Shifting the Spatial Representation of Indigenous Peoples in Translation: The Case Study of Lonely Planet's *Canada* in Italian

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Abstract

This article analyzes the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and space as represented in the Lonely Planet tourist guidebook *Canada* and in its Italian translation. As one of the first mediating links between tourists and tourist destinations, guidebooks play a crucial role in circulating the imagery of cultures (Gilbert 1999, 283; Callahan 2011, 97; Maci 2020, 177). Significantly, as sites of ideological struggle, their translation poses particular issues when it comes to the representation of historically marginalized cultures, as in the case of the Indigenous Peoples of Canada, whose close and enduring relationship with the land has played a crucial role in constructing their own identity (Campbell et al. 2003, 16). While most historians argue that Indigenous Peoples have inhabited present-day Canada from time immemorial (see, for instance, Carter 1999; Campbell et al. 2003; Dickason et al. 2006/2023), others – from a Eurocentric perspective – trace their presence back to a specific time in history, presenting them as the first immigrants (see, for instance, Coates 2004, 34-7). Linking the Indigenous Peoples' presence in present-day Canada with migration, however, effaces the consequences that they suffered following both the arrival of European colonizers and the later waves of immigration (Monture-Angus 1995; Stasiulis and Bakan 1997; Lawrence 2002; Sharma 2006; Ahluwaia 2012). In light of the ideologies underpinning the representation of Indigenous Peoples, this article will examine – through a Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to translation (Matthiessen 2014) – the transitivity shifts which occur within the experiential mode of meaning that is concerned with how human experience is constructed in a text (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014). This will reveal any shifts in the interpretation offered by the target text, thus shedding light on the relationship between translation and ideology.

Keywords: Indigenous Peoples of Canada; tourist guidebooks; Translation Studies; Systemic Functional Linguistics; experiential meaning.

1. Introduction

This article analyzes the interplay between Indigenous Peoples and space as represented in the thirteenth paper edition of the 2017 Lonely Planet guidebook *Canada* and in its Italian translation, published under the same title and in the same year, through a Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to translation (Matthiessen 2014). Lonely Planet's ethical vision seeks to produce a community of travelers sensitive to local people's cultural identities and aware of the global inequalities caused by colonialism and capitalism (Lisle 2008; Callahan 2011).[1] Lonely Planet guidebooks are a representative example of this type of text, which – as one of the first mediating links between tourists and tourist destinations – play a crucial role in establishing popular understanding of the meanings of cultures. Although this also applies to other types of tourist texts, guidebooks nonetheless stand out as particularly significant from this perspective due to their pedagogical role (Callahan 2011, 97; Maci 2020, 177). In fact, as the least promotional and most informative type of tourist text, offering detailed historical and cultural insights into a destination, guidebooks are usually perceived as truthful cultural representations and authoritative texts by readers, who often rely on them as the main source of information before and when traveling (Dijkstra 2016, 207; Maci 2020, 177). This is due to the authors' deep knowledge of the culture(s) of the destination and to the illusorily impersonal language that misleads readers into perceiving authors as "invisible" and – as a result – guidebooks as "inauthorial" (Dijkstra 2016, 200-1; see also Maci 2000, 173). As noted by Stefania Maci, the authors'

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[1] The achievement of Lonely Planet's declared aim has been questioned by Lisle (2008) and Callahan (2011) who have analyzed the guidebooks *Myanmar (Burma)* and *East Timor* respectively from a Postcolonial perspective.

knowledge and the resulting perceived authoritativeness are expressed through language via instructions, enacted by verbs in the imperative mood, about what is suitable and what is not (Maci 2000, 173, 177). Moreover, the language used in guidebooks – and, more broadly, in tourist texts – enhances the impression of an illusory authenticity through, among other linguistic devices, terms used to stress the uniqueness of the destination from

historical and landscape perspectives; evaluative lexical items; emotive expressions; and foreign words related to the local culture. These convey an exotic flavor and local color to the text, and immerse tourists in the local culture, thus evoking emotions (Maci 2000, 169-71). Through their language choices, guidebook authors shape the image of cultures and destinations, which, although in some cases are the result of constraints necessary to conform to the publisher's ethical vision,[2] reveal the authors' worldview and influence the readers' interpretation (Maci 2000, 166).

