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**Barbara Godard, a Translator's *Portrait*: Analysing
the Reception of Québec's *Roman au*
Féminin (1960-1990) in Anglophone Canada**

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“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way.” (Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859).

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Proving the great accuracy of old masterpieces, the last couple of years have been both the best and the worst of times for a variety of personal, as well as contextual reasons. Like the rhythmic beat of a drum, my drafting of this thesis has accompanied a number of challenging moments, some of which particularly daunting, experienced throughout the last couple of years. From the Covid-19 crisis to facing my mother's illness, this period of my academic and personal life has often felt like an age of wisdom, but, more often than not, like one of foolishness. There have been times in which self-belief has been simply compulsory not to give up, my own perception failing to impose itself upon incredulity: upon the absurdly painful misfortune of someone so dear to me. A season of darkness: Waking up every morning during lockdown, positively knowing that such an absurd painfulness was invariably waiting for us as we faced the day. A spring of hope: My everyday writing. We had everything before us: recovery from illness, our overcoming of challenges, the completion of this thesis. And yet, for a long period, each day seemed to point at a great nothing before us. We have prevailed.

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1. Introduction

Often, if we are lucky enough, meaningful lived experiences shape our most powerful versions of self. They trigger our wildest projects and shape unexpected forms of agency in unpredictable ways. This thesis is concerned precisely with that: as I am about to explain, it shall map out a woman's path to embracing a bold, feminist translator's agency, both within and despite the pre-determined tracks of society: Barbara Thompson Godard (1942-2010). However, it amounts to something more than the staging of someone else's *prise de conscience*. By transforming into a narrative, perhaps worth telling, my own lived experiences as a young international student in Québec, the current work has chartered my own multi-dimensional trip to adulthood, as much as paved the way to early scholarship, ultimately shaping my own feminist translator's agency.

I left for an international year at the Université Montréal (UdeM) in August, 2013. I turned 21 years old in Québec, and spent eleven months of outright fascination among approximately six million Francophone people in a beautiful corner of North-America. Although a young student at the time, this agency of mine was perhaps already latent, as the slightest circumstance of these people's daily lives struck as out of the ordinary: a superb sign of the dodged, three-hundred-year-old self-determination which had kept their form of society alive and well despite all odds. However, it was women (un-)like me who appeared most fascinating in this new, Québécois life. Somehow, just as I was searching for meaning myself, they seemed to have been doing just that for the last few decades. Pioneers of inclusive language in the *Francophonie*, as my lecturers at UdeM would constantly tell me, contemporary Québec was immersed in an eternal process of coming into terms with its own improbable survival, a great deal of which, according to my outsider's perception, relied on women's role in what was presented to foreigners as a state-of-the-art, egalitarian society. These Québécoises both portrayed themselves and were portrayed for us exactly as what I myself wished to become: masters of their own destiny, in a constant parallel with the province's own fate within the Canadian Federation. Soon enough, I perceived that their fight had for some reason forever become entangled with a cause against its diglossic and asymmetrical relations with the Anglophone provinces. One which nevertheless, perhaps since it was most often discussed by men in my entourage, appeared quite "male" to me. I myself was able to feel the pressure of shopping trips into Westmount, a fully Anglophone

neighbourhood, where shop assistants would greet us with the now disgraced “Bonjour/Hi!”. The reality of basic, daily-life features like healthcare assistance was also striking for me under these circumstances, where English seemed to be a tacit requirement for public service of any kind, despite the more than protective linguistic policies. I was willing to fit in. I invariably took up English-to-French translation courses at UdeM, despite the existence of a wide range of French-to-Spanish and Spanish-to-French alternatives. And yet, although I understood it, I perceived a certain degree of cautiousness, of cultural resistance, of which I inevitably also got my share. I started to wonder what the implications were my personal equation (a non-Québécois young female) in this new landscape, just as the female factor already appeared to make a difference among the autochthonous population.

I started to become interested in the impact of female and feminist agencies in the (mis-/non-) translation-driven spaces where Québec fought for its identitarian stances. There appeared to be more at stake than meets the (male) eye in those spaces, the “contact zones” which Sherry Simon has been lately concerned with describing. Montréal, and particularly the areas which I liked to visit, provided constant examples for further reflection. I did some research, partly thanks to the courses which I took up, and thus learned about a group of Anglophone women, constantly mentioned by scholars across the world, who had actually succeeded in creating fruitful partnerships with the Québécois feminist writers about whom I had been reading. It was fascinating for me to come up with an answer, and an optimistic one, to my constant interrogations on the impact of these agencies in the Canada/Québec “contact zones” which I was able to explore first-hand. Women of all walks of life, and particularly the always discreet but efficient Barbara Godard, the driving force of this thesis, had been able to make a difference in the very damaged landscape of Canada’s “two solitudes”, borrowing writer Hugh MacLennan’s words (1945). Therefore, the gender factor indeed seemed impactful, and for good, in the difficult, for many Québécois agents impossible, bi-cultural Canadian equation.

Thus far, it has been my wish to pursue a greater understanding of how and why male actors of these two communities have failed at securing a meaningful coexistence; and of how and why female actors have been more successful at overcoming the obvious adversities implicit in this task. My knowledge of both cultures, albeit intuitive at the time, has thus far nevertheless proven accurate in some instances. In others, an archaeological process of “sociocritique” has been extremely helpful to correct my perception. I take pride in the fact

that this thesis is an example of transnational research. Indeed, I myself gradually became a sort of transnational agent as the very first interrogations discussed here were raised on my own wonderful change of landscape. From that moment onwards, I have done everything in my power in order to reinforce my resistance against patriarchal borders, which I so admire in the women portrayed in this thesis, and particularly in Barbara Godard. I hence have constantly engaged in transnational dialogues through conferences, colloquiums, and, lately, a research stay at the *Università di Ferrara*, where Dr Eleonora Federici, and also Dr Vanessa Leonardi, continue to provide meaningful answers to the questions raised by the Canadian and Québécois women in this thesis.

Unfortunately, the current COVID-19 pandemic has lessened our chances of physical interaction in transnational dialogues. However, I expect to have sufficiently made a case in this thesis for a meaningful experience across borders, for my firm conviction that feminisms constitute a fruitful space for any kind of dialogue, and for at least a fraction of the self-determination shown time and again by the wonderful Québécois women of yesterday, like writers Marie de L'Incarnation (1599-1672) or Laure Conan (1845-1924), and of today, like my friend Louise Laliberté and her sister Francine. Like today's Québec, today's text, hereby presented, is the result of years of patient work: almost seven years have passed since I posed myself the most elementary questions reflected here. The drafting of this thesis, however, is the result of the last few years, and especially of my experience as a young researcher at the *Universitat de València*. As such, it has witnessed the best, but unfortunately, for personal reasons, some of the worst which life has to offer. I accept it for what it is: a circumstantial, perennial text, and yet a virtually never-ending set of discourses, open to new interrogations of self, and to the new, prospective trajectories of my personal and professional agency.

Indeed, the current thesis intends to act not as a finished piece, but as a metadiscursive hub, a cross-disciplinary meeting point for the study of past female and feminist, *translating* and *translated* agencies. Let us begin by defining the notion of agency, as well as the relevance of the different binomials female/feminist and translating/translated. "Agency" is a notion employed in a wide variety of contexts and disciplines. In Translation Studies, an "agent of translation" is usually defined as "a person who is "in an intermediary position between a translator and an end user of a translation" (Sager 1994: 321 in Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 7). These agents may be text producers, mediators who modify the text such as those who produce abstracts, editors, revisors and translators, commissioners and publishers" (Milton and

Bandia 2009: 1). This definition is essential to this thesis in that the study of female subjects' operation through translation is often mediated, as the Manipulation School reminds us time and again, by others with a normative role within the polysystem, therefore producing "images" of translators and their translated products for generalised consumption (Lefevere 1991). Throughout this thesis, effectively, it shall be argued that women's operations have been constantly subject to normalisation to ensure that they do not contradict patriarchal social norms. Frequently, they even undergo an assimilation process in the means of becoming productive voices for patriarchy. Nevertheless, as shall be proven in the following sections, this definition unfairly seems to preclude attention to translators as actual agents of textual production and interpretation within polysystems. It does not underscore individual capabilities to effect change, which is the very aspect of translators' operations which I wish to deal with here.

For Paloposki (2009: 190), who does indeed refer to the translator's operations as constituting a translation agency, it entails an "individual combination of experience, talent, creativity and initiative", permanently seeking a certain balance with what descriptivists in our field known as "translation norms" (see, for instance, Toury 2012), that is, socially agreed-on conventions and individual will, perceptions, aims and motivations. Manipulation scholars like Lefevere or Hermans have problematised Toury's purely "social", uncritical understanding of norms by considering the influence of systemic agents' individualities in each polysystem's layout, and therefore approaching to a view of agency reconciling the collective and the social with the individual and the personal. However, none of these groups have effectively detached translation agencies from the establishment of national literatures: they regard them as individual stances, either productive or unproductive for particular nation-making projects, the implementation of which usually instrumentalises literature for the generalisation of the so-called "national values". Subsequently, agencies may be subject to either promotion or ostracism depending on the stance taken in regard with such values. However, as Pym wisely contends (2014), translators are most often liminal subjects, their allegiance divided between different national groups and, what is more important, different affective communities (Ghandi 2006; Hutchison 2016) and communities of practice (Eckherth 2006). The selection of these two different notions, belonging to the Postcolonial Gender Studies and the Linguistics field respectively, very much illustrates the transdisciplinary will of this thesis. The notion of "affective communities" is a widespread analytical tool in Political Science and Postcolonial

Studies domains, which purports the idea that collective traumatic experiences gather individuals in groups non-coincidental with those marked by national boundaries:

Representations of trauma can thus help to constitute bonds between individuals. They illuminate how and to whom individuals feel emotionally attached. While emotions mobilized after trauma often re-establish prevailing political orders and patterns, traumatic events can also generate new "emotional cultures" that genuinely transform national and transnational communities. The communities that ensue can be conceived of as "affective communities" in so far as they are necessarily constituted through, and distinguished by, social, collective forms of feeling (Hutchison 2016: xi).

