NAMING AND PORTRAYING INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE NEW BRUNSWICK PRESS[1]

LACY BERASNGAR
MARC-ANDRE BOUCHARD
SYLVIE KASPARIAN
Université de Moncton

ABSTRACT

Speech conveys representations, carried by words, circulated through discourse and transmitted in media messages. Naming takes on particular importance in the construction of these representations, and marks the quality of a relationship. Representations of and relationships with the Aboriginal peoples of Canada are intimately related to the processes of categorization and stereotyping. What do people of European descent in New Brunswick call Aboriginal peoples in their press? What relationship quality does naming reveal? This paper seeks to answer these questions by analyzing articles in two New Brunswick newspapers between 1999 and 2019, l'Acadie Nouvelle and the Moncton Times and Transcript.

Keywords: Representations, names, Aboriginals, ethnonyms, Acadie Nouvelle, Times & Transcript, newspapers, New Brunswick, identity, relationship, IRaMuTeQ.

1. INTRODUCTION

Speech conveys portrayals or representations, images of various socially constructed objects, which are "circulated through discourse, carried by words, transmitted in media messages and images, crystalized in conduct and material or spatial arrangements" (Jodelet, 1997, p. 48). Every interaction between individuals or groups activates collectively developed social representations, through which, according to Deaux and Philogène (2001) in Representations of the Social, "we make sense of the world and communicate that sense to each other" (2001, p. 4). Jodelet notes that a group's social representations "construct a consensual vision of reality for that group" (1997, p. 52). Representations are therefore social constructs reproduced through culture and socialization within a given group, and are an important factor influencing the group's relationship with and attitudes toward other groups or socially constructed objects.

In constructing these representations, the naming of an individual person or thing and the naming of people groups (ethnonyms) take on a particular importance signifying the quality of a

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[1] This paper presents the first results of a larger project conducted by a team from the Laboratoire d'analyse de données textuelles, Université de Moncton, under the direction of "Author" (funded partly by the Faculté des études supérieures, Université de Moncton).

relationship or an identity. Mortureux (1984, p. 95) explains that reflecting on the act of naming "must take into account the relationship that is established between the speaker (individual or collective) and the audience being named as a segment of reality".

However, naming different groups is no easy task, is prone to connotation—positive or negative—and is linked to political or historical usages of the names. Indeed, the history of representations and relationships with the Indigenous peoples of Canada is intimately linked with the processes of categorization, of perception and other sociopolitical and economic issues.

As Détienne (2003) points out, the use of the term 'Aboriginal' by any number of older and contemporary (modern) groups only serves to underscore the gulf between those of the earth,[2] from here, and the newly arrived, the strangers, the colonizers, the Whites the non-natives, etc. The definition of 'Aboriginal' encompasses status, category and identity. From as early as the 1970s in the broader context of decolonization and the fight for civil rights, the world witnessed the establishment by the United Nations of a legal category corresponding to "marginalized populations […] demanding justice as the victims of human rights violations from the time of colonization or invasion and reclaiming their rights as previous inhabitants of the territory as stipulated by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Aboriginal Peoples" (Gagné et Salaün 2009, p. XV).

It is to better understand the complexity of the delicate matter of the way in which the Indigenous peoples of Canada are named, and therefore subsequently categorized or represented by the descendants of the European colonizers, that has been the incentive behind this current work. In particular, the emphasis is upon the portrayal of the Indigenous peoples of Canada and these aforementioned sociopolitical and economic issues by the media.

2. CONTEXTUALIZING AND FRAMING THE ISSUE

There is some fluidity and polysemy, multiple nuances of meaning in the use of the term 'Indigenous' according to the perspective of those who use it. The ambiguity of the definition and the idea of indigeneity can also be discerned in the many terms used to refer to Indigenous peoples and their realities. The anthropologist Paul Charest (2009) tabulates a considerable number of terms used to designate the Indigenous peoples of Canada, as does the Office québécois de la langue française with its vast definitional resources. Charest lists the 25 most frequently used French and English terms on Google used to designate Indigenous peoples. Among these many terms, certain are generic (such as 'Aboriginal' and 'Native') while others are more specific (Inuit, Micmac); some are considered neutral terms while others are now considered marginalizing or inappropriate due to their historical reference imposed by colonizers ('Indians' and 'Amerindians') or negatively connoted ('savages'), conveying a backward, simple-minded or primitive status.

The work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that started in 2008 and the report published in 2016 strove to construct a new perspective and to deconstruct prejudices

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[2] The term 'Autochtone' / 'Indigenous' refers to those who are original inhabitants of the place where they live. A suitable synonym is 'Aboriginal' (*Le Petit Larousse,* 2010, p. 80).

toward Indigenous peoples. Today, more and more researchers are concerned with the issues concerning the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the European settlers of Canada, particularly with respect to the role of media discourse in the construction and the renewal of social representations. Fleras and Kunz (2001), no strangers to the representation of minorities in the Canadian media, found that minorities are often poorly represented, either by stereotypes or by invisibility; occasionally they are treated as mere ornaments. Fleras and Kunz noted in particular that Indigenous peoples are frequently depicted as problematic, using inaccurate portrayals concerning rights claims and perceived social ills (alcoholism and substance abuse, laziness, bad band management, etc.) Similarly, Henry and Tator (2002) studied the ramifications of the Jack Ramsay Affair in order to illustrate the existence of anti-Aboriginal prejudices in media reports. Loranjer-Saindon (2007) examined representations of Innu in newspapers and other media in the Côte-Nord region of Québec. Lambertus (2004) did an in-depth exploration of the Gustafsen Lake Standoff, a confrontation between the RCMP and an Indigenous group in British Columbia. Analyzing newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, written accounts and interviews, she found what she called "vilifying stereotype portrayals of Native people" (Lambertus, 2004, p.i). Francis (2011) discussed what he calls "the Imaginary Indian", this product of the White Man's imagination who has been grossly stereotyped and who existed (and still exists) more in the collective Euro-descendant mind than in reality. For an alternate perspective, Retzlaff (2006) studied how Native peoples portrayed themselves in their own newspapers, especially in light of the federal government's 1983 Northern Broadcasting Policy[3] encouraging Aboriginal people to promote their languages and cultures in the media. Still, to date, we know of no studies exploring the naming and the portrayals of Indigenous peoples in the print media in New Brunswick over time, even less in both the modern-day English- and French-language press.