This is further complicated in the case of translated guidebooks considering that translation choices, which lead the target-text readers' interpretation, often reflect the *translators*' interpretation (although choices also in this case might be the result of an act of negotiation with the other agents of translation involved in the process of cultural innovation and exchange, such as the publisher). Despite this, the translators of guidebooks are usually perceived as "invisible" by readers (Dijkstra 2016), not least because translated guidebooks are not presented as such by publishers, as is clear, for example, from the lack of the translators' name on the book cover, or even anywhere in the book, as in the case of the translation of Lonely Planet *Canada*.[3] The translators' powerful role as a cultural agent, and yet someone who is perceived to be "invisible", poses particular issues when translated guidebooks circulate the imagery of historically oppressed cultures such as the Indigenous

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[2] On the editorial control exerted on Lonely Planet guidebook authors, see Iaquinto 2011.

[3] The expression "the translator's invisibility" was coined by Venuti (1995) to describe the translators' situation in the anglophone North American literary system at a time when translations were – and often still are – conventionally expected to read as original texts, fluent.

Peoples of Canada, given the enormous power wielded by translation in reinforcing or subverting their representation as marginalized cultures. Indeed, several scholars have pointed out – from a postcolonial perspective – that indigenous cultures are often homogenized, historicized and made invisible in tourist texts (Hollinshead 1992; Braun 2002; Amoamo and Thompson 2010; Yang 2011; Seiver and Matthews 2016; Lee 2017; Grimwood et al. 2019). This results in stereotypical representations of the Indigenous Peoples as exotic and primitive "others" (Amoamo and Thompson 2010), as agentless (Braun 2002) or as passive "hosts" or "locals" with a homogenous experience of being targeted by tourism as threat or opportunity (Viken and Müller 2017).

2. The Indigenous Peoples of Canada: First Inhabitants or First Migrants?

The Indigenous Peoples of Canada have long suffered land dispossession, displacement and marginalization following both the arrival of European colonizers in the sixteenth century and the waves of immigration of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the land has represented the heart of their knowledge, languages and cultures since "time immemorial" (McGregor 1996/2020, 183; see also Campbell et al. 2003; Dickason et al. 2006/2023). The expression *time immemorial*, which refers to "a point that exceeds human memory" (Dickason et al. 2006/2023, 530), reflects a "polychronic" approach to time interaction that sees it as fluid and cyclical in contrast to a "monochronic" Eurocentric linear understanding that segments time in small units and requires events from the past to be associated with a specific date (Matamua 2021, 65). The different ways of approaching time show that its systems can represent different ideologies (Cohen 2018), which, significantly, are at the root of the still ongoing historical debate on the origins of the Indigenous Peoples' presence in present-day Canada. On the one hand, in fact, Indigenous Peoples are presented as the first welcoming community, the original inhabitants living on their lands, thus marking the history of present-day Canada (see, for instance, Carter 1999; Campbell et al. 2003; Dickason et al. 2006/2023; Kasparian 2012; Manuel and Derrickson 2015). On the other hand, from a

Eurocentric perspective, the Indigenous Peoples' presence is traced back to a specific time in history (33,000 BC) following their ancestors' arrival from north-eastern Asia, thus presenting them as the first of many waves of immigrants (Carter 1999, 22; see, for instance, Coates 2004, 34-7). As noted by a number of historians, associating the Indigenous Peoples' presence in present-day Canada with migration effaces the consequences that they suffered, not only following the arrival of European colonizers, but also during the later waves of immigration, which undermined their rights to land (see Monture-Angus 1995; Stasiulis and Bakan 1997; Lawrence 2002; Sharma 2006; Ahluwaia 2012). With reference to the Indigenous Peoples' deportation to reserves, Elena Lamberti brings the two perspectives together by proposing the expression "migrazione forzata" (Lamberti 2019, 116) highlighting how the resulting migration forced many nomadic and semi-nomadic Indigenous Peoples into sedentism. Although the land has been the source of the Indigenous Peoples' disempowerment and dispossession, their close and enduring relationship with it – defined by the mutual sharing of place in a community-based life in harmony with nature, amid responsibility, connection and inclusion – has played a crucial role in constructing their own identity (Campbell et al. 2003; Egan 2013; Kant et al. 2019).

It is in view of the close relationship between the land and the Indigenous Peoples' cultural identity that this article will investigate – through the Lonely Planet case study – the dynamics at play when representing the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and space in the translation of tourist texts.

