had negotiated a deal with the Six Nations elected band council, a governance system seen as illegitimate by the vast majority of Six Nations peoples.[82] Instituted through the Indian Act of 1876, elected band councils introduced a top-down coercive power structure and a competitive electoral model based on Canadian representative democracy into Six Nations society, which goes against the consensus-based and participatory democratic processes of Six Nations traditional governance. The struggle at 1492 Land Back Lane is therefore also a struggle for the survival of Six Nations traditional governance, political sovereignty and legitimacy and a resistance against settler colonial mechanisms of government, expansionism and the monetization of land.

On August 20, 2020, an online panel discussion with Six Nations Land Defenders, local Knowledge Holders and Elders was held on social media. The event was called "Nogojiwanong Solidarity with 1492 LandBack Lane." During the discussion, one of the panelists explained that it would be preferable for people to use the term "holding" as opposed to "occupation" when describing what is happening at 1492 Land Back Lane. To say that Land Defenders are "occupying" territory can evoke negative connotations. However, to say "holding space" or "holding territory" evokes a relation of care and love for the land, echoing the tradition of land stewardship that is integral to Haudenosaunee practices and worldview.

In this way, "1492 Land Back Lane" and "Holding" can be deployed as

[82] At the 2013 Six Nations band council elections, there was a five percent voter turnout.

decolonial writing practices. The former can be understood in terms of a cartographic-based decolonial writing practice designating the site of social and political resistance, while the use of the term "holding" in place of "occupying" (and variants of the same term) is a writing practice that communicates Haudenosaunee worldview more effectively. The writing and speaking practice to "hold space' is one that translators or even interpreters should consider using depending on the context. It could always be worthwhile for translators to contact a particular Indigenous Nation or Indigenous-run collective to inquire about ways of speaking and writing that may be a context-specific best practice. In my research, I have not yet come across a French translation of the expression to "hold space." In the image below, taken from social mass media, one of 1492 Land Back Lane's spokespersons, Skyler Williams, uses the term himself:

> **Skyler Williams**
> 23h
>
> Day 60 Landback Update
>
> So it's been 60 days of being here at 1492 Landback Lane. Holding space is by far the hardest part in all of this. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to all those that have held it down. My people amaze me at every turn. I love you guys.
>
> There was another arrest made yesterday. So we've got lots to do to support all those who have been dragged into the courts.
>
> The Landback Law team has been pouring over everything to do with the injunction. It's even longer days then when the cops were coming in. Knowing that the courts are not the place to deal with land claims. A judge has no ability to speak for the crown. We are going to let him know.
>
> Thank you to everybody who continues to support the Landback effort. Whether that is food or money. Thank you to the people who continue to come and share their time and stories with us. It is greatly appreciated. You guys are all truly amazing people. For the camp/build fund you can send $ to landback6nations@gmail.com and look up 1492 Landback Lane on gofundme to donate to the legal fund.

[83]

The use of the writing practices of "1492 Land Back Lane" and "holding space" can be understood in terms of Tuhiwai Smith's decolonial notion of reframing. As discussed in chapter two, reframing is a writing practice that aims to gain greater control over the portrayal of Indigenous issues and social problems. The term "1492 Land Back Lane" acts as a framing device that translates Mckenzie Meadows into a historical struggle against the onslaught of settler colonialism, while also operating as a signifier in media discourse and citizen journalism that calls attention to the realities of contemporary settler colonialism.

iv. So-called / Soi-disant / Land Defender(s)/ Défenseur(s) de la terre

Similar to the writing practices in the previous example, the terms "so-called/soi-disant" and "Land Defender(s)/Défenseur(s) de la terre" are framing devices that are commonly deployed in Indigenous and decolonial discourse in both French and English. The terms "so-called/soi-disant"[84] are often used as a descriptor to modify a noun, such as a proper name. It is often deployed when describing provinces, countries, cities and towns. In such contexts, the expression "so-called/soi-disant" is a language game that simultaneously acknowledges the common usage of a place name and calls into question its legitimacy. It is a reminder that place names are tenuous, that they are neither eternal

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[83] I took this screenshot on September 17, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/1492LandBackLane/posts/117016043476513