As shall be discussed throughout this thesis, it is my contention that women may be considered under the "affective communities" label on the grounds that they endure a universal form of oppression across nations, ethnic groups, and communities of faith, among other variables. Here lies, in my view, the crucial contribution of the so-called Transnational Feminist Translation Studies (Castro and Ergun 2017) to feminist thought, providing a fruitful crossroads between Gender, Translation Studies and, at least on a theoretical level, Discourse Studies (Castro 2009). While different gender constructs underlie local forms of gendered power differentials, the male/female binomial remains the core pattern for the representation of power asymmetries of any kind in patriarchal societies (Scott 1999). Since oppression is enacted via discourse, I shall propose here ways to counteract the lack of practical attention thus-far granted to Feminist Critical Discourse Methodologies (Lazar 2005) by Feminist Translation Scholars, particularly those working within transnational analytical frameworks.

The importance of discourse-centred perspectives for the study of female and feminist agencies seems obvious when one considers how, according to Chamberlain (1988), unequal access to discursive power has been traditionally represented under the male/female trope, whereby translation and original are considered under the metaphorical optics of marriage. While the (male) source text's intertextual infidelities are unproblematic, the (female) translation's unfaithfulness, directly proportional to its beauty (creativity), is severely discouraged. Under this light, agencies are not only discursive, but mediated by a pervasive gender metaphoric, and translation, as a space where identities are re-negotiated, claims due attention on the part of Critical Discourse scholars.

Agencies, importantly, are not stative, like identities, which emerged from the obsessive process of social tagging typical of patriarchal thought. They are performative. Thus,

besides the eminently social notion of "affective communities", an understanding of identity performance through discourse is also required:

A community of practice is a collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavor. Communities of practice emerge in response to common interest or position, and play an important role in forming their members' participation in, and orientation to, the world around them. It provides an accountable link, therefore, between the individual, the group, and place in the broader social order, and it provides a setting in which linguistic practice emerges as a function of this link (Eckert 2006).

In my view, focusing on female agencies' discursive performance as a form of collective resistance, which nevertheless may take different forms, avoids a focus on social descriptors, and therefore essentialist analyses of "womanhood" (Scott 1986). Additionally, as feminist historians note (Scott 1999), some feminist historiographical practices operated through absolute analytical categories like the one just mentioned tend to objectivise women even further. New analytical categories shall be proposed in this thesis, emphasising female-centred operational networks, and the multiplicity of forms under which female discursive action may take place, rather than the "essence" of "women" as an abstract collective.

As for the female/feminist binomial, obvious as the difference between those two forms of agency may seem, they seldom undergo proper differentiation in Feminist Translation Studies. Here, once again, one must draw back on the methodological remarks of Feminist Historians who, like many feminist translatoologists, are concerned with producing an *archaeology* of female knowledge, borrowing Foucault's often quoted *Archéologie du savoir* (1969). Canning (1993) makes a crucial distinction among identity, experience, and agency. Identity is often an external imposition, marked by dominant behavioural constructs. Experience certainly underscores the individual's capability of (re-)action in that it is a personal, subjective account of lived events. However, agency goes one step further: it entails a certain processing of experience, and subsequent operational attitudes. In terms of gender ideology, "female experiences" are what "women" consciously believe to have in common as a group, and are often objectivised by commentators. Female agencies, however, are multiple, and feminism is only one of the many forms of agency adopted by women throughout history. Lazar explains this difference very clearly (2005: 6):

(...) [T]o speak from the position of a 'woman' is not the same as speaking from the political perspective of a feminist. Grant (1993: 181) puts this nicely when she writes that 'to know as a woman *means* to know

from the perspective of the structure of gender. In contrast, a feminist perspective means that one has a critical distance on gender and on oneself.' The critical praxis orientation not only informs the approach to social justice; it also shapes the theory itself. As Kress (1990: 88) noted of CDA, such an orientation entails making 'linguistics itself more accountable, more responsible, and more responsive to questions of social equity'.

The novel, traditionally considered an inconsequential and superficial literary product (see Spencer and Andrews 1986), and translations, as historically "non-evenemential" products *par excellence* (Bandia and Bastin 2006), have often welcomed female agencies throughout history (Simon 1996). However, the discursive treatment of those products does not square with their actual relevance in patriarchal nation-making enterprises and international relations throughout History. This often requires, as I am willing to argue here, reconsidering the actual role of those female voices in what *prima facie* seems to be an act of discursive freedom. Additionally, "feminism" is a historically contextualised tag, incompatible with the doubtlessly forward attitudes displayed by multiple female agencies in past epochs. And yet, a recent, politically correct bias affecting most disciplines (Hoff-Sommers 1995; Walsh 2001) encourages some scholars to process knowledge in ways which celebrate most female attitudes as automatically feminist, or which make gender central in any intellectual quest, when it is not always the case, even when female subjects are concerned (Simon 1996). This often requires of scholars "(...) attention to the assumptions, practices and rhetoric of the discipline, to things either so taken for granted or so outside customary practice that they are not usually a focus (...)" (Scott 1999: X). As this thesis is concerned with showing, gender ideologies underlie all kinds of patriarchal institutions, either academic or political.

As an absolute tag, "feminism" has enjoyed popularity over the last decades as an intersectional space of discussion for the different forms of inequality and the power differentials sustaining Western societies. It is my impression, however, that it has remained far too indifferent to the potential behind the use of equally intersectional methodological frameworks (*cf* Collins and Bilge 2020). In general, while gender seems to purport a more objective, "social-sciences" approach (Scott 1999), feminism is often perceived as an interpretive prism in itself, and therefore as a methodological indicator, an analytical tool and, given its frequent vindicatory tone, a procedural bias (see Eshelman 2007). While this dissertation has a clear practical motivation, that is, it is committed with performing a particular analysis of a certain object (more accurately, a subject) of study, it may not proceed without a previous critical review of the methodologies available in order to fulfil its purpose, or an

assessment of their relationship with feminism. For this first, transversal assessment of the methodological potential in different frameworks across disciplines, a few premises have been assumed.

As already argued, this thesis is sustained by the idea that all forms of agency, whether regarded from a gender, a socio-economic, an ethnic or even an academic perspective, are *performed* via discourse practice, shaping and being shaped by it. Academic agencies are rarely targeted for the advancement of social movements like feminisms, and yet this makes very little sense, considering the priceless support received by their cause from academic forums. Therefore, on critically reviewing the methodologies of potential interest for the study of female agencies in translation, this thesis shall proceed on the assumption that they are forms of *metadiscourse*. What does *metadiscourse* stand for? While the first part of our theoretical and methodological section shall be concerned with surveying this concept, it may be worthy clarifying from here. Metadiscourses, in their most immediate sense, are pieces of discourse aimed at commenting on previous discursive compositions. Since knowledge implies an endless process of critically quoting other sources, it is hard to consider methodological stances without due attention to their metadiscursive interface: how do they react to previous utterances? And, most importantly, why? Under which ideological premises? It is in this interdiscursive space of critique where identities perform, therefore becoming agencies, and are often performed by discourse practice, assimilated to other ideological causes for which they may be regarded as productive. Importantly, viewed from this angle, academic writing is a performative act by different agencies, with their ideological frameworks and personal motivations. From the standpoint of feminisms, there hardly is, therefore, any separation between the production of theory and an adherence to certain methodological principles, concerned as they are with proving that what we understand by neutrality and universality in discourse is nothing more but the discursive standards wittingly upheld by patriarchal elites for their survival. As Michelle Lazar (2005: 7) states in regard with what she identifies as "gender ideology",

Gender ideology is hegemonic in that it often does not appear as domination at all; instead it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in a community. The winning of consent and the perpetuation of the otherwise tenuous relation of dominance (Gramsci 1971) are largely accomplished through discursive means, especially in the ways ideological assumptions are constantly re-enacted and circulated through discourse as commonsensical and natural. The taken-for-grantedness and normalcy of such knowledge is what mystifies or obscures the power differential and inequality at work.