3. Indigenous Peoples and Tourist Texts in Translation: An Overview

The current Translation Studies debate on Indigenous Peoples is mainly centered on the issues of agency and cultural appropriation emerging when translating from Indigenous languages into dominant ones, with a focus on literary translation (see, for example, Henitiuk and Mahieu 2021). However, to my knowledge, there are no studies to date on the

representation of the Indigenous Peoples of Canada – nor of any other anglophone country – as represented in the translation of tourist texts.

With regard to the representation of historically oppressed cultures in the translation of tourist texts between English and Italian, Eleonora Federici has offered case-study analyses grounded in culturally-oriented translation theory and has pointed out the process of "othering" undergone by Indian people (2019), as well as the simplified message conveyed by localized websites on Southern US plantations (2024). While the localization of tourist websites has been explored in several studies, those on the translation of guidebooks in this language pair, which are all based on the analysis of Lonely Planet texts, are focused on the circulation of Italian cultural stereotypes (see Smecca 2009), the use of specialized language (see Cappelli 2012), and culture-bound culinary terminology (see De Marco 2015). The translation of other types of tourist text has been investigated through culturally-oriented Translation Studies case-study analyses looking at translation as a product (rather than as a process), which discuss the notion of authenticity (see Federici 2011) and the strategies used to translate Italian culture-bound terms into English (see, in particular, Agorni 2012, 2016, 2018). On the other hand, several studies grounded in discourse and multimodal analysis look at the persuasive function as conveyed in English and Italian by drawing on parallel corpora (see, for example, Manca 2008, 2009, 2013, 2016a, 2016b). More specific aspects discussed through this approach include cultural and functional equivalence (see Tognini Bonelli and Manca 2002, 2004; Manca 2004a, 2004b, 2012, 2018; Cappelli 2007). Finally, other studies focus on translation quality (see Federici 2007; Pierini 2007) and offer insights into bridging theory and practice (see Torresi 2010; Federici 2018; Manfredi 2014, 105-18).[4] Among these, Marina Manfredi's practice-led study (2014) includes her own translation of a tourist text which applies Systemic Functionalist Linguistics theory, with the final aim of proposing a model for translator trainees (see Manfredi 2014, 115-8).

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[4] For an overview of the translation of tourist texts in different language pairs, see, in particular, Katan 2020, and Sulaiman and Wilson 2021.

To date this is the only analysis of a translation between English and Italian from a Systemic Functional Linguistics perspective.[5]

Against this backdrop, this article stands out as one of the very few studies analyzing the representation of marginalized cultures (and the first one in the case of Indigenous Peoples) in the translation of tourist texts and the first one from a Systemic Functional Linguistics perspective. Drawing on this branch of linguistics, which sees language as a meaning-making system embedded in a social and cultural context, will enable an analysis of how the experiential meaning, which construes the author's worldview, is recreated in the Italian translation of Lonely Planet guidebook *Canada*. This stands out as particularly relevant considering the ideologies underpinning the representation of the Indigenous Peoples' presence in present-day Canada.

4. Recreating the Experiential Meaning through Translation: Mapping the Terrain

From the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, which was first theorized by Michael Halliday (1978, 1985), and sees language as functioning as a network of interrelated meaningful choices, the experiential mode of meaning "is concerned with the construal of our experience of the world, as meaning" (Matthiessen 2014, 278; see also Halliday 1985, 19). Together with the logical mode of meaning, it makes up the ideational metafunction, the first of the three interrelated highly generalized functions served by language (the others being the interpersonal metafunction, which establishes relationships, and the textual one, which facilitates the other two metafunctions). In serving the ideational metafunction, "language lends structure to the users' experience and helps them to determine their way of looking at things" (Halliday 1971/2019, 327). The different metafunctional strands of meaning are combined in the clause, which is seen as the realization of a message from a textual perspective, as exchange on an interpersonal level, and – of most relevance to the

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[5] See also Halliday 2010, whose analysis of a translation of a tourist text from Chinese into English is focused on semantic equivalence and translation quality. For a multimodal analysis of tourist texts in English and Italian from a Systemic Functional Linguistics perspective, see Manca 2016a, 2016b. For an in-depth Systemic Functional Linguistics analysis of English-language tourist texts, see, in particular, Francesconi 2014.