Today, there are 15 Indigenous communities in New Brunswick comprised of three main groups: the Micmac (Mi'kmaq) in the north and in coastal regions, the Maliseet (Wolastoqewiyik) in the west of the province, and, in the south-west, the Passamaquoddy (Peskotomuhkati). These three groups represent approximately 4% of some 750 000 inhabitants of New Brunswick (Statistics Canada, 2016)[4]. The relationship between Indigenous peoples and European settlers in New Brunswick dates from early in the 17th century and reflects the complexity which is typical of this power relationship. At the time of their first contacts, Indigenous peoples far outnumbered European settlers whose very lives depended on cooperation with the Native population. The settlers were able to explore the new territory thanks primarily to the help of the Indigenous peoples; the lucrative fur trade, that economic engine of the settlers, would not have existed without the Indigenous workforce. Unfortunately, the lived experience of Indigenous peoples is marked by the aftermath of its colonial history which shape—and will continue to shape—the political culture and the national identity of Canada, and the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2016, p.13).

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[3] CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission): https://crtc.gc.ca/eng/acrtc/prx/2018szwarc.htm

[4]Consulted January 13 2020 at
https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-PR-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=9&LANG=Eng&GK=PR&GC=13

The list of past traumas of Indigenous peoples is long: residential schools, the last of which closed in 1996, epidemics, the "Sixties Scoop", the treatment of Indigenous women, the expropriation of lands, European diseases—all have had a devastating effect on entire generations and have chipped away at the harmonious relationships that once existed between them and their first settler contacts (Augustine 2019, Peters 2017, Leblanc 2010), when the very survival of the new arrivals depended largely on cooperation with the inhabitants of the land. Two solitudes have been quietly forming between Indigenous peoples and the descendants of the colonists. The former has become invisible in the latter's eyes.

To remedy this situation and to achieve true reconciliation, it is imperative to change the archaic depictions of these populations—depictions deeply rooted in the Eurocentric worldview of the colonists and their descendants. Indeed, many of these descendants continue to perpetrate a form of racism or at least an indifference toward and an ignorance of the history and the culture of Indigenous populations (Kasparian 2012); they are most certainly unaware of the deep wounds still raw among them. It is true that our images (representations) of others play a crucial role in our relationships with Native communities, and the media in turn has an important part to play in the construction of those representations. In fact, the media circles around to Indigenous matters generally when discussing rather negative subjects or issues of discord, confrontation and wounds, such as: The Northern Plan, the Idle No More movement, the national enquiry on missing and murdered Indigenous girls and women, and the crisis in the fishery, for example. Consequently, given the complexity of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the descendants of the original European colonists, the importance of naming conventions in the representations of those relationships, and the role of the media in the construction of those relationships, our research strives to identify and to analyze the portrayal of Indigenous peoples in the French and English press in New Brunswick. Our questions are therefore the following: How do New Brunswick's Euro-derived French and English populations name Indigenous peoples in their press? What do these naming conventions reveal about the quality of relations between the groups?

3. Methodology

3.1. Press Corpora

Given that New Brunswick is Canada's only officially bilingual province, we felt it appropriate to investigate articles published in both the French language l'Acadie Nouvelle and the English Moncton Times and Transcript, two daily print newspapers in the province. For the purposes of our study, we examined articles published between 1999 and 2019.

Using Eureka and Proquest, we extracted from the articles all the texts in which at least one key word from our list of names appeared in either language. The following list of names was used for analysis of the French corpus (l'Acadie Nouvelle): premières nations, première nation, autochtone, amérindien, mi'kmaq, mi'kmaw, micmac, micmaque, mi'gmaq, mig'mawag, maliseet, wolastoqiyik, welastekwewiyik, welustuk, and passamaquoddy. The second list of terms, which comprised the terms: aboriginal, aboriginals, Aboriginal, Aboriginals, First Nations, First Nation,

Indigenous, indigenous, Maliseet, maliseet, Micmac, micmac, Mi'kmaq, mi'kmaq, Natives, natives, native, Passamaquoddy, Peskotomuhkati and Pestomuhkati, was used in the analysis of the English articles found in the Moncton Times and Transcript.

Our corpus consisted of more than 18,416 media texts (8,943 in French and 9,473 in English), and included every article, story, editorial column and letter to the editor published between 1999 and 2019. The French corpus of 8,943 texts comprised 4,784,188 words, the equivalent of 68, 836 lemmas; the English corpus, made up of 9,473 texts, contained 7,046,014 words, or 93,045 lemmas. Through a comparative study of lexical worlds (Reinert, 1993) and the thematic environment of each name in our two corpora, and assisted by the textual data analysis tool IraMuTeQ (Ratinaud, 2009)[5], we will next describe the naming conventions of Indigenous peoples in l'Acadie Nouvelle and the Moncton Times and Transcript, along with the particularities of the uses of these names in numerous lexical worlds.

3.2. Logometry and Lexical Worlds

We ultimately wanted to determine what people talk about when they talk about Indigenous peoples. To do this, we adopted a logometric[6] approach. Logometry, a method of analysis which combines textual statistics and discourse analysis and which is performed on data of the nature described above (presence/absence, frequency and co-occurrence), is defined by Mayaffre as a "set of document-processing and text statistics operations […] which goes beyond graphic forms without excluding nor overlooking them, which analyzes lemmas or grammatical structures without making abstraction of the original material to which we must consistently refer ourselves" (2010, p. 22). This computer-assisted method of descriptive analysis, although it has an important quantitative component, also incorporates qualitative analysis (categories of discourse, syntagmatic relations, text and context of the words, etc.) (Charaudeau and Maingueneau, 2002, p. 78).

By taking into consideration the frequency of the words constituting a corpus and their lexical environment (which is to say their co-occurrence), it is possible to not only identify the words more likely to evoke social representations, but also to define words on the basis of their textual environment[7]. According to Pascal Marchand (1998), the hypothesis upon which rests the indexation of the words in a corpus is that an "author tends to use words that pertain to what he or she is talking about more frequently than words that are not relevant, […] therefore the more frequent a word is in a document, the more it constitutes a representative indicator" (p. 49). However, when words are used in discourse contextually, the consideration of the other words used

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[5] IRaMuTeQ is a software developed by Ratinaud P. 2009 (Université de Toulouse) , in the methodological framework of the European school of data analysis network (JADT: https://jadt2020.sciencesconf.org/ for the last edition). This software is founded on the method created by Max Reinert which is based on the hierarchical cluster analysis. Reinert's method is based on the notion of the co-occurrence of words which then enables the educing of the lexical worlds of texts through the classification of these co-occurrences.