It is perhaps for this reason that, once it penetrated academic discourse, feminist theory started to be disavowed as a distorting framework "brutaliz[ing] or ma[king] trivial the complex, delicate fabric of evidence" (Steiner 1992: vii): it evinced how academic and epistemic neutrality is a patriarchal stunt, ensuring that its discursive credit remain unquestioned. Understandably, this has led feminists of all disciplines to distrust "methodology" as a patriarchal way of functioning, and to consider that placing that the duly revised notions associated to feminism, among which "women", "gender", and "sex", entails in itself the implementation of a critical methodology. "Feminism" in the singular has reminded a comfortable endeavour for white, middle-class intellectuals of the First World, free to determine a new field and its core notions, just as patriarchy has done with any pre-existing discipline. However, with the emergence of non-hegemonic feminist voices, the fact that feminist critique has relied on a set of essentialist notions accepted, and often devised by privileged female agencies, has underscored the need for more open sets of analytical tools. Importantly, these voices have raised concerns about the already mentioned politics of institutionalisation, of establishment of scholarly disciplines, questioning whether feminists have been able to overcome the prejudices displayed by most traditional fields in their notional and methodological articulation.

Anyhow, my response to this need for broader and less constrained methodological inputs would be to encourage discursive attention on theory, understanding it as "a critical praxis-oriented research", a term used by Lazar herself (2005: 6) in the description of the so-called Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. In my view, any statement regarding the methodological premises sustaining any academic work is an intentional stance taken by the subject. As such, although it may be interesting to analyse from a critical-discourse perspective, it does not always provide the most honest set of guidelines to survey an author's agency. It is in his or her practical deployment of those principles where one may appreciate contradictions with the analytic framework allegedly applied, as well as the true ideology behind his or her academic production. In conclusion, theory sometimes speaks more eloquently about methodology than methodology itself, which makes them inseparable from one another. On this conviction, this thesis does not feature a theoretical discussion and a methodological section separately: it deals with them as discursively interwoven products, and regards as especially productive the contrast between the subject's methodological assertions and his or her particular discursive performance, in academic texts as much as in translated ones, or in pieces of discourse often disregarded by traditional academia. The ultimate implication of this,

my own methodological stance regarding the subject of study to be researched, is that the Feminist Translator/Translation criticism which I intend to produce here should also be regarded as a form of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. What is more, any feminist translation act is in practice a process of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, questioning traditional epistemologies, notions of textuality, generic forms, and standards for discourse correctness. It entails critical metadiscursiveness in its purest form, taking to the background the interlinguistic asymmetries traditionally tackled by Translation Studies, or problematising them from the standpoint of female and feminist agencies, of their operation and circulation via translation. Consequently, my theo-methodological section shall conclude with a brief revision of various Feminist Critical Discourse and related methodologies (Mills 1995; Lazar 2005; Wodak 2008; etc.).

Once a discursive approach to methodological matters has been clarified, the subject of my research, female and feminist agencies in translation, requires a multiplicity of approaches, and attention to a variety of disciplines enjoying different degrees of prestige under traditional standards. Which shall be the transdisciplinary, transversal layout of this thesis' methodology? Understandably, Translation Studies constitutes the disciplinary matrix into which the current project is notionally and methodologically rooted. The next section shall provide a review of descriptive translation methodologies as the first implicitly historical approach to the study of translation. Special emphasis shall be placed in the process by which this primeval disciplinary space evolves from a focus on textual products and their relationships as defining elements of a polysystem to a subject-centred scope. A series of "turns" have thus led to the ultimate, so-called "Translator's Turn" (Robinson 1991), from the "Cultural Turn" (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990) and the "Ethical turn" (Berman 1984), inaugurating the cross-disciplinary penetration of Postcolonial Studies in our field, to the "power turn" (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002), slowly detaching power asymmetries from cultural differences. It is on the generalisation of this wide, subject-centred approach that Feminist Translation Studies (Castro and Ergun 2017) has emerged as a distinctive field of translation research targeting female agencies and their discursive cues in translation. One of its aims, as Ergun has stated (2006), is indeed to counteract "his-tory" with a new perspective into past subjects and their discursive operational premises. *Foucauldian* archaeology has often mentioned both implicitly (Godard 1987) and explicitly (Vidal Claramonte 1998, Godayol 2011) as a methodological aspiration of feminisms in their analysis of the intersection between gender and language. Nevertheless, the very limited notion of "agency" inherited from the Manipulation School, which has failed to

problematise the discursive ostracism of female identities within traditional systems, has thus far remained unaltered. By suggesting a feminist approach to Chesterman's Translator Studies proposal (2009), and integrating some interdisciplinary views on agency, I expect to develop a more effective methodology for my purpose.

Which are, nevertheless, those interdisciplinary views on agency relevant to this thesis? As the previous paragraphs show, feminist social history may provide a great input of notional and methodological rigour to the task undertaken in this thesis. An important cross-disciplinary contribution made by Gordon, Buhle, and Dye (1976), Scott (1999), or Canning (1994), among other authors, lies in their critical review of the already discussed notions through which traditional historiography analyses female endeavours. Agency, thus, becomes a set of dynamic, non pre-defined capabilities, and not a stative tag. It questions the disciplinary bias through which the patriarchal scholar acts as subject, dealing with non-hegemonic Others as objects (for the original discussion on the subject/object dichotomy, see Beauvoir 1949). Quite interestingly, a de-construction of patriarchal historical truth is proposed under the *foucauldian* premise that history is discursive, and therefore a biased account of facts (Canning 1994). Subsequently, historical relevance, usually connected with warfare and territorial control in authorised sources, is questioned in order to encompass new contexts and discursive spaces (see Gordon, Buhle, and Dye 1976: 89). In another parallel with femininity, the historical study of translation shall require, according to Bandia and Bastin (2006), attention to traditionally neglected, quotidian generic forms and text types. Given the female-centred and translational scope of this thesis, the analysis undertaken here of historically contextualised female and feminist agencies through translation shall rescue multiple discourse pieces of apparently limited historical value, and prove their capital importance for the study of non-hegemonic operational patterns.

Nevertheless, the current dissertation is not only concerned with nourishing the Feminist Translation Studies field with an interdisciplinary perspective into Feminist Translator History. It strives for an understanding of Translation Studies, and Feminist Translation Studies in this particular case, as a cross-disciplinary space where the aims of various disciplines may converge (see Castro 2012). In the particular space of Feminist Translation/Translator History, and in line with Rundle's assertions on the instrumentality of Translation Studies for a proper understanding of History (2014), the limitations of the so-called "discursive turn" in Feminist History" (Canning 1994) may greatly benefit from

acknowledging translations as spaces of ideological negotiation throughout History. The latter, despite showing interest in how ideologies operate via historiographical discourse, is insufficiently familiar with the variety of Critical Discourse Analysis methodologies at our disposal. This lack of familiarity is partially shared by Feminist Translation Studies, in as much as Castro's seminal proposal of implementing Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis for a third wave of feminism (2009) has been only recently, and perhaps inconsistently, implemented (see, for instance, Özgün 2020). In this sense, the current thesis intends to be useful to feminist scholars across disciplines in their search for more fruitful, interdisciplinary methodologies duly integrating history, ideology, and discourse.

Once the particular theo-methodological approach of this thesis has been discussed, I would like to define the subject chosen for the current study, and clarify the reasons for which her translator's agency provides a suitable framework for my purpose. I have selected late feminist translator and scholar Barbara Godard (Toronto, 1942-2010), an agent operating, albeit with different degrees of commitment, in the multiplicity of fields and ideological spaces concerned by this dissertation. She is what we could identify as a liminal subject, operating, as she herself put it, in the "border traffic" of translation (Godard 1987) which, thanks to the forwardness and openness of her research, may be regarded today as something more than a space in between languages and cultures. Indeed, translation truly was for Godard a constant form of interaction with patriarchal institutions and their discourses. *Prima facie*, figures like Godard embody the contradictions of the very rare states which, like Canada, do their best to deal with the institutional contradictions of comprising (at least) two different peoples. In the last decades, Canadians have become a symbol of what Pierre Trudeau defined in 1971 as "a multicultural nation":

There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian...A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate...What the world should be seeking, and what in Canada we must continue to cherish, are not concepts of uniformity but human values: compassion, love, and understanding (Trudeau 1971)

It was therefore essential to transform a white settler nation like Canada, de-personalised by its cultural and political dependence, first on Britain, and later, after World War II, on the U.S., into the eternal supporter of all just and decent causes, its thus-far regretted lack of a recognisable, "Canadian" identity providing an opportunity to embrace humanitarian neutrality as the essence of "Canadianness". The 60s and 70s therefore witness Canadians'

systematic adherence to anti-nuclear energy, anti-colonialist, anti-(American)imperialist, anti-racist positions (among a variety of other antis-) as a response to the Pan-American set of ideals projected by the corrupted U.S. society through its absolute cinema and television hegemony.

Young scholars at the time, Barbara Godard's generation not only witnessed, but actively participated in the Trudeau Era's linguistic and cultural projects of the so-called "Canadianization", a term employed by nationalist scholars like Robin Matthews which referred to the establishment of a truly and proudly Canadian cultural ecosystem. In this particular context, higher-education institutions like York University, Godard's employer, had a leading role in the Canadian nation-making project, coincidental with the Centennial of the Confederation (1867-1967). Indeed, York's English department, with researchers like Frank Davey, greatly contributed to spreading the notion of a thus-far non-existent, distinctive Canadian Literature among the population. The "Canadianization" project constitutes an interesting scenery to analyse Godard's feminist translator's agency in so far as it responds to the typical patriarchal pattern of synergetic relations between a literary polysystem and the underlying nation state's ideal concept of society. More specifically, this project had to face a number of difficulties typically neglected by descriptivists in their account of systemic functioning. On the one hand, Canada's condition as a white settler nation (Preston 2017), with growingly postcolonial awareness on the part of its ample migrant population, including immigrant women (Dua 2007). Nevertheless, this thesis is concerned with showing how such most actors involved in the establishment of a Canadian polysystem, including Barbara Godard herself, failed to develop sufficient awareness in this sense, or did so only in the final years of their career. What certainly worried the orchestrators of the Canadian nation-making project between the late 60s and 70s, be it politicians, scholars, or agents of the book industry in general, is the growing conflict with Québec's own nation-making ideals, flourishing at the time through a parallel establishment of their own literature. Taking the polysystem theory's analytical pattern as a point of departure, I intend to provide a sociocritical description of both the Canadian and the Québécois polysystem, in the means of better determining how Godard's feminist agency interacted with and grew out of them.