scope of this article – as representation, namely as the construal of some process in ongoing human experience, experientially speaking. The experiential mode of meaning is realized by the lexicogrammatical resources provided by the transitivity system "for construing a quantum of change in the flow of events as a figure – as a configuration of elements centred on a process" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014, 213). The Process, which is the core element of the experiential structure of a clause, is typically realized by a verbal group (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014, 222), and is categorized into different types, depending on what is represented when construing an event, such as Material Processes (representation as happening), Relational Processes (being or having) and Existential Processes (existing) among others (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014, 214-6). The other two elements of a clause are the Participants (typically realized by nominal groups) involved in the Process, and Circumstances (typically realized by prepositional phrases or adverbial groups) giving different kinds of detail on the Process (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014, 222, 310-4). The type of Process realized by the main verb of the clause influences the Transitivity relations and the Participants' roles (such as Actor and Goal in the case of Material Processes; and Existent in the case of Existential Processes, among others) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014, 311). The transitivity analysis reveals how the entities participate in a situation, including the type of event, and who or what initiates it. Significantly, the way in which the three elements of a clause are organized shows how a mental picture of reality is encoded in language and represents the event from a certain perspective, thus unveiling the language users' – in this case the *authors'* – understanding and interpretation of such an event, and, more generally speaking, their worldview.

The subjectivity at play when recreating the experiential mode of meaning through translation has been discussed by linguist Christian Matthiessen, who has also expanded Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar framework (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004/2014). Drawing on the view of language as a network of interrelated options from which users choose to express meaning, Matthiessen points out that, in order to recreate the

experiential meaning, translators choose among the lexicogrammatical options available in the target language depending on their interpretation of events as configurations of elements (Processes, Participants and Circumstances) (Matthiessen 2014, 277). The notion of "choice" is central to Matthiessen's idea of translation, which he presents as "the **recreation of meaning in context through choice** — choice in the interpretation of the original text and choice in the creation of the translated text" (Matthiessen 2014, 272; original emphasis), and as the result of "an ongoing process of choosing options within the systems of the source language and of the target language" (Matthiessen 2014, 272). Matthiessen explains that his use of "choice" is meant to emphasize that there are always alternatives, both in interpreting the source text and in producing the target text, and these alternatives in meaning are embodied in the meaning potentials of the source- and target languages (Matthiessen 2014, 272-3). Matthiessen proposes a model highlighting that all choices in translation inevitably imply shifts within the same mode of meaning or between different modes (Matthiessen 2014, 276). With reference to the experiential mode of meaning, he explains that shifts might occur within nuclear transitivity (involving Processes and Participants) or circumstantial transitivity (also involving Circumstances) (Matthiessen 2014, 294).

Matthiessen's model has been implemented in very few studies discussing translation shifts between the textual and logical modes of meaning (see, for example, Wang and Ma 2018). Studies analyzing ideational and – more specifically – experiential translation shifts, on the other hand, have used Halliday and Matthiessen's transitivity system as an analytic framework (2004/2014); these consist both of Systemic Functional Linguistics quantitative analyses (see Ma and Wang 2020; Liu and Li 2022), and of case studies grounded in translation theory (see Hatim and Mason 1997; Mason 2012; Munday 2014, 2021). Significantly, Translation Studies scholars Basil Hatim, Ian Mason and Jeremy Munday anticipated Matthiessen's point that when choosing the transitivity resources in order to produce a target text, translators inevitably intervene in the translation process by feeding their own knowledge and beliefs. Albeit through a less systematic analysis and

based on an existing model, these Translation Studies scholars went beyond Matthiessen's mere notion of "interpretation" and were the first to point out that transitivity shifts imply shifts in the translators' point of view and, as a result, influence the readers' interpretation, thus shedding light on the link between translation and ideology.