[6] Measuring discourse.

[7] What we mean is that all the words that are associated with or concurrent with a specific word participate in giving the right meaning to it. For example, if the word "fall" is associated with "leaves" or "colours" we understand it is concerning the season. Instead, if the word is associated with "down" or "hurt" we understand it is the verb "to fall".

alongside them allows us to pinpoint the meaning they carry in the text. Thus, for Damon Mayaffre, contextualization appears as a prerequisite for semantic interpretation: meaning emerges from text and context (2014).

The chief statistical analysis method through which we will make sense of our corpus is the descendant hierarchical cluster analysis developed by Max Reinert (1993). It consists of an analysis of a corpus' "lexical worlds". According to Ratinaud and Marchand (2015), a "lexical world" can be defined as "a set of contextual forms linked by their context and by the object to which they refer" (2015, par. 2). It follows that, as Reinert explains, "lexical worlds refer to referential spaces associated with a vast number of statements", and in the case of a communal corpus, they point to the "common spaces" of a group at a given point in time. In this way, "lexical worlds" are related to the notion of "social representations" (Reinert 1993, p. 12). Thus, the analysis of "lexical worlds" that are shared by members of a group in the same communicative situation can provide clues about the social representations those members hold of a socially constructed object. Indeed, according to Reinert, in a collective corpus of this sort, "lexical worlds" are indicators of a group's common referential space and are "a sign of a sort of cohesiveness connected to the speakers' specific speech activity" (Reinert, 1993, p. 13). Reinert's method of descendant hierarchical cluster analysis offers a visual representation of these "lexical worlds" in the form of classification tables derived from the intersection of the units of context (segments) and the lexical units (words) of a corpus. This method permits the analysis of both the words and the text segments which are the most closely linked to each "lexical world" comprising the corpus. The latter, segments identified as being among the most representative of their "lexical worlds", will serve as examples to illustrate the way key words tend to organize themselves in relation to one another in our corpus to create meaning.

By applying this integrated analysis via IRaMuTeQ to two similar corpora, we hoped to draw out themes related to the portrayal of Indigenous peoples in l'Acadie Nouvelle and the Moncton Times and Transcript. This will allow us to identify the names and representations circulating in the media in New Brunswick with regards to Aboriginal people in Canada. Our primary questions are the following: What are the names used in l'Acadie Nouvelle and the Moncton Times and Transcript and what are the lexical worlds, the universes of discourse surrounding Aboriginal people? Which names are specific to which lexical worlds and what does this reveal concerning the representation of Aboriginal peoples as conveyed by the media?

4. RESULTS

4.1. Lexical Worlds of the French corpus

Using IRaMuTeQ to apply Reinert's classification method of the French corpus from l'Acadie Nouvelle, 17 thematic classes (lexical worlds) were found containing 86% of the corpus' segments. These are illustrated in Figure 1 below, which presents, in the first row, the number of each class, in the box below, the percentage of information contained in each class followed by the specific words making up each lexical world.

FIGURE *1*
Lexical Worlds of the French corpus
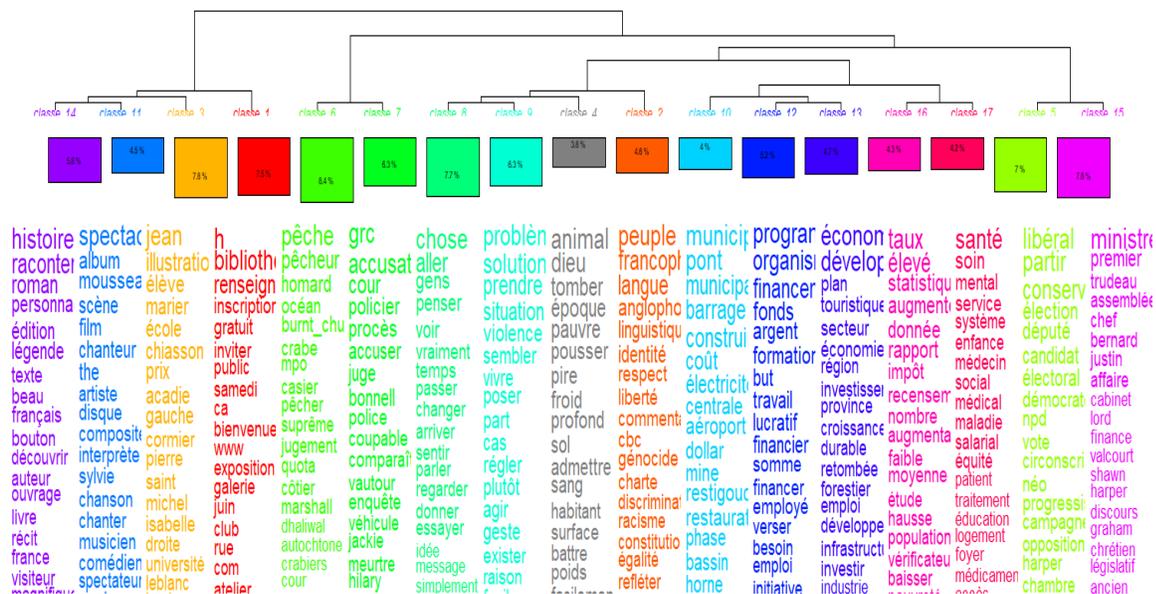
As the analysis presented in Figure 1 reveals, based on the lexicon of each class, the following 17 themes represent the universe of discourse educed from l'Acadie Nouvelle and which are presented in Table 1 below.

As Figure 1 and Table 1 both show, the most notable groupings by size are Fishery (Class 6 at 8.4%) and Government (Class 15 at 8%), followed by Illustrations (Class 3 at 7.8%), Indirect Speech (Class 8 at 8%) and Information (Class 1, also at 8%). To illustrate each of these classes, an excerpt from a characteristic segment of several classes which have resulted from the analysis by TraMuTeQ are shown here[8].

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[8] As presented above, a characteristic segment is the segment of words or verbatim particularly associated with a class of words (lexical world), that is to say that it contains the maximum amount of concurrent words from that class.