Originally a Canadian Literature scholar, Barbara Godard's perfectly bi-lingual training entailed a periplum across Europe and North-America, pursuing, like very few other scholars of her generation, a rich academic tuition between France, Québec, and Ontario. She was part of a movement of scholars who, like Frank Davey, started to encourage a concept of

"Canadianness" a truly committed to bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism, and not as the Anglophone-led experiment it was in practice. Her advocacy for Canadian Literature, a constant throughout her career, even as she evolved into feminist positions, benefitted from the openness which characterised her scholarship. This effectively makes Godard's complex, cross-disciplinary agency an interesting case-study from a variety of standpoints:

Godard's example reminds us of the necessity and value of taking a given translator's thoughts and decision-making processes into account when analyzing her work. Translation involves a complex process of iterative reflection, which involves a significant degree of interpretation of and engagement with the material. Many branches of translation studies emphasize translators' textual power and influence, acknowledging "their role as active and powerful agents" (Paloposki 191) in the process of translation, but they do not go so far as to suggest that this recognition be paired with a suggested analytical approach (Voyer 2016: 68).

Thus far, a number of contributions have been devoted to Godard's prolific career, especially after her premature death, at the age of 62, in 2010. Most have come from her colleagues at York. Eva Karpinski is perhaps the most interesting scholar having honoured Godard's memory. An expert in translation, she has paid considerable attention to the feminist side of Godard's agency, and to her practical translation work (see Karpinski 2015), which very much places her as an outsider among the generation of Anglophone Canadian translators who contributed to the Canada Council's programs of intra-national, literary translation (French-English/English-French) in the 70s and 80s. As Mezei acknowledges (1995), these programs often resulted in one-sided attempts, assimilating Québécois culture under the Confederation's Canadianization ideal, unable to mobilise the Québécois book market into translating Anglophone-Canadian literature. A discussion of the general "tendencies", perhaps more than "norms" (see Toury 2012) in the eclectic, Canadian-translation context of those years, shall therefore be illustrative to provide a contrast with Godard's innovative role as an intercultural agent. It is perhaps because of her lack of allegiance to such a normative framework, and her pioneering *virage* into feminism, which forced her to part ways with some first-row Canadian-Literature agents as early as in the mid-80s, that most narratives available portray her as a contributor to Canadian Literature, and not as the divergent translator she actually was (see, for instance, Karpinski, Henderson, Sowton, and Ellenwood 2013). An "image" of her production as converging with the Canadianization nation-making project, in Lefevere's terms (see Lefevere 1993) has thus been intentionally projected. The fifth chapter of this thesis shall de-construct such an "image" and discern what her actual contribution to her sociopolitical and

literary entourage was. In short, I shall attempt a portrayal of how Godard made (Canadian) History, and how (Canadian) History made Godard.

As for the subsequent organisation of this thesis, I shall now propose and dissect three general objectives pursued by my research, as well as three corresponding hypotheses for validation throughout the next chapters:

Objective No. 1: Critically discussing effective methodologies for:

(O1.1.) The historical study of female and feminist agencies in translation.

(O1.2.) The critical description of patriarchal systemic structures.

As already indicated, my proposed methodologies shall be interdisciplinary in nature, as well transnational, in that they find fault with systemic thinking and its obsessive employment of artificial, patriarchal nation-states as analytical units. A thorough revision of what discourse means shall be conducted, exploring the term "metadiscourse" as a potentially effective notion for my purpose. Furthermore, I shall problematise the traditional notion of "agency" in our discipline, thanks to the input of Feminist history. Agency, as this thesis is concerned with proving, is multiple: translator's agencies are not only translational: they are often also academic, or creative, or editorial, or even political. Similarly, the only agencies operating through translation are not those projected by translators. Therefore, I shall opt for the broader term "agencies in translation" in order to better account for the different operators in this study.

Throughout Chapter 2, via a critique of Descriptive Translation methodologies, as well as, incidentally, of more traditional epistemic frameworks, from de-constructionism to psychoanalysis, I shall attempt to determine whether Descriptive Translation Studies ideologically engages in patriarchal oppression; or, conversely, whether it opposes patriarchal thinking. From a feminist perspective, it is my intuition that the so-called "norms" (Toury 2012) may indeed amount to forms of (self-)censorship (Tymoczko 2009), since their sole formulation has a coercive, nation-making purpose, and traditionally neglects and despises the discursive practices in which women engage. Part of the theo-methodological research in this thesis is aimed at finding liberating, non-deterministic notions, allowing for the description of agencies without any pre-conceived molds.

As a result of this, a first research question has been formulated: ***Which methodology/methodologies may be appropriate for the study of female and feminist agencies in translation undertaken in this thesis?***

Hypothesis No. 1: Feminist Translator History may be an appropriate methodological framework, rather than a fixed methodology, for the study of female and feminist agencies in translation.

(H1.1.) It is my intuition that an effective methodology for a study of female and feminist agencies in translation may be both transnational and cross-disciplinary in nature.

(H1.2.) Descriptive Systemic Theories may be shown to respond to the artificial, oppressive structures developed by patriarchal societies.

After the aforementioned critical revision of these theories in Chapter 2, I expect to gain a better understanding into the gender conventions behind patriarchal nation-states and nation-making projects. However, these prove insufficient in order to illustrate the actual social dynamics operating in each nation-state. Their critical re-working from the feminist perspective adopted in this thesis may potentially provide an expansive, non-constraining framework, to be re-adapted to a multiplicity of non-hegemonic subjects of study and contexts.

Objective No. 2: Providing a sociocritical study into:

(O2.1.) The target polysystem, Canadian Literature, and the function and "image" (Lefevere 1993) of women's writing in the target polysystem.

(O2.2.) The source polysystem, Québécois National Literature, and the function and "image" (Lefevere 1993) of women's writing in the target polysystem.

Objective No. 2, understandably, entails quite a broad, far-reaching task, accounting for the archaeological revision of both the target and the source polysystems across which Barbara Godard operated. In my view, this step is essential in order to describe the driving patriarchal forces dominating Anglophone-Canadian and Québécois literatures respectively, something without which Barbara Godard's *portrait* would surely be incomplete. Since no cultural and political context emerges without the impact of previous events, I have decided to take some

archaeological distance from the period in which her agency started to operate. I expect that this chronological digression shall allow for a more accurate description of the phenomena actually shaping (and shaped by) Godard's career, both in her home province, Ontario, where most efforts into defining Canadian Literature as a scholarly discipline were encouraged, and in Québec, the province where she studied and where the feminist literary production which she committed to disseminate emerged.

As Objective 2.1. and Objective 2.2. show, I intend to proceed in a deductive way with each of the polysystems concerned. In Chapter 3, I shall begin by applying the very same concerns raised by the theo-methodological section. That is, I shall demonstrate whether Descriptive Systemic Theories, when applied to the Canadian literary landscape of those years, actually contribute to define an artificial, oppressive patriarchal structure, instead of underscoring any potential tensions between the notion of "national literature" and the sociocultural reality behind it. Once this basis has been laid out, I intend to delve into the function and "image", in Lefevre's terms (1993), of female and feminist Canadian literature within the mainstream systemic structures orchestrated by patriarchal figures. This shall help to determine the value attached by the Canadian polysystem to female and feminist literary agencies, and therefore to predict the reception, in Anglophone Canada, of the Québécois feminist literature translated by Godard.

In Chapter 4, the description of the Québécois national polysystem shall be undertaken in identical fashion. I shall depart from the analysis of patriarchal structures, and determine to which extent Descriptive Systemic Theories allow for a description of the evolution undergone by Québécois mainstream literature at the time. Similarly, any tensions between the concept of "national literature" dominant in Québec at the time and its sociocultural reality shall be accounted for. After this, I shall proceed to a characterisation of the emergence of the female/feminist literature translated by Godard. The function and "image" granted to this literature shall ultimately be defined as a result. Once Objective 2.1. and Objective 2.2. have been pursued, a second research question clearly emerges: *How did the female/feminist literatures of the analysed period respond to the features of the patriarchal, Anglophone-Canadian and Québécois polysystems; and how did these polysystems in turn assimilate these literatures?* In short, since I shall explore whether female and feminist literatures in each of the communities hereby featured actually constituted a system of their own, and, if so, what

the mutual relationships were between them and the patriarchal polysystems to which they reacted.

Hypothesis No. 2:

(H2.1.) In the period under analysis, "Canadian Literature" may be shown to be an artificial construct, a male-centred tag encouraged by Canadian institutions, which has potentially assimilated women's literature for the sake of reinforcing its particular model of nation.