[84] For example, "soi-disant" is used in the article "Les Inuits Dissidents – Inuit Tungavingat Nunamini," published by *Contrepoints Media*. https://contrepoints.media/posts/les-inuit-dissidents-inuit-tungavingat-nunamini. Examples of this writing practice in English can be found on social media feeds, such as on the Unist'ot'en Camp facebook page. https://www.facebook.com/unistoten/posts/3533689026705317.

nor universal, that they have been historically invented and that their invention is re-affirmed and legitimated by the participation of particular communities of believers in their claims to reality. The use of "so-called/soi-disant" in one's writing practice can produce a decolonial effect in that through undermining or calling into question the assumed legitimacy of a place name, a space is created for redefining or reinventing our understanding of place.

The expression "Land Defender(s)/Défenseur(s) de la terre"[85] is a common writing practice that is used to construct and frame narratives that are produced on the topic of political and social struggle. In these contexts, the term Land Defender is meant to replace terms like "activist" or "protestor," because it reflects the sacred status of land in many Indigenous worldviews. The peoples holding space at 1492 Land Back Lane are considered Land Defenders not only because they are defending Six Nations territory, but also because they are protecting the land from the destructive consequences of a housing project. Wet'suwet'en peoples who stood up to militarized police and the Coastal GasLink pipeline in February 2020 are Land Defenders, given that they defend land-based knowledge systems, traditional Indigenous cultural practices and ways of life, traditional Indigenous governance, along with the wellbeing of land and water and animal life. In this regard, translators implementing a decolonial strategy could use the terms

[85] For example, *Real Peoples Media*, *One Dish, One Mic*, and *Warrior Life Podcast* have all used this writing or speaking practice. https://realpeoples.media/landback-lane-scheduled-in-court/; http://1dish1mic.com/409/; https://podcasts.apple.com/ca/podcast/skyler-williams-on-1492-court-decision-opp-violence/id1434096503?i=1000495949355. Examples of the French writing practice "Défenseur(s) de la terre," and slight variations, can be found on *Contrepoints Media* or used by the anticolonial collective Mobilisation Matawinie Ekoni Aci, depending on the context. https://contrepoints.media/posts/1492-land-back-lane-que-se-passe-t-il-a-six-nations; https://www.facebook.com/mobilisationmatawinie/posts/167744571644260.

"Land Defender(s)/Défenseurs de la terre" in appropriate contexts as Indigenized and decolonial writing practices and these terms would replace terms like "activist" or "protestor."

v. Decolonizing Translation Practices are not a Metaphor

I have decided to end this chapter with a reflection on the difference between decolonizing and decolonial translation practices. The title of this subsection is based on the paper entitled "Decolonization is not a metaphor" (2012) by Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Young. The importance of their paper is that it re-focuses attention on the importance of material results from decolonizing practice. While Tuck and Young acknowledge the importance of the Indigenization of institutions, they argue that it runs the risk of eclipsing the push towards real material outcomes sought after through decolonization. In other words, to consider the Indigenization of institutions as the completion of decolonization misses one of the ultimate goals of decolonization, which is the restoration of Indigenous forms of power and land back.

In keeping with their argument, a translator is not fully practicing decolonial translation if solely being committed to translating Indigenous and decolonial texts and other media. A full-fledged decolonial/decolonizing translation practice should find expression at the levels of thinking and acting – and by "act" here, I mean beyond or in addition to the act of writing. While a translator should contribute to the production and translation of decolonial discourse, to be restricted to this activity alone is to overshadow the material results of decolonization with decoloniality. The activity should be complemented by active support for decolonizing actions. For example, it could mean getting involved in Land Back camps or land defense activism through material donation

(supplies, money, etc) or even through direct action and participation. If direct involvement is impossible or if translators do not feel comfortable with direct involvement, they can always think of inventive ways to support decolonizing and decolonial causes.[86] A translation practice that is both decolonial and decolonizing is a multi-relational, multi-functional and multi-practical one. While the Indigenization of institutions and Indigenizing discourse can indeed decentre settler perspectives and provide a means for circulating Indigenous knowledges and decolonial thought throughout settler and Indigenous populations alike, there are real life stakes in struggles for decolonization. To translate or teach a work of Indigenous literature in an institution may be enlightening or bring about new forms of consciousness to settlers and Indigenous students, but it may not accomplish much for those Indigenous Peoples who are on the front lines of struggle and who are criminalized by settler laws as they defend and fight for land, renew land-based knowledge systems and build language revitalization camps.[87] In discussions on decoloniality and decolonization, both the metaphorical and material dimensions should be kept in mind.[88]

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[86] For example, if there are brochures, magazines or publications that are made for decolonial fundraisers, translators could contribute their translation skills, which would also generate material results.