TABLE 1
Classes and Themes of the French corpus

CLASS	THEME	% OF INFO
1	Information	7.5
2	Founding Peoples and Languages	4.6
3	Illustrations	7.8
4	History and Wildlife	3.8
5	Elections	7
6	Fishery	8.4
7	Police	6.3
8	Indirect Speech	7.7
9	Social Problems	6.3
10	Cities and Territories	4
11	Music and Theater Arts	4.5
12	Social Programmes and Organizations	5.2
13	Economy	4.7
14	Literature	5.8
15	Government	7.8
16	Demographics	4.3
17	Health Services	4.2

Fishery: "William Payne et le père Robert Holmes avaient empêché les agents du ministère des Pêches et Océans (MPO) d'effectuer les saisies de casiers de homard identifiés par des étiquettes non valides dans le bateau de Brian Bartibogue, pêcheur et conseiller de la bande autochtone de Burnt Church"

Government: "le chef de l'assemblée des premières nations au repos forcé – Ottawa – Épuisé par les longues négociations et les frustrations des dernières semaines menant à la rencontre entre des leaders autochtones et le premier ministre Stephen Harper, le chef national de l'Assemblée des Premières Nations apn Shawn Atleo doit prendre un congé"

Illustrations: "Laurie Friolet, Marie Bourque, Amélie Cormier, Samuel Roy, Guillaume Mallet et Felix Haché. On peut voir de gauche à droite Michel Doiron, Stéphane Boudeau, Akémi Takatsuka, Pierre-Marc Brideau et Élise Ulrich"

Indirect speech: "Heureusement que ça n'arrive pas souvent dans des grandes villes. J'imagine qu'on passe plus vite à autre chose par la suite, mais chez nous je pense que c'est un événement dont on va entendre parler bien longtemps ", a-t-il indiqué.

Information: "La bibliothèque du centenaire de Dalhousie vous invite à une exposition de photos présentée par Chaleur Camera Club. On invite le public à un vernissage le mercredi 3 décembre à 19 h renseignements…"

Some less frequently indicated classes (cf. Table 1) in the data which all registered at 4% included History and Wildlife (Class 4), Cities and Territories (Class 10), Health Services (Class 17) and Demographics (Class 16). Finally, the following classes all saw a varying rate of frequency: Elections (Class 5 at 7%), Literature (Class 14 at 6%), Social Problems (Class 9 at 6%), Social Programmes and Organizations (Class 12 at 5%), Music and Theatre Arts (Class 11 at 4.5%), Police (Class 7 at 6%), Founding Peoples and Languages (Class 2 at 4.6%) and Economy (Class 13 at 5%). All these classes were, for the most part, equally distributed throughout the French corpus.

4.2. Lexical Worlds of the English Corpus

As for the English print media examined, The *Times & Transcript*, Reinert's method of classification using IRaMuTeQ suggests 17 classes making up 85.90% of the corpus' segments, as indicated in Figure 2, below. As shown in the analysis in Figure 2, based on the lexicon of each class, the following 17 themes represent the universe of discourse educed from the *Moncton Times and Transcript.* These are presented in Table 2 below:

FIGURE 2
Lexical Worlds of the English Corpus

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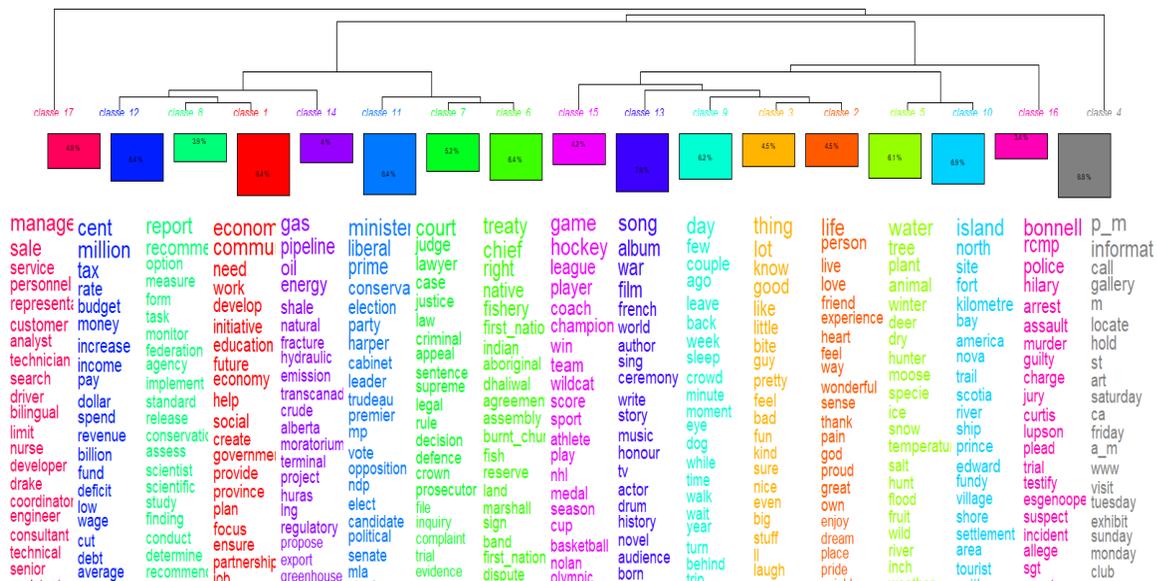
TABLE 2
Classes and Themes of the English corpus

CLASS	THEME	% OF INFO
1	Economy	8.4
2	Feelings	4.5
3	Miscellaneous	4.5
4	Hours and Days	8.8
5	Nature	6.1
6	Treaty Rights	6.4
7	Law	5.2
8	Recommendations and Reports	3.9
9	Temporal Aspects	6.2
10	Geography	6.9
11	Federal Government	8.4
12	Budgets and Taxes	6.4
13	Arts and Culture	7.9
14	Pipelines	4
15	Sports	4.2
16	Crime	3.4
17	Job Ads	4.8

Here, the most important classes were Economy (Class 1 at 8.4%), Hours and Days (Class 4 at 8.8%), Federal Government (Class 11 at 8.4%), Arts and Culture (Class 13 at 7.9%) and Geography (Class 10 at 6.9%). Examples are provided to illustrate each of these classes. As in the French corpus above, these examples are based on the characteristic segments of each class.