(H2.2.) Although a more organic, naturally-evolving set of written production, Québécois Literature, probably pursued in the period under analysis the same nation-making purposes that the so-called national literatures have traditionally fulfilled in Europe, perhaps assimilating women's emancipation through literature as a powerful trope for their post-colonial aspirations.

Nation-making projects normally entail the articulation of claims justifying the exceptionality of the people in question, confronting two main forms of difference: that embodied by other nations, perceived as potentially demeaning, and, importantly, the one within the nation's political borders, threatening the possibility of achieving a coherent national identity. I believe, as shall be argued in Chapter 2, that the different "images" (Lefevere 1993) which nations project across time, empowered by the so-called "national literatures", are essentially *metadiscursive* phenomena. In fact, systemic thinking is conceived here as a series of metadiscursive stances uttered by the dominant (patriarchal) voices of a specific period. An archaeological revision of both polysystems therefore requires a critique of this dominant metadiscursive activity in search for the symbols and tropes expressing the alleged exceptionality of the nations behind them. Because the basic form of difference in traditional epistemology is that embodied by the male/female dichotomy (see Scott 1999), I shall explore whether the metadiscourses generated in the contexts surveyed exploit particular gender conventions for nation-making purposes, as well as whether such particular gender constructs have an impact in the formation of the two polysystems' canons and their "norms". Under this light, effectively, systemic "norms", both literary and translational, may well become a form of (self-)censorship (Tymoczko 2009), particularly, although not exclusively, for women, as subjects without whom, and often against whom, nations have been built up. Thus, a feminist

sociocritical analysis of literature like the one undertaken here should attempt to connect the sociological traits of a specific patriarchal society with the realisation, via literary institutions, of its nation-making project through oppressive metadiscourses, classifying and tagging normative and non-normative discursive production.

Objective No. 3: Engaging in a "portrait" of Barbara Godard's feminist translator's agency.

(A3.1.) Analysing the norms (Toury 2012) established by the dominant community of translation practice in the context of Barbara Godard's career.

(A.3.2.) Analysing the evolution of Godard's agency and her interaction with the context and the different professional and emotional networks with which she was acquainted.

How did Barbara Godard's feminist translator's agency react to the prevailing translation norms of her time, encouraged and followed by the dominant community of Canadian translators then operating in the polysystem? Such shall be our third and last research question, to be explored and answered in the first sections of Chapter 5. I depart from the assumption, substantiated by Barbara Godard's self-positioning through her own writings, and by the general opinion of experts in our field, that hers was a feminist translator's agency, and therefore potentially a non-normative one within the target polysystem (Anglophone Canada). Thus, before delving into the implications of such an agency, or into the actual coherence of her ideological stances in her work, I believe it necessary to reflect on the official translation codes endorsed by the Canadian polysystem. It has often been argued that translation relationships in Canada are almost exclusively limited to intra-national, French-to-English translational activity (see Grady 1995), found to be asymmetrical to any analogous efforts of English-to-French translation (Simon 1995), despite overwhelming institutional encouragement. Since translation activity at the time has been regarded as an institutionally encouraged tool to correct a conflicted identity (Davey 1995), I shall explore the extent to which the prevailing translation norms in the Canadian polysystem actually constitute a calculated answer to the non-compliant, and often beligerant Québécois systemic structures.

While Barbara Godard did not breach these essentially bi-lateral, Anglophone-Canada/Québec relationships by expanding her corpus of source texts to other polysystems, it is my intuition that her feminist agency subverted the traditionally asymmetrical cultural relationships between Canada's "two solitudes". Via a sociocritical revision of her trajectory, I intend to explore whether female and particularly feminist affinities may make a difference in the cross-border traffic of discourses. While no official frontiers separate Québec from the Anglophone provinces, I shall discuss whether Godard's ability to connect with Québécois feminist writers and intellectuals actually consolidated a series of *transnational* bonds which mainstream Canadian translators had been mostly unable to establish. I suggest here the word "transnational", to be further discussed throughout this thesis, since I suspect that, till recently, Canada's both majoritarian communities may have behaved as the independent nations which they originally were, despite any overarching efforts at consolidating a single Canadian nation.

Once ascertained the potentially deviational nature of Godard's operations with regard to conventional translation practice in the Canadian polysystem, I shall ultimately dwell in the particulars of her feminist agency not as a monolithic set of behavioural patterns, but as a progressively dissociative attitude towards the *patriarchal* forms of processing difference imposed by the Anglophone polysystem. The extent to which Godard's non-hegemonic gender considerations potentially overrode the defensive national borders erected by male nationalisms in Canada shall constitute the final step in this sociocritical quest. As a result of the aforementioned discussion of the last set of objectives in this thesis, I am now in a position to formulate the last hypothesis to be either confirmed or ruled out:

Hypothesis No. 3 Barbara Godard's feminist translator's agency may have had a foundational role in the consolidation of a women-centred, transnational space of dialogue in Canada, perhaps impossible to build up on patriarchal initiatives.

(H3.1.) The general tendencies, perhaps rather than the norms (for both terms, see Toury 2012), observed among Anglophone-Canadian translators regarding Québécois cultural and linguistic difference may have been one of "assimilation" (Mezei 1988).

(H3.2.) *Via her consolidation of feminist-driven, translational bonds with Québécois women writers, Godard's translator's agency is believed to have been more successful in bridging the gap between Canada's so-called "two-solititudes" than any mainstream attempts of the kind.*

A first part of Chapter 5 shall be devoted, as already indicated, to ascertaining the behavioural patterns consolidated by Canada's mainstream community of translation practice. At first sight, nevertheless, it might be appropriate to cautiously consider the notion of translation "tendencies", also defined by Toury (2012), instead of that of norms, especially on the grounds of the aforementioned artificiality entailed by systemic thinking. The choice of this term appears to be more liberating in that it conceives of divergent ideologies and practices within a generally homogeneous polysystem. Be as it may, I would hypothesise, in line with assertions made by Canadian translation expert Kathy Mezei, that these behavioural patterns have mostly been of assimilative nature, aimed at giving Québécois literature a subsidiary function in a potentially harmonic, pan-Canadian polysystem. A constant tension, thus, is to be expected from confronting official institutional discourses of the time, extolling Canada's alleged bi-culturality/linguality, and even its multiculturalism, and the observable reality of translation praxis at the time.

The last part of Chapter 5, effectively, shall focus entirely on suggesting a plausible evolutionary pattern for Barbara Godard's agency. Although I intend to progressively outline her whereabouts and endeavours in Chapter 3, a more detailed sociocritical survey of her trajectory shall be undertaken here, from her younger years' presumably more vulnerable positions before dominant codes of practice, to a gradual embracing of feminist stances. This survey shall understandably be bifold, in that it must doubtlessly consider both her scholarly and her professional praxis, possibly intertwined, and therefore reciprocally clarifying. In order to illustrate this evolving agency, however, a discourse-driven critique of three of her salient works shall accompany it. In order to tackle what I intuitively perceive as potential shifts in Godard's agency, I have chosen, to begin, her first translated novel, *Don L'Original* (1972), by Acadian author Antonine Maillet. While I expect this to be a project generally guided by dominant standards of translation practice in 70s Canada, I shall attempt to discern any deviant attitudes toward it.

The second translation project chosen, an English version of Nicole Brossard's *L'Amèr ou Le Chapitre Effrité* (1977), is one undertaken for Coach House Press, an emergent, proudly Canadian publisher with which she became acquainted via her colleague at York University and expert Canadianist: Frank Davey. According to Davey's own recollection (1995), differences over Godard's enthusiastic choice of *L'Amèr* for the publisher's Québec Translations collection would do nothing but hasten the end of this scholar's already difficult relationship with the editorial board, ultimately leading to her and Davey's resignation. In my perception, this translation may illustrate an already apparent, irreversible change of Godard's agency toward outright feminism. The last translation project chosen for this chapter is a polyphonic translation exercise of one of Lola Lemire Tostevin's poems, "Espaces Vers", part of her 1980 anthology 'Sophie (1988). This translation may be significant to account for Godard's ultimate embracement of feminism for a variety of reasons. First of all, Lola Lemire Tostevin is, besides a feminist poet, a liminal subject in that she is one of the very few bi-lingual authors targeted by Godard in the period in question. Secondly, the translation exercise to be analysed here was encouraged by Godard herself via her newly founded, feminist journal *Tessera*, in 1989. *Tessera* may have become an important meeting point for female and feminist agencies of all kinds during Barbara Godard's phase of academic matureness, which intuitively seems to point at the appropriateness of placing the focus in it. Finally, the dynamic of the translation proposed by the journal is also of interest: Four different feminist translators, some of them also scholars and/or writers in their own right, propose their English version of the poem together with a brief commentary discussing the difficulties encountered. It is my belief that this experiment, as much as others proposed by *Tessera* with the collaboration of Québécois feminist writers like Brossard, Louky Bersianik or France Théoret, may well make a case for Barbara Godard's success at bridging the gaps between Canada's two majoritarian communities through her female-centred and feminist-driven translator's agency.