[87] The Kanienkehaka Land Back Language Camp near Akwesasne stated on its social media page: "As we enter our fifth week, we can't help but notice the antagonistic tactics of Canada and their agents. All this surveillance, because we bring our children out on the land to teach them the language and to know their rights as Onkwehonwe. Well, today we focused on teaching our young people how to handle police harassment in a peaceful way. Our young people have begun learning how to document our interactions with the police and they have a good understanding why documentation is so important…We even had a military type plane fly over the camp shortly after the Akwesasne Mohawk Police went by on boat and the SQ drove by" (Kanienkehaka Land Back Language Camp 2020).

[88] There are ethical questions that should be raised and discussed when it comes to decolonial efforts in institutions. In an ideal situation, settler professors and the settler

vi. Decolonial Translation, Multidirectional Flows and Asymmetries

An additional dimension that has gone unmentioned throughout this thesis, but which requires careful attention and merits further research is the question of decolonial translation in its relation to language politics and translation asymmetries. At the beginning of this chapter, I proposed an intralingual and interlingual translation flow model that could be imagined for the cross-pollination of ideas from Francophone and Anglophone Indigenous and decolonial discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island to France. These flow models are meant solely to respond to the knowledge gaps and absence of theoretical questions that concern representations of Indigenous Peoples and understandings of the settler colonial histories of Quebec and Canada in relation to Turtle Island. Given that discourses on decolonization and decoloniality originate in locality, as Frantz Fanon has argued, the absence of Anglophone and Francophone Indigenous, settler colonial and decolonial discourse in France is contingent upon the mere fact that social, political and historical life in France is unfolding differently. The exportation of Indigenous, decolonial and settler colonial perspectives from the Francophone and

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public would *know* about the settler colonial history of Canada and be familiar with at least some Indigenous histories of this continent without occupying an authoritative position of power over the continual production of representations of Indigenous Peoples as an outsider. Acquiring degrees or certificates might give a settler outsider the "credentials" for a teaching position, depending on the evaluation criteria of a given institution. However, that does not allow settlers to transcend their settlerism. In this regard, decolonial and ethical teaching methods should be deliberated and implemented. Otherwise, decolonial efforts might slip into a situation where settler scholars who had access to an "appropriate" discipline make a living off of Indigenous Peoples. To be clear, I am not saying that it is not important for settlers to learn about decoloniality, Indigenous studies and decolonization. My intent is to draw attention to power relations and structural dimensions that complicate the situation of settler scholars pursuing these areas of research in the context of academia in order to encourage reflection on what such a position entails, what kind of ethical frameworks could respond to these situations and to recognize the limits of settler knowledge and research.

Anglophone contexts in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island to France could shift discourse in France to reinterpret its own relationality to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and Indigenous Peoples.

However, decoloniality and decolonization take on a whole new set of questions once one rethinks the question of decolonial translation flow models through the prism of language politics and translation asymmetries.[89] The refractions through this prism branch out into a labyrinthine multirelational plurality of possibilities for thinking through decolonial translation and world-historical decolonial struggles. I would like to call attention to a few reflections that I have made on coupling decolonial translation, decolonial translation flow models and language politics and translation asymmetries. Perhaps these reflections could be carried forward into future research.

The introduction of decolonial and Indigenous thought into Anglophone discourse through translation and historical forces has spawned the notion of pluriversality, which posits that there can exist multiple worldviews within one language and whose systems of thought and epistemologies can at times enter into relations of tension and difference with other worldviews. It is a notion that challenges Western premises of universality. The notion of pluriversality has opened up spaces of reception within the English language for alternative worldviews that reenvision how societies can be organized, how legal systems could be reimagined or altered, how to rethink new forms of social justice, and much more. Through the prism of linguistic power and translation asymmetries, one's horizon is opened up onto the pluriversality that exists within *each language*. It

[89] For example, in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, language politics and translation asymmetries have involved the overwhelming pressure of Anglophone ways of seeing, speaking, writing and thinking on the Francophone imagination (Simon 1988).

couples pluriversality with plurilingualism and requires a new set of vocabulary, questions and orientations for understanding translation's role, as well as how to decolonize translation asymmetries themselves.