Against this background, this article analyzes the transitivity shifts which occur within the experiential mode of meaning in a selection of passages from the Italian translation of Lonely Planet's *Canada*. While a multiple structural analysis of the clause allows for the description of how language constructs meanings simultaneously, this analysis is focused on the experiential meaning, as this is the dominant one in the source text analyzed, particularly in the descriptive and narrative sections (consisting of only written – and no visual – text) of the guidebook devoted to Indigenous Peoples. The Systemic Functionalist Linguistics methodology proposed by Matthiessen will enable a systematic analysis of the selected passages at a clause level, thus highlighting any shifts in the Indigenous Peoples' spatial representation and, ultimately, in the point of view unveiled by the target text. However, when analyzing the translation of culture-embedded texts such as tourist guidebooks, which are sites of ideological struggle, it is important to remember that translation is not always – at least not exclusively – the result of the translators' interpretation, but also of constraints, posed not only by the lexicogrammatical resources available in the target language as pointed out by Matthiessen, but also, for instance, by stylistic conventions, target-text readers' cultural expectations, and the publisher's ideology. The translation of tourist texts, in fact, is often a collaborative translation, namely the result of a collaboration between different translators and other agents of translation, including authors, publishers and editors. In light of these considerations, the following analysis – as a product-oriented study – will examine translation "choices", referring to the selections ultimately made in the target text – leading to a shift in the Indigenous Peoples' spatial representation, and – as a result – to a shift in the point of view unveiled by the target text.

5. Shifts in Transitivity and Representation

In Lonely Planet's *Canada*, the representation of Indigenous Peoples is concentrated in the four-page section *Aboriginal Cultures,* and in other parts providing an historical and socio-political overview of the country and of the individual destinations. In line with the historical focus throughout the guidebook, particular attention is paid to the origins of the Indigenous Peoples' presence on present-day Canadian soil, as shown by the extracts below, which offer some of the most revealing examples of a shift within the experiential mode of meaning. Analysis will be centered on the three clause elements construing the interplay between Indigenous Peoples and space, namely those serving as Process (in bold below), the Participant indicating Indigenous Peoples – and in some cases the Attribute (underlined), and the Participant or Circumstance representing space (in italics).

EXTRACT 1

SOURCE TEXT

"From time immemorial, <u>the Mi'kmaq First Nation</u> **lived** *throughout present-day Nova Scotia*" (Miller et al. 2017a, 331).

TARGET TEXT

"Da tempi immemorabili *il territorio dell'odierna Nova Scotia* **è stato abitato** <u>dalla First Nation dei mi'kmaq</u>" (Miller et al. 2017b, 384).

EXTRACT 2

SOURCE TEXT

"<u>Many Cree</u> **also live** *in polar-bear-epicenter Churchill, Manitoba, where they make up about one-third of local population;* it's not uncommon to hear people speaking Cree in Churchill" (Miller et al. 2017a, 840).

TARGET TEXT

"Diversi cree **si sono stabiliti** *anche a Churchill, nel Manitoba (la città più frequentata da chi desidera vedere gli orsi polari) dove costituiscono circa un terzo della popolazione;* a Churchill non è raro sentire persone che parlano la lingua cree" (Miller et al. 2017b, 935).

In these first two passages, the verb "lived", which realizes an Existential Process, shows the existence of the two Indigenous communities indicated by the nominal groups "Mi'kmaq First Nation" and "many Cree", both serving as Existent and to which details are added by the Circumstances of Place articulated through the prepositional phrases "throughout present-day Nova Scotia" (in Extract 1) and "in polar-bear-epicenter Churchill, Manitoba" (in Extract 2).

Extract 1 prepositional phrase "throughout present-day Nova Scotia" has been translated as "il territorio dell'odierna Nova Scotia", thus serving as Participant instead of Circumstance, and, more specifically, as Identified being the entity recognized as inhabited by the Mi'kmaqs, "dalla First Nation dei mi'kmaq", which thus serves as Identifier. This transitivity shift is due to a change in the Process Type: while "lived" realizes an Existential Process, "è stato abitato" serves as a Relational Process establishing a relationship between "il territorio dell'odierna Nova Scotia" and "dalla First Nation dei mi'kmaq", which is represented as a distinguishing feature of the space they inhabit. Since grammar intersects with lexis, the shift in the representation of the interplay between the Mi'kmaqs and Nova Scotia is created not only by the different transitivity structure of the Italian clause, but also by the way in which meaning is re-constructed by the new Process realized by the verb "abitare". Whereas in the source-text passage the Mi'kmaqs are represented as "living" – simply staying or at most having their home – in present-day Nova Scotia, "abitare", used as a transitive verb as in this case, implies a sense of stable residence, interaction and – as a result – a bond between the Mi'kmaqs and Nova Scotia. This verb, in fact, indicates the act of inhabiting meant as a social process through which the identities of place and people are reciprocally constructed. The use of the passive voice "è stato abitato" emphasizes the traces

of this mutual interaction left by the "First Nation dei Mi'kmaqs" on "il territorio della Nova Scotia", which is given focal prominence.