2. Theoretical and Methodological Background

2.1. Rewriting and Metadiscursive Reception in (Feminist) Translation Studies

"History and morality are read within the infrastructure of texts"(Kristeva 1980: 65)

One of the main necessities stressed by this thesis is that of resolving a series of interrogations regarding Feminist Translation History. In itself, such initial statement entails two key questions to be addressed. Firstly, what does Feminist Translation History stand for? Attempts at establishing mainstream approaches to Translation History are already considerably recent, and the difficulty experienced by several authors in distinguishing it from further branches of Translation Studies, or from Translation Studies itself (see Hermans 1998: 8), appears to speak eloquently for its lack of matureness. Consequently, a second source of inquiry would be its positioning within the much more recent, and therefore less developed Feminist Translation Studies (Castro & Ergun 2017, from now on FTS). Here, again, several attempts I would consider 'historical' have been tagged otherwise, or rather remained untagged, with the understandable dose of instability implied by the initial stages of a new discipline.

In order to deal with such two interrogations, one must understand that FTS, like other currents stressing the complex role played by ideologies and identities in translation, has simultaneously mirrored and transgressed the discourses of the very movements inspiring its core interrogations. Here I am referring to Descriptive Translation Studies (from now on DTS) in its multiple manifestations and outcomes: the Polysystem approaches (Even-Zohar 1979; Toury 2012), and especially the Manipulation School (Lefevere 1993; Hermans 1998), as well as further ethical and identity-focused re-elaborations thereof¹. Such is the deliberately ambiguous positioning with respect to this groundbreaking, yet limited set of discourses. Indeed, this 'ambiguity', on which I shall dwell further in the following sections, has been explicitly deemed as desirable by many feminist translato-logists. As Godard puts it, "le discours féministe travaille le discours dominant dans un mouvement complexe et ambigu entre discours" (1989: 42), which consequently holds up to an understanding of the different forms of women's *speech* as "always 'double', working within and against the confines of patriarchal

¹ Hermans consistently clarifies the different strands of this current in 1999: 7-8. However, I shall be offering a detailed survey in this sense later in this chapter.

representational and linguistic structures” (Capperdoni 2007: 245). I shall contend that this ambiguity, in itself not necessarily negative, might nevertheless have been responsible for the quiet but sudden desertion of most Feminist translators, aligned with further identitarian contentions, towards other fields of ideological positioning within translation, after scarcely a twenty-year-long span of scholarly interest.

Although the aforementioned concepts shall be analysed in depth in subsequent chapters, a crucial clarification seems to be in place at this point: the importance, as my previous citings show, of the field's “metadiscourses” as crucial reflections of the reigning ideologies in each period and current, therefore the main object of study for the ideology-oriented revision, especially from a historical perspective. The notion of metadiscourse, key to understand the productive interconnections between translation, history and ideologies, is accurately defined by the Oxford English Dictionary in two main directions: “Any discourse which is concerned with or alludes to other discourses. Also: a general or universal discourse which sets the parameters within which other discourses are employed” (OED). Such crucial distinction shall guide this section in the means of identifying the relevant metadiscursive processes and products for Feminist Translation Studies and its history. However, the clearly interpretive sense of this practice requires an initial excursus in accounting for its hermeneutic nature.

2.1.1. The Meaning(s) of Metadiscursive Reception in Translation Studies: Translation Metadiscourses as a Hermeneutic Procedure

“Interpretation’ as that which gives language life beyond the moment and place of immediate utterance or transcription, is what I am concerned with” (Steiner 1975: 76).

Hermeneutics is an explicative, exegetic procedure, traditionally concerned with overcoming the obstacles implicit in the re-creation of the original communicative context of an ancient piece of discourse. As for its patriarchal limitations, Hermans, a prominent member of the so-called Manipulation School, implicitly connected with hermeneutic procedures (yet not so prone to discussing them), offers a contrast between traditional and translative/manipulative hermeneutics:

(...) the discipline concerned with understanding and explicating what is not immediately intelligible. It operates in the first instance within a given tradition, when the accidents of time and change have rendered

access to the meaning of texts problematic and in need of explication. It can also be applied across languages and cultures. Viewing translation in relation to hermeneutics highlights the contiguity of intra- and interlingual translating as the negotiation of difference and otherness. As an interpretive practice translation is framed by hermeneutic concerns (Hermans 2020: 130).

Thus, in patriarchal epistemology, the discursive object of interest must respond to a "given tradition", and therefore fall down under some textual lineage already processed. In effect, as shall be argued in our section devoted to DTS, descriptivist scholars hold their delimitation of polysystems as self-evident and generally accepted by the individuals allegedly conforming them. Secondly, the potential sources of the "not immediately intelligible" (already a sign of the little dose of interpretive frustration patriarchy is used to taking) are limited to "accidents of time" and "change", the nature of which is not defined, and can only be appreciated in the meagre repertoire of historical events and angles targeted by descriptivism. Indeed, in his original formulation of translation as hermeneutics, Steiner (1975) reinforces this blindness by devoting an entire chapter to language evolution as apparently the only source of interpretive difficulty when trying to properly reflect the intentionality of Shakespeare's and Austen's characters, among other examples of mainstream, canonic authors within English literature. Again, this is a somehow limited repertoire, based on the idea that the confrontation of coetaneous discourses produces absolutely no hermeneutic noise. At least, Steiner's delimitation of the "past" is slightly more generous than that of other theorists', ranging from "the Leviticus" till "last year's best seller" (1975: 77). Hermans, on his part, appears confident that, by adding a final statement on "intra- and interlingual translating as the negotiation of difference and otherness", some distance shall be put between what he represents (descriptivism, and more emphatically the Manipulation School), and treacherous prescriptivism. Yet, as shall also be argued in my analysis of DTS, the burden of old translation instructiveness still ghosts most descriptivist premises, schooling us on where to look for translations and how to look at them.

In short, patriarchal hermeneutics has prioritised a patriarchy-mediated, controlled past as the main methodological and object-selective prism. In fact, in Steiner's words, "every generation uses language to build its own resonant past" (1975: 85), indeed an accurate description of the selfishness of this practice as performed by patriarchy. For this scholar, the range of potential interpretive discrepancies is subordinated to a diachronic problematic, besides which diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic aspects may additionally be considered, plus

the interlinguistic factor, whenever translation is involved, despite Steiner's consideration of the inter/intralinguistic as inconsequential for hermeneutic procedures. Albeit concerned with sociolinguistic attitudes, necessarily placing subjects at the centre of his "hermeneutic motion", both Steiner and the Manipulation scholars pay very superficial attention to the subjectivity of the multiple agents involved in each process of discursive reception. At least, Steiner mentions that reception considerations are relevant not only to the task of translators, but also to that of other agents, starting with the (not-so-) plain "reader", true protagonist of Barthes' "death of the author" (1967). Unfortunately, he dwells no further on the complexities of readership response. 17 years later, Manipulation School theorist André Lefevere would at least offer an ambiguous distinction between professional and non-professional readership (1993), its implications for rewriting and manipulation remaining nevertheless unclear in his work. It is my belief that such distinction shall prove useful throughout this thesis, given the complexity and intellectuality of some of the intendedly-far-reaching feminist translations I shall be working on, and shall therefore require further development in my analysis.

Additionally, Steiner mentions further mediators of all condition, like the "critic", the "editor" or the "actor" (1975: 75) (all of them, once again, shall be relevant figures in my own analysis), concerned with the types of discourse reworking detailed, this time, in Lefevere's aforementioned work: "spin-offs, reference works, anthologies, criticism, or editions" (1993: 8). After a "process of gaining understanding of another person's utterance" and its subsequent "verbalization, in the form of explication, of the understanding gained" (Hermans op.cit.: 130), the resulting text cannot be considered a mere impersonation of the original, accurately accounting for its sense and nothing else after the impossible separation of its form, encouraged by Schleiermacher (1814) and other classical authors. On the contrary, the source text's conditions of production require an internal, self-explanatory effort on the part of the mediator, which makes the outcome a metadiscursive product, that is, one "(...) responding to the mediator's individualised, intentional processing of the source discourse within an intertextual network of secondary discourses, both motivated by the original material and the mediator's own background and ideology.

In the light of this, it is my impression that the nature of the 'understanding' referred to by Hermans, as well as the mediator's pre-existing ideological and methodological premises, remain undertheorised in both Steiner's and the Manipulation School's proposals. Indeed, among the earlier theorists revisited by Hermans in this matter, an allegedly prominent

contributor, Chladenius, deems it as "not fundamentally problematic (!), provided both speaker and interpreter were led by common sense or 'reason'" (1742, paraphrased in Hermans op.cit.:130). As I read this statement, two important questions rise. What is the apparently universal and self-evident definition of 'common sense' and 'reason', justifying Chladenius' rigid expectations on the like-mindedness of speaker and interpreter? Although in an implicit manner, such assumptions still underlie most of the descriptive principles applied by current translators, including some feminist authors. Secondly, when the source material falls outside this universally accepted category of 'reasonability', be it (Angloamerican-/French-/Transnational-, etc.) feminist or otherwise, is the hermeneutic process to remain neutral and accurately account for what the original offers (already a considerable dilemma, but by no means the only one), or should 'unreasonability' be 'corrected'? This has been a crucial mistake on the part of many self-called "descriptivist" translators, prone to correcting or reorganizing the reality they allegedly intend to describe, as well as of many feminist translators, regardless of their belonging to hegemonic or marginalized epistemic systems.