In this chapter, I have argued for the intralingual and interlingual translation of Indigenous, decolonial and settler studies cultural works from Anglophone and Francophone discourse produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island into Francophone discourse in France as a strategy for decolonizing the French imagination in France. This could introduce new critical theory and perspectives for re-constructing world history, re-orienting the positions of relationality to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and reconstructing representations of Indigenous Peoples from standpoints in French discourse in France. Yet, the experiences of subalterns in English and in French based in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island are not the only experiences that must be translated and/or exported. What of the experiences and voices of subalterns in other languages, stratified at vertical levels? Decolonial translational flows into English, so long as it remains a pivot language, would carry subaltern perspectives and thought in relative subaltern languages upwards into new and expansive networks of circulation and regimes of visibility. This is not to imply that the same cannot be said of the opposite direction – i.e., translations from English into French also carry voices and perspectives upwards into new regimes of visibility. However, when translation asymmetries exist, it means that many subaltern experiences go unheard and that subalterns within a particular language may gain greater visibility than subaltern experiences in other languages.

Decolonial translation flows into English could nonetheless re-interpret the world in Anglophone discourse from new standpoints and coordinates articulated from within

relative subaltern language worlds.[90] The prism of linguistic power and translation asymmetries provides a reminder that asymmetric power relations between languages add another layer of stratification to subaltern experience – there exists the subaltern *within* the subaltern. That is, many subaltern experiences within linguistic subalterns. To this point, the translation of decolonial, Indigenous and (settler) colonial research from Francophone discourse in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France into English would have invaluable contributions to Indigenous, settler colonial and decolonial discourse and research in the Anglophone world.

Works by Dalie Giroux, such as *Parler en Amérique : Oralité, colonialisme, territoire* (2019), *La généalogie du déracinement* (2019) and *L'œil du maître : figures de l'imaginaire colonial québécois* (2020) should be translated into English. These books would make valuable contributions to political and decolonial thought in English. Benjamin Pillet's book co-authored with Francis Dupuis-Déri *L'anarcho-indigénisme* (2018) on decolonization and anarchy, with a special focus on France's anarchist tradition, would also bring new and interesting insights into English on the legacies of French colonialism. This could help in the task of creating a decolonial English language nationally and internationally. René Lemieux's research on Indigenous languages, Indigenous laws and translation should be translated into English to grow these fields of research. Karim Chagnon's research on decolonial translation in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, a focus which scarcely exists in English at all, is critical for the formation of a field in decolonial translation research in English. The translation of research by

[90] Not to overlook that the rearticulation and recoordination achieved through translation depends greatly on the methodology that produces the translation.

Francophone Indigenous scholars Georges Sioui (some of which has already been translated into English) and Pierrot Ross-Tremblay, as well as Francophone scholars Michel Morin and Jean Morisset, among others, should also be added to the list of researchers worthwhile for English translators to study and translate into English. These translations could create connective coordinates and relations of solidarity between discursive worlds borne by Anglophone and Francophone currents of thought, broaden Anglophone consciousness and introduce new Indigenized and decolonial writing practices into Anglophone discourse.

A multidirectional decolonial translation flow model hinged on plurilingualism could aid in the construction and distribution of world decolonial literatures. Intralingual and interlingual translation could go beyond a sole focus on responding to the apparent absence in Francophone discourse in France of Indigenous perspectives, settler colonial and decolonial literatures specific to Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. An intralingual and interlingual decolonial translation flow model operating in the reverse direction could help decolonize and (de)(re)construct representations of France in Anglophone and Francophone imaginations in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. A critical question that must be raised here and explored in further research on decolonial translation practices is the following: if decolonization/decoloniality seeks to build a world without relations of domination, then how can such relations be conceived in the context of language politics and asymmetries of translation between languages?