Unlike Extract 1, in Extract 2 "anche a Churchill, nel Manitoba" articulates a Circumstance of Place like the original prepositional phrase starting with "in polar-bear-epicenter Churchill, Manitoba". Interestingly, however, the Epithet "polar-bear-epicenter" has been expanded into an embedded clause, "la città più frequentata da chi desidera vedere gli orsi polari", serving as Qualifier. This bracketed embedded clause, which literally means "the most popular city with tourists eager to see polar bears", presents these animals as one of the main attractions of Churchill, possibly as this might be seen as not yet necessarily known to Italian tourists. While this Circumstance of Place has been retained as such, the Existential Process served by the verb "live" in Example 2 has shifted to a Material Process realized by the reflexive verbal group "si sono stabiliti", thus representing the Cree as Actor, namely as the Participant responsible for settling in Churchill and making it their home on a permanent basis – thus implicitly suggesting that they had been living elsewhere before their arrival – and not simply as living there, as implied in the source-text passage.

In the following extract, the Existential Process is encoded by the item "there are":

EXTRACT 3

SOURCE TEXT

"*North of Cartwright up to Ungava Bay* **there are** a half-dozen small, semitraditional Inuit communities accessible only by sea or air along the rugged, largely unspoiled mountainous coast" (Miller et al. 2017a, 510).

TARGET TEXT

"*A nord di Cartwright, fino a Ungava Bay, lungo una costa montuosa, aspra e quasi intatta*, **sono** situate cinque o sei piccole comunità semitradizionali di inuit accessibili solo via mare o in aereo" (Miller et al. 2017b, 573).

In this source-text passage, the Existent is served by the nominal group that starts with "a half-dozen small, semitraditional Inuit communities" and includes the embedded relative clause "accessible only by sea or air along the rugged, largely unspoiled mountainous coast", which serves as Qualifier and expresses how and where Inuit communities can be reached, thus representing them as a tourist attraction and eliciting a process of objectification. This has been reinforced in the target-text passage considering the literal translation of "accessible" as "accessibili", in conjunction with the use of the adjective "situate" (literally, "situated"), which serves as an Attribute indicating a feature of "cinque o sei piccole comunità semitradizionali di inuit" that in turn realizes the Carrier. Like "accessibili", in fact, the adjective "situato" is usually used for places – destinations and tourist attractions in the case of tourist texts – as shown, for instance, by its occurrence elsewhere in the translation of the Lonely Planet guidebook with reference to "museo" (*museum*) (Miller et al. 2017b, 167), "riserve" (*reserves*) (Miller et al. 2017b, 379), "area" (*area*) (Miller et al. 2017b, 579) and "isole" (*islands*) (Miller et al. 2017b, 933), among others. The change in role served by the nominal group indicating the Inuit communities from Existent to Carrier is due to a change in the Process Type from Existential (served by "live" in the source-text passage), to Relational (served by "sono" in the target-text one). Following this transitivity shift, while in the source-text passage the Inuit communities are represented as simply being North of Cartwright, in the target-text passage they are represented as being situated, thus implicitly suggesting their permanency, as also revealed in the next two translated-text passages.

EXTRACT 4

SOURCE TEXT

"Today they **number** 59,000 (4% of the overall Aboriginal population) and **are** spread *throughout four Arctic regions: Nunavut, the Inuvialuit area in the Northwest Territories, Nunavik (northern Québec) and Nunatsiavut (Labrador)*" (Miller et al. 2017a, 841).

TARGET TEXT

"Oggi *nel paese* **vivono** <u>59.000 inuit (pari al 4% della popolazione nativa totale) stanziati in quattro regioni artiche: il Nunavut, la zona degli Inuvialuit nei Northwest Territories, il Nunavik (Québec settentrionale) e il Nunatsiavut (Labrador)</u>" (Miller et al. 2017b, 935).

EXTRACT 5

SOURCE TEXT

"In New Brunswick, <u>the Maliseets (renowned basket-makers)</u> **live** *in the Upper St John River valley in the west*, while the Mi'kmaqs live to the east" (Miller et al. 2017a, 840).

TARGET TEXT:

"<u>I maliseet (rinomati per la produzione di ceste)</u> **sono** <u>stanziati</u> *nella parte occidentale del New Brunswick, lungo la valle superiore del St John River*, mentre i mi'kmaq vivono in quella orientale" (Miller et al. 2017b, 934).