Economy: "He said the joint action plan is an opportunity to identify issues that need work such as education treaties, economic development and unsafe living conditions of First Nations communities"

Hours and Days: "Monday – Friday from 9am – 6pm and Saturday from 9am to 12 pm, Owen's Art Gallery is located at 61 York St. in Sackville. For more information call 506-364-2574, or visit…"

Federal Government: "Three New Brunswick Indigenous leaders say Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's decision to kick Jody Wilson Raybould out of the Liberal caucus could hurt the party in the upcoming federal election. Chief Allan Chicky Polchies Jr of St…"

Arts and Culture: "To be honest with you" she says "music is an international language and even though we sing exclusively in French, we communicate with our audience in English to explain the stories behind our songs"

Geography: "Three different liquefied natural gas terminals have been proposed for the Maine side of Passamquoddy Bay. One backed by the Passamaqudooy tribe would be built near historical St. Croix Island, home to the first European settlement in North America"

Lower frequency classes (cf. Table 2) included Feelings (Class 2 at 4.5%), Nature (Class 5 at 6.1%), Treaty Rights (Class 6 at 6.4%), Law (Class 7 at 5.2%), Recommendations and Reports (Class 8 at 3.9%), Time (Class 9 at 6.2%), Budgets and Taxes (Class 12 at 6.4%), Pipelines (Class 14 at 4%), Sports (Class 15 at 4.2%), Crime (Class 16 at 3.4%), Job Ads (Class 17 at 4.8%) and Miscellaneous (Class 3 at 4.5%).

5. Specific Naming of Indigenous Peoples According to Lexical Worlds

Considering these lexical worlds (classes) which make up the interactional universe, our primary goal was to determine the names most frequently used to talk about Indigenous peoples in each of these worlds. Were some names specific to or even exclusive to certain worlds? To answer that question, we grouped our list of names (along with all of the various spellings), forming a list and, via IRaMuTeQ, examined which names were specifically associated to each class or lexical world.[9]

5.1. Naming in the Lexical Worlds: French corpus

Figure 3 below indicates the specific names found in each lexical world for the French corpus: In this figure, the 17 lines present the 17 classes (lexical worlds) which constitute the French corpus: Health Services, Demographics, Government, Literature, Economy, Social Programmes and Organizations, Music and Theater Arts, Cities and Territories, Social Programmes, Indirect Speech, Police, Fishery, Elections, History and Wildlife, Illustrations, Founding Peoples and Languages, Information. Each colour in the line is associated with a specific name (described in the key at the bottom of the figure): Premières Nations, Passamaquoddy, Amérindien, Malécite/ Wolastoqewiyik, Micmac, Indien, Autochtone.

From a preliminary examination of the results, it became clear that certain lexical worlds did not include specific names. Among these are the Indirect Speech, Elections, Illustrations and Information classes. Therefore, we turned our attention to the classes containing the specific names below.

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[9] One function of IRaMuTeQ allows one to intersect and calculate the terms most frequently associated with each class.

5.1.1. Indien/ 'Indian'

The name Indien 'Indian' seemed to be most specific to the lexical world of *Government*. This initially surprising finding was explained by the obvious connection with the Ministry of Indian Affairs, the Indian Act, and the Federation of Indians 'Union des Indiens'. Secondly, the name 'Indian' figured in the *Peoples and Languages* class. Here again, this is explained by its frequent association with the idea of the founding peoples of Canada. Next, 'Indian' was found in the *Social Programs and Organizations* class. The references here were to the Ministry of Indian Affairs and to status or non-status Indians (those registered with their band or community). Finally, the term 'Indian' was found to a lesser degree in the *Literature*, the *Social Problems* and the *Fishery* classes. Again, the reference appears to be to status and non-status Indians, to Indian reserves, and to 'l'union des Indiens'. It is notable that the term 'Indian' was, generally speaking, reserved for use in a historical, political or legal context, and in particular in fixed expressions pertaining primarily to treaties.

5.1.2. Amérindien/ 'Amerindian'

The name Amérindien 'Amerindian' appeared primarily in the classes of *Literature*, *History* and *Fauna*. The name was also found in *Music* and *Theatre Arts*. In our corpus, 'Amerindian' was associated almost exclusively with the language of culture and of history, notwithstanding its mention in *Fishery*.

5.1.3. Autochtone/ 'Native'

As for Autochtone 'Native', two very specific lexical worlds contained this name: *Demographics* and *Social Problems*. It was also one of the two names of choice in the context of *Health Services*, and one of the few associated with *Government*, *Social Programs* and *Non-Governmental Organizations* (NGOs). Finally, Autochtone 'Native' was most strongly connected with the lexical worlds of *Fishery* and *Peoples and Languages*. Generally speaking, Autochtone 'Native' was used to depict people or groups.

FIGURE 3
Specific French Names by Lexical Worlds
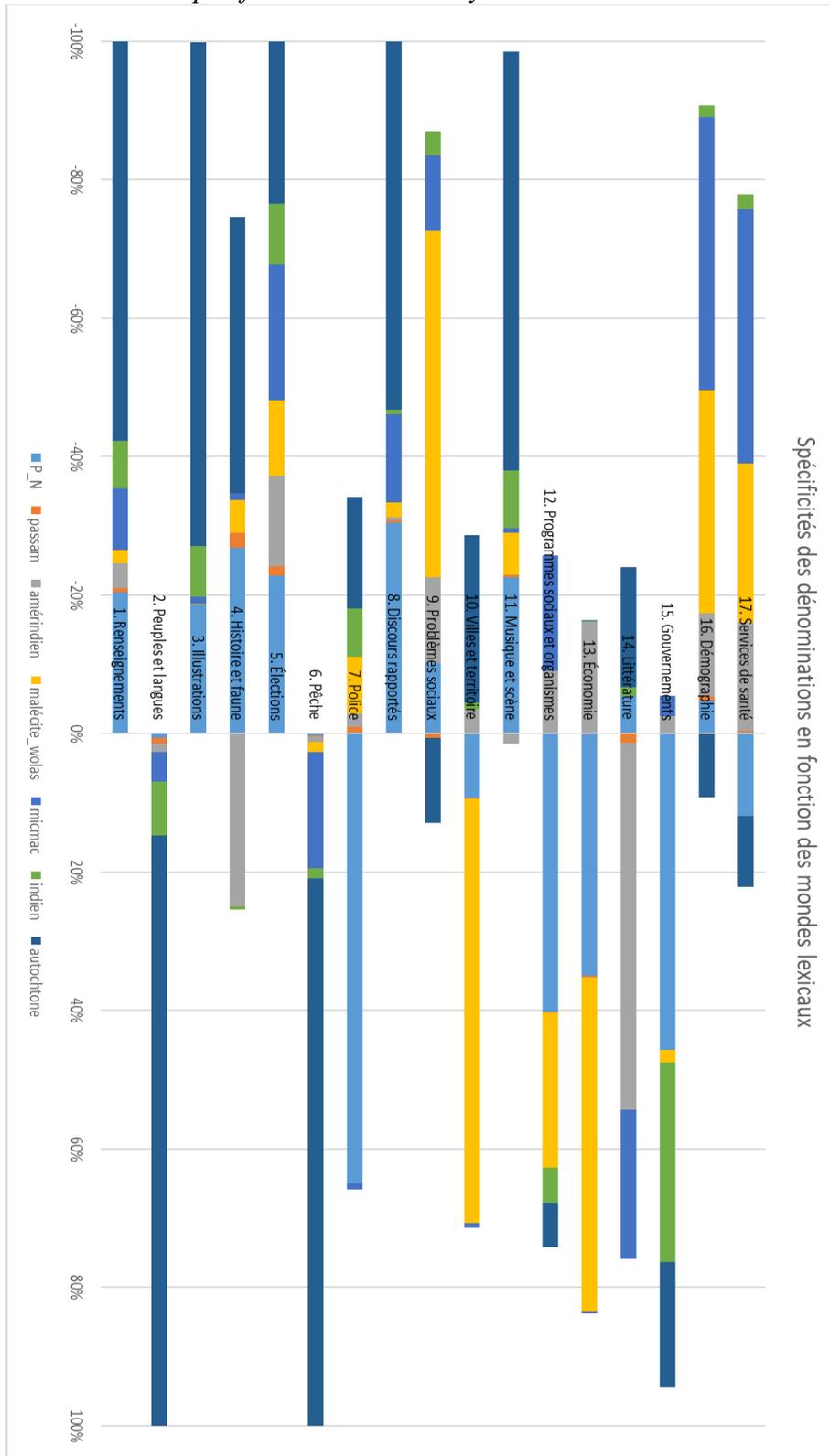
5.1.4. Premières Nations/ 'First Nations'