V. Conclusion

Taking into account the importance of translation and the cross-pollination of ideas between languages and contexts in chapter four, this chapter has sought to provide guidelines on how this translation and cross-pollination could/should take place and on decolonial, decolonizing and Indigenized translation practices. As discussed, translators of Indigenous cultural works between French and English are at an advantage in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context, where settler colonial, Indigenous and decolonial discourses specific to these lands are generated and lived out on a daily basis. This context is also one in which French and English are official languages and where translators have access to particular events, communities of interpretation and forms of language activity that are predominantly, if not entirely, absent in France. Depending on the context, it is possible that a translator based in France may not even be capable of carrying out an Indigenized or decolonial translation practice from a distance. As illustrated in the case of Lee Maracle and Marc Côté, there can be a lot at stake – such as the destruction of Indigenous styles or cultural integrity – in a translation process if a translator does not incorporate a relation of collaboration and dialogue into their translation practice. Beyond these dimensions, it is also especially important for settler translators to construct an ethical framework and translation practice with economic and structural considerations in order to rule out exploitative relations.

Throughout the chapter, I provided a few examples of two separate but complementary approaches to decolonial translation. For example, a decolonial translation practice could involve refusing linguistic assimilation. Depending on the context, this could mean a translator refuses to assimilate terms or expressions in an

Indigenous language into the target language or that a translator actively chooses to include Indigenous languages – in place of French or English terms – in their writing practice.[91] This practice could be honed by learning Indigenous languages.[92]

Apart from linguistic decolonial translation, there are also Indigenized and decolonial translation practices that can be developed within the French and English languages. For example, Sha'tekayenton Andrew Brant's translation of "yokeno:ron" to "it is precious" is a form of Indigenized/decolonial translation that challenges the colloquial English translation "it is raining." Brant illustrates how Kanien'kehá:ka worldview and philosophy are required to contextualize and render intelligible "it is precious" as a more accurate translation than "it is raining." In this particular scenario, the linguistic order "it is precious" is complemented by a decolonial/Indigenized context that informs the translation practice. Brant's knowledge and worldview as a Turtle Clan member of the Kanien'kehá:ka underpins the translation. A translator unfamiliar with this knowledge and worldview could therefore easily end up misrepresenting Kanien'kéha with a colloquial English translation. This particular example shows how broader forms of decolonial and Indigenized writing practices – such as books, films or plays – craft contexts that can provide the epistemological foundations for decolonial and/or Indigenized translation practice.[93] Besides this broader example, there are also terms in

[91] For example, the replacement of place names, such as replacing "Montréal" with "Tiohtià:ke."

[92] Who teaches a given language, how that language is taught and represented and how the language instructor knows what they know are all questions that should be kept in mind.

[93] Research methods and the detours that we take towards knowledge form an important part of translation writing practice. With books, films, plays, in-person discussions, and so forth, translators may ask new questions and gain new senses of awareness that can influence the choice and order of words.

English and French – such as “Land Defender/Défenseur de la terre”— that can fulfill a reframing function as defined by Tuhiwai Smith. Translators should keep note of these terms in order to Indigenize their translation practices. Lastly, it is important for translators engaged in Indigenized and decolonial translation practices to recall the central objectives of decolonization at large – land and power. While decolonization and decoloniality overlap in intricate and complicated ways, it is important not to confuse the two terms. A decolonizing translation practice is not only decolonial, it also involves setting up relations that correspond to land back struggles and real material results.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The first chapter of this thesis opened up with the existential question concerning whether or not it is possible for a settler to live an ethical life in a settler colonial society built upon Indigenous lands. Although I have not provided a definite answer to this question, I hope to have provided at least some insights into the ways in which this existential question pertains to the settler translator and the field of translation studies. The bulk of this thesis, however, was devoted to responding to the question: in what ways can we understand Robert Lepage and Ariane Mnouchkine’s play *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*, along with the transatlantic media controversy that broke out around its original version *Kanata*, as issues that concern translation, and how can translation respond to these issues in a way that could fruitfully serve Indigenous-settler solidarity politics? Given that chapter two outlined the theory and methodology that help structure the thesis, it is in chapters three, four and five that I articulate my response to the research question.