In the main clause of Extract 4 source-text, the verb "number" realizes a Relational Process expressing the density of the Inuit population indicated by the pronoun "they" serving as Carrier, while the numerative "59,000" and the following embedded phrase encode the Attribute. This main clause is followed by a coordinate one in which the verb "are" serves as one more Relational Process, and is followed by the past participle "spread" acting as an adjective and serving as an Attribute indicating that the Inuit live in different places. In the target text, these two clauses have been merged into one, thus including only one verb, "vivono", which realizes an Existential Process with the nominal group "59.000 inuit" and the following embedded relative clauses serving – as a result – as Existent. The embedded relative clause introduced by the adjective "stanziati" (literally *settled*), which replaces "spread", serves as Qualifier and gives readers details as to how Inuit came to live

throughout four Arctic regions (rather than as to how widely they inhabit them), namely by making them their permanent home, thus implicitly suggesting that they had been living elsewhere, as also implied by the verbal group "si sono stabiliti" in Extract 2. In this case, however, the idea of the Inuit as arriving from elsewhere is reinforced, considering that "stanziati" is usually used for ethnic peoples, especially when discussing the origins of the demographic history of a place.

Significantly, the adjective "stanziati" is also used in Extract 5; in this case it is preceded by the verb "sono" (*are*), which realizes a Relational Process and leads to a transitivity shift as this is used to translate the source-language verb "live" realizing, instead, an Existential Process and showing the existence of the Maliseets, which thus serves as Existent. In the target-text passage, on the other hand, the nominal group starting with "i maliseet" comes to serve as Carrier, thus being represented as taking up residence by implicitly suggesting their foreign provenance, rather than being represented as simply inhabitants of the Upper St John River valley in the west.

The shift in the representation of the interplay between Indigenous Peoples and space is even more striking in the following example:

EXTRACT 6

SOURCE TEXT

"Canada's original inhabitants **began living** *on the land* more than 15,000 years ago" (Miller et al. 2017a, 839).

TARGET TEXT

"I primi abitanti del Canada **colonizzarono** *queste terre* più di 15.000 anni fa" (Miller et al. 2017b, 933).

In the source-text extract, the Existential Process realized by the verb "living" included in the verbal group "began living" shows the existence of Canada's original inhabitants, which

thus serves as Existent, while "on the land" is marginalized as a Circumstance of Place. In the target-text passage, this Existential Process has shifted to a Material Process realized by the verb "colonizzarono", with the nominal group "i primi abitanti del Canada" thus serving as Actor, namely the entity responsible for colonizing the land. This has been translated by the nominal group "queste terre", which therefore encodes the Goal being the entity affected by Canada's original inhabitants' colonization. Following this transitivity shift, while in the source-text passage Indigenous Peoples are merely represented as living on the land, in the target-text they are represented as taking control of it by using force. Considering that the verb "colonizzare" means to take control of an area already inhabited by somebody else, by imposing one's own culture and language through colonizing expeditions from one's own country of origin, its use clashes with the one conveyed by the nominal group "I primi abitanti del Canada", through which Indigenous Peoples are indicated not only as originally from present-day Canada, but also as the very first peoples to live there. Moreover, in light of the notorious historical connotation of the verb "colonizzare", Indigenous Peoples are paradoxically represented as the perpetrators of a crime of which they have been victim for centuries, undergoing land dispossession, marginalization and deportation to the reserves, among other consequences.

In light of the disrupting influence that the deportation to the reserves has had on the Indigenous Peoples' lives, the analysis of the next two final passages will be centered on how the Indigenous Peoples' presence in the reservation space has been construed.

EXTRACT 7

SOURCE TEXT

"Inuit **have never been placed** *on reserves* as their frozen territory was not carved up in the same way" (Miller et al. 2017a, 841).

TARGET TEXT:

"<u>Gli inuit</u> **non hanno mai vissuto** *nelle riserve*, in conseguenza della peculiarità del loro gelido territorio natio" (Miller et al. 2017b, 936).

EXTRACT 8

SOURCE TEXT

"Unlike First Nations people, <u>Métis</u> **were never placed** *on reserves*" (Miller et al. 2017a, 841).

TARGET TEXT: "A differenza dei popoli First Nations, <u>i métis</u> **non hanno mai abitato** *nelle riserve*" (Miller et al. 2017b, 935).