The designation Premières Nations 'First Nations' was the only term strongly linked to the lexical worlds of *Policing* and *Crime*. In the French corpus, the singular 'First Nation' was used in connection with a specific community. For example, references to Rexton First Nation and Elsipogtog First Nation both used the singular form. In the corpus, the term was also used to indicate the scene of a crime or the place of origin of a person appearing in court. This latter use explains its connection to the *Cities and Territories* class. Finally, 'First Nations' (primarily in the plural form) was found in the *Health Services* class as well as in those of *Government*, *Economy* and *Social Programmes and Organizations*.

5.1.5. Micmac

As for the name 'Micmac', it (along with Amérindiens 'Amerindian') was the term most strongly linked with *Literature*. In fact, 'Micmac' was more closely connected with that class than was the name 'Maliseet'. This may be a result of the strong Francophone presence in northern and eastern portions of the province, where Micmac communities are centered. The close proximity of Micmac and Acadians might explain the use of 'Micmac' in reference to *Literature*. Likewise, 'Micmac', rather than 'Maliseet', was the term of choice in the *Peoples and Languages* class. Finally, the term 'Micmac' was specific to the *Fishery* class. This is not surprising in light of the proximity to coastal areas of many Micmac communities. The Burnt Church incident of 1999–2002 also involved many Micmac fishermen.

5.1.6. Malécite/ 'Maliseet'

The term Malécite 'Maliseet' was found primarily in the *Cities and Territories* class, as well as *Economy* and *Social Programmes and Organizations*. The *Cities and Territories* references were mostly to agreements over lands between Maliseet communities of the Madawaska region and businesses and government. Moreover, the TransCanada and TransMountain pipeline projects were references in articles where the term was found. However, at first glance, there did not appear to be a lexical world specifically concerned with pipelines in the French corpus.

5.1.7. Passamaquoddy

Although infrequently found in the French texts, the term 'Passamaquoddy' was chiefly used in *Literature*, and to a lesser extent in *Social Problems*, *Peoples and Languages*, and *Fishery.* In that regard, 'Passamaquoddy''s profile resembles that of the term 'Micmac'.

To summarize, then, it may be concluded that for the journalists of the French newspaper l'*Acadie Nouvelle,* 'Indian' was used in the historico-political domain, and for law and treaties; 'Amerindian' was linked primarily to culture and history; 'First Nation' in the singular was used to refer to territories and was connected to crime; in the plural, the term was generically applied to talk about contemporary politics, public service and the economy; 'Native' designated people

or groups in the context of demographics, social programmes and organizations, and health; 'Micmac' was used when writing about the arts, relations between founding peoples, and the fishery; and lastly, 'Maliseet' was linked to economic development and territories.

5.2. Naming in the Lexical Worlds: English corpus

Figure 4 below illustrates the specific naming terms in the English press according to their lexical worlds. In this figure, the 17 lines present the 17 classes (lexical worlds) which constitute the English corpus: Job Ads, Crime, Sports, Pipelines, Arts and Culture, Budgets and Taxes, Federal Government, Geography, Temporal Aspects, Recommendations and Reports, Law, Treaty Rights, Nature, Places and Days, Miscellaneous, Feelings and Economy. As with the French corpus, each colour in the line is associated with a specific name that is described in the key at the bottom of the figure: Maliseet, First Nations, Micmac, Indigenous, Aboriginal, Indian, Wolastoqewiyik, Passamaquoddy and Native.

As for the French corpus, a detailed analysis of the names and classes of the English corpus lead us to recognize that certain lexical worlds did not contain specific names. For example, *Job Ads*, *Temporal Aspects*, *Nature*, *Places and Times*, *Feelings* and *Miscellaneous* did not contain specific **names**. Therefore, we focused exclusively on those names and classes which follow.

5.2.1. Indian

It would appear that the name 'Indian' was used similarly in English and in French, specifically in the *Treaty Rights* class and that of *Geography*. As in French, the English term was found in legal and political expressions such as "Indian Act", "Indian Child and Family Services", "Indian residential schools settlement agreement", etc. When this term was used in the *Geography* class, it sometimes referenced historical sites, as in a historic Indian village or historical artefacts, as in "Indian spear" and "Indian arrow".