The first half of the research question was addressed primarily in chapters three and four. Chapter three summarized the historical evolution of *Kanata* from its origins and original themes and structure to its eventual cancellation and later rebirth with the new name *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*. Drawing from news sources, Hélène Choquette's documentary *Lepage au soleil: à l'origine de Kanata* (2019) and archival footage provided to me on behalf of the Théâtre du Soleil, I composed a historical background to the production processes and contents of *Kanata* and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse*, and brought out some of the salient flaws of the plays. The flaws, ranging from the lack of Indigenous participation in the production and creative process to clichés and stereotypes, served as lessons for reflection on decolonial and Indigenized theatre translation and adaptation practices. The adaptation and translation of a play authored by an Indigenous playwright or on Indigenous Peoples and histories should involve an Indigenized/decolonial framework that can organize the relations of production and the many and varied textual and stage-oriented elements of the play. One way to construct such a framework is to begin with collaboration, which happened to be one of the primary suggestions that had been proposed to Lepage by some of the signatories of the open letter.[94]

In chapter four, I elaborated further on the ways in which *Kanata*, the *Kanata* controversy and *Kanata – Épisode I – La Controverse* could be understood through the lens of translation studies. The media discourse analysis in the first part of the chapter

[94] For further research on Indigenous theatre and theatre translation in French and English, see *Les arts performatifs et spectaculaires des Premières Nations de l'est du Canada* (2014) compiled by Jérôme Dubois and Dalie Giroux, and Karim Chagnon's "Muliats et Avant les rues : la politique de l'œuvre hétérolinguale" (2016) and "Colonialisme, universalisme occidental et traduction" (2020).

brought into focus distinct writing practices in the Anglophone and Francophone news publications produced by news outlets in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and in France. The divergent writing practices between the former and the latter were attributed to knowledge gaps in Francophone media and public discourse in France on the ways of speaking, writing and seeing that have developed differentially in the English and French languages in the context of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island. The different ways of speaking, writing and seeing – articulated by settler studies, Indigenizing and decolonial discourses – in the Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island context were examined in relation to historical, social, political, economic and material forces and factors that have contributed to the social crafting of a settler social consciousness in the French and English languages.

The knowledge gaps in Francophone media and public discourse in France, signified by the divergent writing practices observed in the discourse analysis, were further outlined by tying currents of thought in France to some of the social, political and historical particularities that have been playing out within the country. Having considered France's own localities, institutions and historical trajectories in relation to the ways that Francophone thought in France has been organized, produced and circulated, I argued that while spaces of reflection and critique on topics such as colonialism, decolonization and anticolonialism have certainly existed in France, the ways of speaking, seeing and writing differ in particularity from the discourses generated within the settler colonial context of the Canadian state. The knowledge gaps in Francophone thought in France are further accentuated by the comparative reception, which examines different writing practices and forms of critique offered by Indigenous, settler and European publics. To respond to these divergent writing practices and knowledge gaps in Francophone thought

in France, I argue that the interlingual and intralingual translation of Indigenous cultural works, decolonial and settler studies discourses produced in Francophone- and Anglophone-speaking regions of Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island could aid in the decolonization of representations of Indigenous Peoples and Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island in the Francophone imagination in France. In its turn, this cross-pollination of ideas and discourses through translation could change the ecologies of reception in France, potentially cultivating a space of hospitality for future Indigenous and non-Indigenous collaborations, as well as transform the frameworks of relationality of Francophone speakers and French citizens to themselves, as well as to Indigenous Peoples and the Canadian state. However, as I go on to note, the final product of translations or adaptations depends on the theoretical and methodological apparatus, and the ethical principles upon which it is founded, that a given translator designs and implements in their translation process. To respond to this, I segue into chapter five to propose a number of guidelines on decolonial, Indigenized and decolonizing translation practices. It is in my concluding remarks in chapter four and throughout chapter five that I began to respond to the second half of my research question, which concerns how to think of ways in which one can fruitfully serve Indigenous-settler solidarity politics.