In both examples above, the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and the reserves has been described by Material Processes realized by the verbal groups "have been placed" and "were never placed" respectively, both conjugated in the passive voice, thus giving focal prominence to the nouns "Inuit" (in Extract 7), and "Métis" (in Extract 8), which serve as Goal, namely as the entities affected by the actions of being on "reserves", which realizes a Circumstance of Place in both passages. The absence of an entity serving as Actor in these two passages entirely elides the responsibility for the Indigenous Peoples' deportation to the reserves, which would still have been backgrounded by the sole verbal group in the passive voice. In the two corresponding target-text passages, the original Material Processes have shifted to Existential Processes realized by the verbal groups "non hanno mai vissuto" (in Extract 7) and by "non hanno mai abitato" (in Extract 8), thus representing Indigenous Peoples as having the power to decide not to move to the reserves. The use of "abitare", which in this case is used as an intransitive verb, unlike in Extract 1, stands out as particularly striking considering the implicitly suggested bond established by space and people. On the other hand, in the source-language passages, the verbal groups realizing Material Processes represent Indigenous Peoples as victims of the deportation, although any

responsibility of the Canadian Government is not simply backgrounded through the use of the passive voice, but entirely elided through the lack of an entity serving as Actor.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of these passages, which all exhibit a change in the Process Type, shows that the shifts within the system of nuclear transitivity lead to shifts within the experiential mode of meaning, which in turn result in a shift in the representation of the interplay between Indigenous Peoples and space, thus offering a different interpretation of their historical presence in present-day Canada. As a matter of fact, in the source text, the predominantly Existential and Relational Processes served by semantically-neutral verbs ("to live" in Extracts 1, 2, 5 and 6; "there are" in Extract 3; and "to number" and "to be" in Extract 4) construct meaning so as to represent Indigenous Peoples as merely inhabiting space. On the other hand, the different Process Types served by the Italian target-text verbs, and the resulting choices made within the transitivity system, recreate meaning so as to offer insights into how space is inhabited. More specifically, Indigenous Peoples are represented as immigrants arriving at a certain time in history (as suggested by the use of "stanziati" in Extracts 4 and 5) who took possession of space (as indicated by the verb "colonizzarono" in Extract 6), thus making it their permanent home and becoming sedentary peoples (as implied by the verbal group "si sono stabiliti" in Extract 2 and by the adjective "situate" in Extract 3). The way in which meaning is recreated thus offers a more detailed representation of how space is inhabited and, as a result, a more explicit interpretation of the origins of the Indigenous Peoples' presence in present-day Canada. By contrast, in Extracts 7 and 8, the shift of the Material Processes, served by the verbs "have never been placed" and "were never placed" respectively, to an Existential and to a Relational Process, realized by the neutrally-semantic verb "vivere" and even "abitare", which implies a bond with space, recreates meaning so as to represent the reserves as mere living places, thus revealing a simplistic view of the Indigenous Peoples' deportation and diminishing their traumatic experience. This stands out as in line with a Eurocentric perspective which sees the reserve

system as part of a civilizing and housing program rather than a dispossession and marginalization policy. Similarly, the representation of Indigenous Peoples as immigrants taking possession of space and making it their home on a permanent basis is in line with the Eurocentric historical narrative based on a monochronic linear understanding of time. As a result, it is in contrast with the historical representation provided from an Indigenous perspective underpinning a polychronic approach to time interaction that sees it as fluid and cyclical and consequently views Indigenous Peoples as living in present-day Canada from time immemorial. The emphasis on the notion of possession also reveals a Eurocentric view of space conceived as property, which clashes with the Indigenous Peoples' idea of land as a resource to be shared in a community-based life in harmony with nature. Similarly, the emphasis on the notion of permanency reveals a Eurocentric point of view as this takes for granted the right to stay in a place by setting one's own life there, which, however, is at odds with the land dispossessions of which Indigenous Peoples have long and repeatedly been victim. The different view of their presence in present-day Canada offered by the target text and revealing a Eurocentric worldview confirms that the lexicogrammatical choices made within the target-language transitivity system inevitably result in the translator's intervention in the text. This implies, in turn, in a shift in the point of view reflecting the beliefs and assumptions of the translator – and of any other agent of translation – thus shedding light on how ideology inevitably impinges on the translation process.

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