As I shall explain in the next section, metadiscourses comprise multiple ideological products of conscious "metatextual" processing (Genette 1982, explained in more detail below). As a result, analysing theoretical texts from a metadiscursive perspective is central to unveil the politics at work in metatextual re-configurations aimed, precisely, at guiding new discursive productions. Thus, paying attention to the articulation of theoretical developments may help clarifying what the authentic 'hermeneutic motion' of patriarchal elites has consisted of. Despite his scarce attention to the hermeneutic subject, Steiner does find it appropriate to state the following: "There is a strain of femininity in the great interpreter, a submission, made active by intensity of response, to the creative presence. Like the poet, the master executant or critic can say *Je est un autre*." (1975: 79). Here, the author conceives of the hermeneutic subject as "feminized", its permeability toward new influences responding to a dependence on an external stimulus, a sort of "penetration of the foreign" (see Berman 1992: 213). However, the names he gives to the different phases of his "hermeneutic motion" (by definition, change and movement) are suspicious of an overtly masculine, radically performative process on the part of the subject: trust, aggression, embodiment, and restitution. How can this typically male sequencing of an appropriative act, a sort of metaphoric violation, hold up to a feminized and permeable image of the translator as a hermeneutic agent? What is more, how can this

metadiscursive violation, implying the passivity and penetrability of the feminine, be encouraged while complaining on the permanent underage, children-like status of women?

In most societies and throughout history, the status of women has been akin to that of children. Both groups are maintained in a condition of privileged inferiority. Both suffer obvious modes of exploitation—sexual, legal, economic—while benefiting from a mythology of special regard (...). Under sociological and psychological pressure, both minorities have developed internal codes of communication and defence (...)
(Steiner 1975: 9)

In the previous quote, Steiner argues in favour of women's "internal cod[e] of communication", a flourishing idea among the feminist ranks of linguists at the time. Still, an ineludible, gendered metaphoric, connecting attributes of activeness and passivity, masculinity and femininity with original and translation (Chamberlain 1988), is in place here, like in any other patriarchal act of metadiscursive appropriation, contributing, like Steiner himself does, to this "mythology of special regard". After all, erotic impulses are, in Steiner's surprisingly frank view, at the core of the patriarchally-dominated, penetrating dynamics of history which translations represent. The following paragraph is, in my view, worth quoting in length:

“Eros and language mesh at every point. Intercourse and discourse, copula and copulation, are sub-classes of the dominant fact of communication. They arise from the life-need of the ego to reach out and comprehend, in the two vital senses of 'understanding' and 'containment' of another human being. Sex is a profoundly semantic act. Like language, it is subject to the shaping force of social convention, rules of proceeding, and accumulated precedent. To speak and to make love is to enact a distinctive twofold universality: both forms of communication are universals of human physiology as well as of social evolution. It is likely that human sexuality and speech developed in close-knit reciprocity. Together they generate the history of self-consciousness, the process, presumably millenary and marked by innumerable regressions, whereby we have hammered out the notion of self and otherness. (...) Together they construe the grammar of being.” (Steiner 1975: 100)

Eros is, then, at the core of this 'hermeneutic motion', but such 'motion', the exclusive initiative in the subjection of alien texts, is not for everyone. It is not for feminists who, apparently, lack the proper "understanding", as he takes the time to explain in the preface to the second edition of *After Babel*: “Certain recent currents in feminism and ‘women-studies’² have brutalized or made trivial the complex, delicate fabric of evidence. So far as I can judge, the instigations to enquiry in this book have scarcely been followed up” (1992:16). Are we, then, to understand that Steiner's proposed *agression* and *embodiment* have nothing to

do with "brutaliz[ing] (...) the complex, delicate fabric of evidence"? What is more, by whom has this "fabric of evidence" been woven? He turns out to be "brutally" honest in explicating his very masculine and ideological "understanding" of the hermeneutic process (*trust, aggression, embodiment* and *restitution*, a narrative pattern just as good for sexual aggressions as for geopolitical invasions). He nevertheless contradicts himself, almost by inertia, as he tries to school readers on what the practice of a suddenly mild, sociolinguistic hermeneutics should ideally look like, careful enough to give non-ideological examples of sacrosanct texts from which, as the Manipulation School would recognise later, most individuals (professional readers included, despite Lefevere's elitist considerations), only hold an "image", conveniently preached by patriarchal critics, editors and other authorities (1993: 5). Is Steiner, then, teaching us to be servants of canonic literature while acknowledging the very opposite may be (and definitely is) done? Is hermeneutics a mere discursive resort to protect the Bible and other "impenetrable" texts (considerably "penetrated", however, by patriarchal rewriters) from unauthorised intrusions?

Indeed, I am convinced that, for most of recorded history, discursive exegesis has been conceived of and practiced by patriarchy as a sort of ping-pong match, where the potential variety of standpoints, identities and ideologies tolerated from the intervening authorial voices has presumably been under control, an attitude unfortunately shown by intra-patriarchal dissidence and mainstream feminism as soon as they have accessed metadiscursive prerogatives. It prevails in dominant epistemic metadiscourses, that is, discourses concerned with or alluding to other epistemic discourses, and therefore guiding their interpretation and use, even after what Hermans calls the "Romantic Turn", when theorists such as Schleiermacher (1768-1834) finally envisioned a connection between language and cultural forms of thought.

More importantly, according to Berman's thorough study on German Romantic translators (whose main task, importantly, was creative writing, philology and philosophy), translation was understood for the first time as a form of critique (see Berman 1984). It was this current's belief that critique and poetic form are inseparable, and that the implicit criticalness projected by every new text on previous compositions possibilitates the progress and regeneration of poetics, through a rhetorics which reminds of Benjamin's idea of translation as the "afterlife" or survival of the original (1968). Similarly to Steiner's aforementioned analogies with eros and sexuality, sexual desire is equally compared in Berman's own theories

with this *pulsion de traduire*, namely, "le désir de traduire qui constitue le traducteur comme traducteur, et que l'on peut désigner du terme freudien de *pulsion* puis qu'il a (...) quelque chose de "sexuel" au sense large du terme" (1984: 21). Once again, this metaphoric of reproduction, depicting decision-making processes as male, indicates that gendered relations act as the basic explanatory vector for any form of metadiscourse in patriarchal thought.

Anyhow, this notion of critique encouraged by German Romanticism is strongly derivative of the hermeneutic project undertaken by Schleiermacher, Schlegel, and others. In these authors' own words, critical praxis is conceived not as judgement, but as "understanding" and "explication"; as the extraction of symbolic meaning; and the location of the work in question "dans le système de toutes les oeuvres de l'artiste" (Schlegel in Berman 1984: 195), or "dans le Tout de l'art et la littérature" (Berman 1984: 195). Here, it is curious to see how Schlegel's words allude to each author's "system" of literary works, somehow proposing a small-scale prototype of the DTS formalist method, which, in my view, underscores the hermeneutics and criticism implicit in this intendedly objective methodology. Still, what "Tout" (poetry) and "artiste" (poet) mean for German romantic writers has apparently little to do with these "ouverture, dialogue, métissage et décentrement" which Berman seems to have found in such group of translators (1984: 16), specially under the influence of Kant's 'Copernican Turn' (1984: 192), when (patriarchal-)subjective critique becomes the main object of study. In my view, the ethnocentric nature of the Kantian methodology underlying the hermeneutics proposed by this current prevents this "experience of the foreign" from taking place, something which can easily be seen in the very quotes selected by Berman with the opposite intention:

Tout à fait indépendamment de nos propres productions, nous avons déjà atteint grâce à (...) la pleine appropriation de ce qui nous est étranger un degré de culture très élevé. Les autres nations apprendront bientôt l'allemand, parce qu'elles se rendront compte qu'ainsi elles pourront s'épargner dans un certaine mesure l'apprentissage de presque toutes les autres langues. De quelles autres langues, en effet, ne possédons-nous pas les meilleures oeuvres dans les plus éminentes traductions? (...)

La force d'une langue n'est pas de le repousser l'étranger, mais de le dévoré" (Goethe in Berman 1984: 26, my emphasis).

Je crois que nous sommes sur le point d'inventer le véritable art de la traduction poétique ; cette gloire était réservée aux Allemands" (Schlegel in Berman 1984: 26, my emphasis).

In the light of the previous statements, ethnocentrism, defined by Teo and Febraro as "(...) a basic Kantian form of intuition", playing a crucial "knowledge-producing role" in the Romantic period, appears to be the rationale behind the translation enterprise undertaken in Romantic Germany. Rather than "experienc[ing] the foreign", these writers seem to strive toward the very opposite: *the foreign being experienced through them*. Berman's *pulsion traduisante*, which apparently leads translators to think of foreign languages as "ontologically superior" than their mother tongues (1984: 22), is nowhere to be found here. Thus, however sensitive to (their own) subjectivity and individuality, Romantic as well as later Victorian and *fin-de-siècle* views still failed to leave aside previous conceptions regarding "correct" and "improvable" discourses, at a time when the attire of "exoticness", indistinctly projected by "Orientalism", South-European countries and past epochs (in one word, forms of society and culture considered barbaric and inferior), encouraged appropriative rewrites (historiography, translations, anthologies, etc.), explicitly marked by the moral, cultural, and creative superiority of the West. These were periods when edulcorated literary 'exoticness' was fashionable, but no unprocessed vision of the Other would be tolerated, cultural appropriation thus functioning as a bridge between literary production and consumption (Saglia 2002). Under this paradigm, then, of cultural re-processing as a form of controlled consumption, one must re-assess the Romantic concept of hermeneutics in search of more truthful views of its praxis, and consider whether identities and inequalities, which are never mentioned within the complexity of the process, have had a role in this 'unending task' of hermeneutics (Schleiermacher 1814), described as indeterministic despite the accuracy demanded of its outcome and the often political relevance of the source texts.