Chapter five began with proposing a translation flow model that reverses Dalie Giroux's Atlantic paradox, taking into consideration the implications that the differential pluralities of currents of thought and discourses specific to geopolitical localities have in a translator's reading process and writing practice. As an example, I incorporated Giroux's case study on three works of literature translated from Greenlandic into Danish and then into French, echoing her question regarding what could have been gained had

the same works been translated directly by an Eskimo-Aleut speaking community in Tiohtià:ke/Montreal. The first translation flow model, which proposes that the translation from English into French of Indigenous cultural works, along with settler colonial and decolonial discourses, produced in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island takes place *in* Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, is backed up by a second translation flow model. The second translation flow model, which is intralingual, would involve exporting Francophone Indigenous and decolonial discourses to France to achieve the same ends as the first. The advantages of translating in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island are abundant, from having a greater awareness of the evolution of decolonial and Indigenous writing practices in the French and English languages to the possibilities of relationship-building and involvement in Indigenous-settler solidarity actions. Depending on the context, as I argue, it could be challenging or near impossible to implement decolonial/Indigenized translation practices from afar. These reflections are followed by a series of examples of two complementary, though distinct, decolonial translation approaches – linguistic and holistic/epistemological – that could be integrated into one's translation practice. On the linguistic side, I discuss the integration of Indigenous languages into one's writing practice – a kind of reverse linguistic assimilation – while on the other I consider pedagogical styles, theoretical frameworks and framing strategies that can be understood as forms of decolonial/Indigenized translation. The final section of chapter five then briefly discusses the relation between decolonial translation, multidirectional flows and linguistic power and translation asymmetries. How does one begin to imagine decolonial translation flow models within the context of relations of domination between languages and translation directions? How do we decolonize translation flow models? Would a

multidirectional and plurilingual translation flow model operating on a logic of reciprocity have to be combined with decolonial translation methodologies? How do we go about rethinking a decolonized translation industry? These are all new questions to explore in decolonial translation research.

Chapter five in some sense circles back to the opening question of the thesis. As discussed in chapter five, a decolonial or Indigenized translation process could be multi-relational and multi-practical, involving a dialogical relationship with a given Indigenous artist, paying royalties to contributors, Indigenous-settler collaboration and ensuring a publisher follows Indigenous publishing guidelines. These guidelines are in many ways the setting up of ways of living and relating in the production and writing process that will inevitably give shape to the final product of translation or adaptation. To conclude, I would like for a moment to turn to an excerpt from the poem "One Way to Keep Track of Who is Talking" by Anishinaabe poet Marie Anneharte Baker:

> If I change one word, I change history. What did I
> say today? Do I even remember one word? Writing is
> oral tradition. You have to practice the words on
> someone before writing it down (Baker 2019, 47).

Words do not only make history, but historical dynamism – orality, interpersonal and/or communal relationships and practice – also make or render words. There are complex histories behind the words that we choose and the writing practices that have been formed over time. The act of writing does not begin the moment the pen hits the paper or at the stroke of a key, it is always evolving and being crafted through discussions, meetings, speakers, reflection, other writers, music, our motions through daily life, our experiences

and social activities. Decolonial or Indigenized translation practices involve ways of living, researching, relationship-building and reflecting that reconfigure frameworks of relationality, power and histories. They give shape to what is written and the order of words.

Given the limited scope of this thesis, there is sure to be research on the topic of Indigenous and decolonial translation that has fallen outside of my purview. With this in mind, the propositions that I make here for future research in this area are without a doubt contingent upon the scope of my knowledge. There are nonetheless many avenues for this area of research. One avenue that I have already mentioned involves learning one or more Indigenous languages. Of course, this pursuit of knowledge and practice would depend greatly on both the resources available and the desires of a specific Indigenous language speaking community, as it may not always be the case that a community of Indigenous language speakers desire outsiders to learn the language. This depends on the context and could be determined through dialogue and inquiry on the part of a given researcher or curious person.