5.2.2. First Nations

The term 'First Nations' was by far the most frequently used term of the entire English corpus. At 10,804 occurrences, it appeared to be the term of choice in the greatest number of classes. This term occurred in *Crime*, *Pipelines*, *Budgets and Taxes*, *Recommendations and Reports*, *Treaty Rights* and *Economy*. As Figure 4 illustrates and as the French corpus confirmed, this term dominated the *Crime* class. The term was very often used to refer to the ethnicity or the place of origin of the criminal, the victim, or even the judge over the proceedings. For example, we read, "First degree murder charges against the 30-year-old Esgenoopetitj First Nations man…", "First Nations judge", etc.

5.2.3. Indigenous

Figure 4 shows that the term 'Indigenous' appeared in several classes. However, we noted that the term was frequently used to refer to someone or something that was native *to* a certain re-

gion, which was not the focus of this particular study. The term was used to name native people specifically in the *Treaty Rights* and *Economy* classes. In the former, the term 'Indigenous' was often used as a qualitative adjective to describe Indigenous children, Indigenous women, Indigenous Canadians, etc. In the *Economy* class, the term was used to speak in general terms about populations and issues within these communities: "Indigenous shale gas", "Indigenous education", etc.

5.2.4. Native

This term was not one of our original research terms as it is used frequently in expressions unrelated to the study's purpose, such as in "native of a region", "plant native to a region", etc. Nevertheless, the term did appear in the corpus in relation to Native peoples. Akin to 'Indigenous', it was mainly used in the *Treaty Rights* class to specify the ethnicity of Native peoples or issues, for example as in "Native leaders", "Native issues", "Natives", "Native fishers", etc.

5.2.5. Aboriginal

After 'First Nations', the word 'Aboriginal' was the second-most frequent term used. This name was used in the classes related to *Budgets and Taxes*, *Federal Government*, *Recommendations and Reports*, *Law*, *Treaty Rights* and *Economy*. Of these, the most frequent use of 'Aboriginal' was in the *Law* class, where the reference was to Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal issues, Aboriginal communities, etc.

5.2.6. Micmac

The term 'Micmac' was most often used in the classes pertaining to *Art*, *Culture* and *Geography*. This term was the one most often used when referring to various aspects of native culture, as seen in "Micmac artist", "Micmac legend", "Micmac language", "Mi'kmaq wedding ceremony", "Mi'kmaq powwow dancer", etc. In the *Geography* class, the name 'Micmac' was primarily used to refer to reserves and the names of places linked to this people group.

5.2.7. Passamaquoddy

Similarly, the term 'Passamaquoddy' was used in the classes related to *Geography* and *Pipelines*, likely due to the fact that the geographic region where the construction of pipelines would take place is called Passamaquoddy Bay.

In summary, it would seem that in the *Moncton Times & Transcript*, 'Indian' was connected with the historical-political domain and that of law and treaties; 'First Nations' was most often used—although not always in the same way—to designate the people group and their ethnicity in particular with respect to crime; 'Indigenous' and 'Native' specified ethnicity with regard to treaty rights; 'Aboriginal' was most often used (second to 'First Nations') in relation to legal and jurisdictional matters; 'Micmac' was associated with the description of art and culture

of this people, and finally 'Passamaquoddy' designated the name of the people and their community.

FIGURE 4
Specificities of Naming by Lexical Worlds, English Press
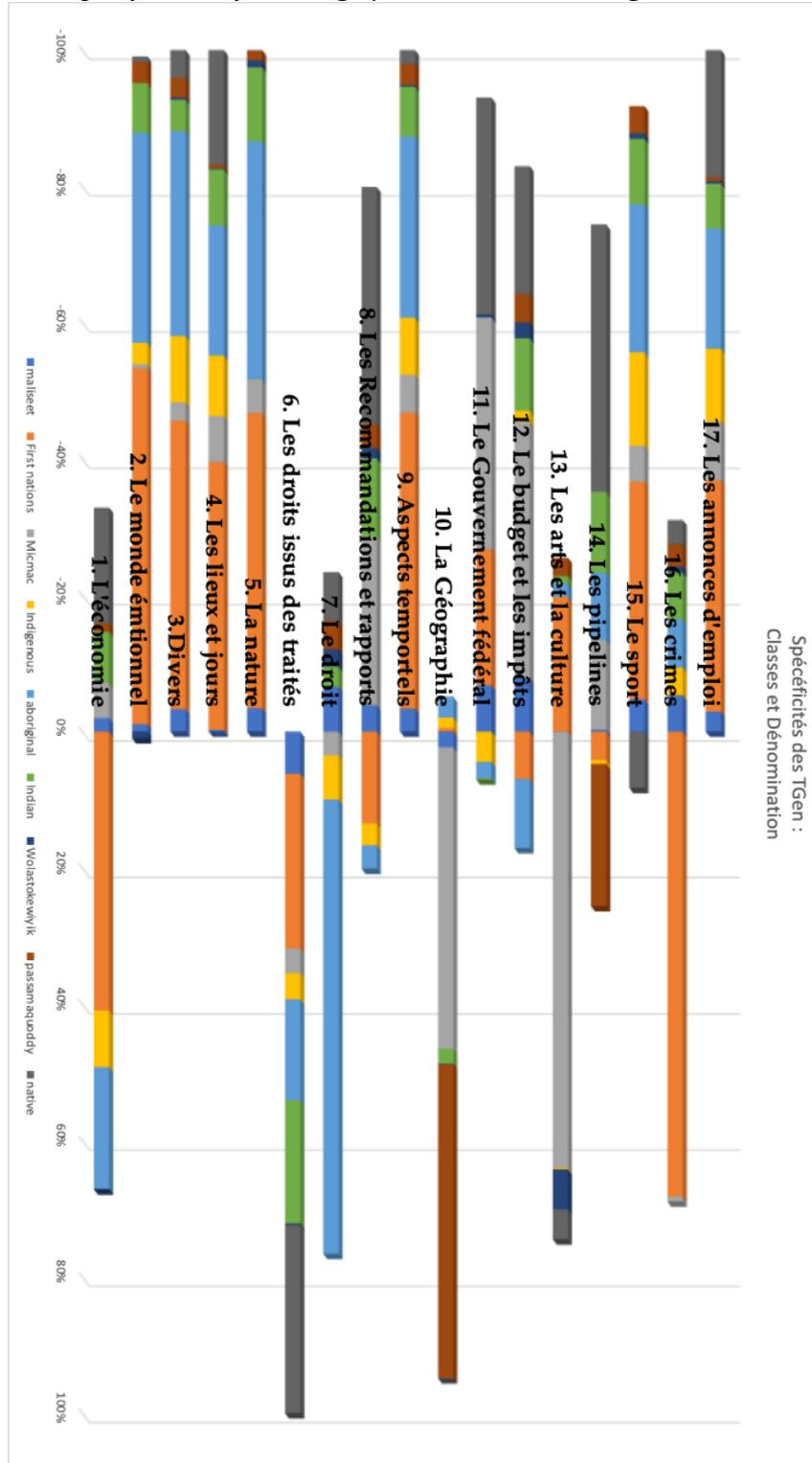
6. SYNTHESIS OF THE RESULTS