Future research could also include interviewing Indigenous language instructors or professors, as translation is an integral part of the process of language learning and acquisition. Beyond conducting such interviews, translation research on Indigenized and decolonial translation practices could encompass comparative studies of translated Indigenous and decolonial literatures between French and English and/or subaltern languages. I had mentioned earlier that Arianne Des Rochers and Natasha Kanapé Fontaine collaborated on the translation of two works by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. Conducting an interview with des Rochers and Fontaine could bring new insights into the

challenges they faced and the methodologies they implemented in their translation processes. On September 25, 2020, the Literary Translators Association of Canada held an online event called "Spotlight on Translation/Pleins feux sur la traduction" in which Sophie M. Lavoie interviewed Arianne Des Rochers and Oji-nêhiyaw and Two-Spirit poet and novelist Joshua Whitehead about the translation of Whitehead's novel *Johnny Appleseed* (2018) into French. This interview brought interesting insights and it would be worthwhile to reflect on in greater detail.[95]

Furthermore, during my research, I noticed that the late Anishinaabe author Richard Wagamese's novel *Indian Horse* (2012) was translated into French twice. The first translation *Cheval Indien* (2017) was done by the translators Paul Gagné and Lori Saint-Martin, both of whom are based in Tiohtià:ke/Montreal, for Éditions XYZ. The second translation *Jeu Blanc* (2019) was carried out by Christine Raguet, a professor of translation at the Université de Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle, for Éditions Zoe. Studying these two separate translations in relation to the translation flow models could possibly disprove or substantiate some of the arguments I laid out in chapter five.

Research in the field of Indigenized and decolonial translation could also take on the task of translating cultural works by Francophone decolonial and Indigenous thinkers, artists, scholars and writers, such as Dalie Giroux, Jean Morisset, Eleonore Sioui, Georges Sioui, Pierrot Ross-Tremblay, René Lemieux, Karim Chagnon, Benjamin Pillet,

[95] For example, Arianne Des Rochers and Joshua Whitehead discuss the translation of the expression "holy hell" that Joshua Whitehead uses in *Johnny Appleseed* (2018), an expression that could be understood as a form of Indigenous Colloquial English according to Younging's book. Arianne Des Rochers' decision to translate "holy hell" as "sacré calvaire"— that is, in familiar terms, but not in terms of a familiar expression – is an interesting manoeuvre as it avoids strict domestication and to some extent allows the English expression to condition and shape a new expression in French.

Michel Morin and others to enrich the fields of settler studies, decolonial theory, Indigenous studies and translation studies in English, as well as create greater networks and relations of solidarity between decolonial and Indigenous political movements. Future research could also chart out the ways in which translation played a role in giving shape and form to broad-based Indigenous-settler solidarity movements in Francophone or Anglophone Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island, such as the #IdleNoMore movement (2012-present) and the Wet'suwet'en solidarity movement (2020).[96] Further research could also endeavour to examine the history of the ways in which Indigenous languages in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island have been (mis)represented, (mis)interpreted and (mis)translated into the English and French languages via the study of historical documents, such as manuscripts or dictionaries. Karim Chagnon's work has involved this line of research and has many insights to bring to English scholarship.

Another interesting avenue could be the study of heterolingualism and translation in the music scene in Montreal. For example, Inuk musician Elisapie Isaac's album *On the Ballad of the Runaway Girl* (2018) includes songs written in Inuktitut, French and English. Zazaxsmalis (Yung Trybez) and Darren Metz (Young D) who form the rap duo Snotty Nose Rez Kids, hailing from the Haisla Nation, have been gradually integrating X̄a'islaḵ̓ala (or Haislakala, the language of the Haisla First Nation) into their lyrics as they both continue to learn the language. One could conduct interviews with Elisapie

[96] Although there is no unified and official name for this series of events, Mike Gouldhawke has also referred to the movements sparked off by solidarity actions with Wet'suwet'en as the "Wet'suwet'en solidarity movement" in "Land as a Social Relationship" (2020) published in *Briarpatch*'s Land Back issue. This issue also happened to use Gregory Younging's *Elements of Indigenous Style* (2018) as a style guide.

Isaac and/or Zazaxsmalis and Darren Metz on the way that heterolingualism and/or translation plays or has played into their music writing processes. Future research could also focus on how Indigenous films have been translated (through subtitling) to Anglophone and/or Francophone-speaking publics in Quebec/Canada/Turtle Island and the reception of these films by said publics.

Indeed, there are endless possibilities for broadening the scope of this area of research, building a political space of encounter and solidarity between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, and constructing such a space within the field of translation studies. Even though I do place a significant emphasis on the importance of decoloniality in the transformation of settler translators and researchers in particular, what I have set out to do in this thesis does not concern settlers alone. Overall, this thesis concerns anyone interested in Indigenized and decolonial translation and/or theatre adaptation practices.

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