To return to our research questions, our analysis indicates that the lexical worlds extracted from the corpora indicate strong thematic similarities in the naming of Indigenous peoples in both French and English newspapers, and differences as well. These differences include specific references in the French corpus to lexical worlds related to Founding Peoples and Languages and Health Services, both of which did not appear as such in the English corpus; the English corpus referenced Sports, Pipelines and Nature, connections which were not found in l'Acadie Nouvelle. The French corpus comprised three classes—Literature, Music and Theatre and Illustrative Arts—where the English corpus only indicated one, that of Arts and Culture. The French press thus offers a more detailed look into cultural elements of Indigenous life. While l'Acadie Nouvelle emphasized language and health services and described cultural elements in detail, the Moncton Times and Transcript tended more toward discussion of sports, pipeline construction issues and the environment, classes which did not figure at all in l'Acadie Nouvelle. For example,

"M. Arès croit aussi que des actions concertées entre les minorités francophones et les peuples autochtones pourraient s'avérer utiles pour aider ces derniers à préserver leur langue et leur culture" (Acadie Nouvelle) ;

New Brunswick's fishing and tourism operations are in danger if US gunboats escorting liquefied natural gas tankers are allowed in Passamaquoddy Bay, opposition MLAs are warning (Times &Transcript).

Furthermore, at first glance, the English and French lexical environment appeared to determine how certain names were used, either with a more generic meaning ('Autochtone', 'First Nations') or with a much more specific meaning ('première nation', 'Indien', 'Indian'). The choice of terms would seem to designate either a status, a category or an identity. For instance, 'Indian/Indien' represented a name used in the context of legal status, whereby its portrayal was relatively neutral. This was the preferred term for the Government of Canada's Indian Act dating from 1876 (and amended several times since) which defines the relationship between Native peoples and the federal government. 'First Nations'/'premières nations' and 'Aboriginal'/'Autochtone' fell in the legal, marginalized category and leaned toward negative depictions, whereas 'Indigenous', 'Native', 'Micmac', 'Passamoquody'/'Maliseet' and 'Amérindien' tended to be used as ethnic or cultural depictions with more positive connotations, particularly when linked to culture.

Moreover, the use of the name 'Indian/Indien' was approximately equal in both the English and the French corpora. The name appeared only to be used in reference to fixed titles or historical references: "Jim Prentice est le ministre des Affaires indiennes et du Nord qui étudie de près le dossier du pipeline du MacKenzie. ".

The term 'Premières nations' 'First Nations' was used in similar fashion in both corpora, especially with respect to crime. Ethnicity was the focus in the following examples: "First degree murder charges against the 30-year-old Esgenoopetitf First Nations man" and "the First Nations

judge". It also appeared in historical places and events, as "Le pont interprovincial J.C. Van Horne surplombe la rivière Restigouche reliant les municipalités de Campbellton et de Pointe-à-la-Croix. Les deux communautés voisinent également la Première Nation Micmaque de Listuguj "

The French term 'Amérindien' is frequently translated in English as "Native American" or "American Indian" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020) rather than the English equivalent "Amerindian". Therefore, while the word "Amérindien" is widely seen in our French corpus, it was rarely used in the English corpus and tended to be replaced by specific English-known terms such 'Micmac' or 'Maliseet'. The names 'Native/Indigenous' appeared to be used in the same way in both languages, when speaking of people or groups in the context of demographics, social programs and organizations and health in the French press, and in the English press, with respect to the federal government, recommendations and reports, law and treaty rights, as in Indigenous children or Indigenous Canadians. Neither term, 'Indigenous' or 'Native', had a precise equivalent in the French corpus. Again, both terms were used in the English press to accentuate ethnicity and treaty rights: "The historian said if the report is accurate it shows the defendant has little Aboriginal heritage. He looked back 10 generations and said he found only six Native ancestors out of approximately 1000, most of which were of European descent."

One conclusion that clearly may be made from the two corpora is the intention of the authors of the texts to underscore the Indigenous ethnicity of the person or group discussed in the text, as seen for instance in the example cited above of crimes committed by people identified as members of certain First Nations groups: "first degree murder charges against the 30 year old Esgenoopetitj First Nation man were laid in December 2009". These representations highlight a separation or distance between the earlier inhabitants of the land and the descendants of settlers from Europe. As a powerful example, we point to the tendency to name the ethnic origin of the Others ("them") particularly when referring to Indigenous individuals and groups, while the "we" does not warrant naming. The "we" does not therefore include Indigenous peoples; the social distance between them becomes greater.

Pointing out Native peoples in problematic subject matter causes the representations to be rather negative most specifically as evidenced in the themes: Police, Fishery, Social Problems and Demographics in the French press and Economy, Treaty Rights, Crime, Law, and Recommendations and Reports in the English press. Positive or neutral representations were associated with Culture, Founding Peoples and Languages, Literature, Music, History and Wildlife in the French print media, and with Culture, Pipelines and Nature in the English.

7. CONCLUSION

On the basis of these preliminary results which show the way that Aboriginal people are named specifically in the New Brunswick press, more study of the environmental contexts of these naming practices is clearly and urgently needed in order to better understand the prejudices and representations which linger on in the descendants of the colonizers. From a linguistic perspective, a morphosyntactic examination of axiological indicators (adjectives), modal verbs, pronouns and other components paired with the names studied here would enhance the semantic profile of each name and in turn, would lend weight to the understanding of the value judgements associated

with them. These finely-grained analyses which could also be applied across the whole country would permit a more in-depth understanding of representations and would draw out inherent proximity-distance dynamics between the two groups. Furthermore, they would bring to the fore the vital knowledge of the Other (Todorov 1989), so critical in the construction of relationships between Indigenous peoples and the descendants of European settlers. (Todorov, 1982). Finally, it would be interesting to further trace the evolution of naming and value judgements following the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (published report in 2016) to measure the impact of its calls to action (for example, the Blanket Exercise) for awareness and understanding and a change of behaviour regarding the naming of Aboriginal people by the media.

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