In, effect, Prickett (1996), who considers hermeneutics a historically circumscribed concept, therefore responding to a certain ideology, perceives an underlying exit route toward manipulation in Scheleirmacher's hermeneutic proposal. In his view, "hermeneutics' apparent promise of a way of overcoming the inevitable distancing and determinism engendered by historicism" actually hid the "clai[m] of an insight that seems in the last resort to be dangerously subjective and self constructed" (Prickett 1996: 32). In this light, a central claim for this thesis is that DTS itself and the translation historiography it produces may well be reconsidered as a form of hermeneutics, and that it arrogantly intends to make an objective and non-deterministic reception of translation praxis, while denying this ability to any and all rewriters throughout history. According to Lefevere, "literature is not a "deterministic" system (...). This type of misconception must be dismissed as irrelevant" (1993: 12). Leaving aside the authoritarianism

in this statement, consciously willing to discourage any potential 'rewritings' of his own discourse, is Lefevère not also trying to project an "image" of what descriptivism, TS and translation history should be, just like the manipulative agents he constantly discusses? If, as he himself tells us (1993:1), Edward Fitzgerald would rewrite Persian Literature on the grounds that "Persians (...) do want a little Art to shape them" (Fitzgerald in Lefevère 1993: 11), does he not think geographically and historically distant rewriters in need of this "little Art to shape" their own literary production? On which grounds is his analysis different from any rewriting he labels as "manipulative"? In this dissertation, as shall be further developed in the next section, both translations themselves and their peripheral, theoretical textual productions of any form (editing, anthologies, critiques, etc.) shall be dealt with as equally political and ideological outcomes of translational praxis.

This prerogative of systematization, whatever its form, is a product of the fights for sociolinguistic and cultural superiority which intra-patriarchal groups are used to leading. Such coveted superiority must have made an even more aggressive and appropriative hermeneutics, disguised in progressive metadiscourses like Steiner's, essential as the "universal rationality" of Western monologues was broken by the constitution of Europe's colonial Others and the resulting post-colonial outbursts. It is within such disruption of Western discursive dominance, timidly attempted by intra-patriarchal dissidence (men-to-men inequality, luckily recorded by history) and, of course, by women's (mostly unrecorded) initial attempts at pushing their gender based boundaries, that metadiscourses can be more easily understood as the means for the (necessarily) ideological (re-)production of knowledge and identities. These Western monologues, to start with, were already careful metadiscourses, (re-)producing unauthorised discursive subjectivities in self-interested and manipulative ways. And yet, despite protestantism,

the "discovery" of the New World and the foundation of the first nation-states, only on the arrival of the Contemporary Age did they seem to become truly unmanageable, when several analogies were found between colonization and Western social inequalities. Still an ethnocentric kind of thought (also in the later case of Anglo-American and Francophone Feminisms), frequently exploiting and rewriting anti-colonial discourses in the interest of Western social problematics, the awakening of the West's Others has proven a crucial first step for the discursive emancipation of marginalised groups within Western realms. The hypocrisy

implied in their appropriation of anti-colonialist discourses, however, is undeniable, and shall be examined in regard with the relations between Québec and Anglophone Canada.

2.1.2. Relevant Forms of Metadiscourse for (C)FTS

Even though its hypertext may be illusory, invisible behind the reproduction, translation may be categorized as 'forgerie,' and defined as 'imitation sur le regime serieux' (Godard 1989: 50).

So far, I have proceeded in an inductive way, that is, contextualising metadiscourses as the outcome of hermeneutic interventions, so that they may finally be singled out as the radical product of a carefully orchestrated discursive dynamics. In the previous section, a linguistic definition of this key notion has been provided in the means of unveiling its underlying linguistic mechanism. However, I believe that a more functional, sociological perspective is key to ensure its implementability, especially considering the lack of interest in the sort of collateral or secondary discourses generated by translational hermeneutics, which nevertheless connect translations with the historical period in which they were produced. How can metadiscourses be defined in the context of the present dissertation? As far as I am concerned, metadiscourses are the product of the hermeneutic procedures required to process human differences as embodied by discursive praxis. They amount to structured communicative utterances through which an individual or a group projects subjective or self-interested representations on 'foreign' traditions and ideologies, via the re-working of pre-existent discourses. This definition presupposes the implementation of a "politics of transmission", a term coined by feminist translologist Sherry Simon (1996) in order to reflect the particular standards guiding ideologically-motivated operations of reported discourse. In section 2.3., containing a critical survey of TS and its descriptive branch, this notion shall be confronted with the intendedly descriptive nature of translation norms and the intentionality of the theoretical and methodological metadiscourses brought about by the polysystem and manipulation theories.

Before describing the different forms of metadiscourse relevant for this thesis, I shall nevertheless return to my previous reference to "'foreign' traditions and ideologies", the adjective 'foreign' intendedly questioned by my use of inverted commas. As argued above, patriarchal translation hermeneutics is mostly concerned with the past, denying the possibility of interpretive difficulties among coetaneous discursive practices, and is certainly elitist and

exclusionary in its choice of the literature deserving exegetic efforts. Women and other marginalised groups share in patriarchal 'systems', as descriptivism calls them, a cruel paradox with geolinguistic foreigners: they are portrayed as 'Others', impenetrable, unintelligible, but no philosophical, linguistic or historical tool at patriarchy's disposal shall be employed to ensure an egalitarian and respectful "understanding" of these "internal codes of communication and defense" (Steiner 1975: 99) which they have developed as a result. As patriarchal theorists like to do, this very wording suggests bellicose confrontation, war being at the core of patriarchy's consolidation of their basic units of analysis: nation-states.

I would argue, in line with Cameron and Kulick (1998), that no such 'code' exists, and that the variety of discourses which a single individual, regardless of their gender, may adopt in each situation responds to the multiple edges of their identity. I nevertheless agree in that women's discourses, as well as those of other groups equally facing intra-national margination, have frequently been 'defensive'. They too have learned to manipulate dominant national discourses to channel their identities, their utterances becoming metadiscursive and appropriative in nature. It is my contention that nation-state limits in the 'mapping of literary systems (such was the trope used by descriptivists in their lay-out of the Translation Studies discipline) purposely hampers a proper identification of patriarchy's most immediate 'foreigners': women; from clearly understanding that 'foreignness must necessarily exist within the artificial geopolitical borders in order to ensure the social imbalance required for the exertion of patriarchal power; from discerning to what extent social progress has been achieved by challenging/translating/rewriting the discourses of the *statu-quo*, therefore creating subversive metadiscourses. As proposed by the Manipulation School, and later echoed by Canadian-Feminist translato-logists (see Godard 1989), no essential operative differences can be found between patriarchy-subversive translation and other kinds of patriarchy-subversive metadiscursiveness and, the later deeply indebted with the hermeneutic and interrelation mechanisms developed by translation.

Although she never employs the term, 'metadiscourse' is clearly analysed by Godard when she compares women's re-working of patriarchal discourse ("male discourse re-marked by the multiplicity of women's speech", 1989: 43) with literary strategies like irony, satire, and parody (Hutcheon 1986), or citation (Compagnon 1979), accounting for the heteroglossic condition of women (Godard op.cit.: 45) as second-rate citizens of their geopolitical entities.

Often, they feel more painstakingly alien to their respective nation's dominant discourses than geographically distant subjects who, despite speaking unknown languages, nevertheless conform to patriarchy's universal symbolic system and official discursive patterns. This is precisely why metadiscursiveness, including the multiple forms of critical reception employed in literary criticism (translating, editing, anthologising, etc.) need not take place in the framework of an interlinguistic operation, and may be, as patriarchy knows well, effectively coordinated across linguistic and cultural realms.

Thus, 'language in Feminist Translation Studies should ideally refer to any geopolitically circumscribed linguistic codes created by patriarchy, which invalidates the early-feminist linguistic notion of "women's language" (Lakoff 1972; Spender 1980) for its failure to dispose of patriarchy's sterile obsession with geopolitical borders. In contrast, feminist metadiscourse and translation are two forms of unauthorised, subversive reported "speech"². If traditional history, as I shall contend in a subsequent section, has so far been patriarchy's discursive prerogative for rewriting the past, translation is a privileged form of metadiscourse, at once possibilitating and embodying ideological, cultural and even personal dissidence through subversive reconfigurations of previous dominant discourses. In one word, and since power relations and identities are themselves discursive phenomena (Scott 1999), translations, their paratexts and related discussions provide the ultimate testimony for historiography, either of human progress or digress, of concord or dispute, of equality and imbalance.

Let us now go back to the metadiscursive typologies relevant for my analysis. From a translational point of view, metadiscursive reception is produced under multiple forms. but all of them, in my view, fall under into of the two overarching categories suggested by the definition reproduced in the previous section: either they constitute forms of discourse dealing with other discourses, previous, contemporary, or even future (Riffaterre 1980); or they act as an overriding discursive piece, guiding the use and interpretation of others under particular agendas. Therefore, either they consciously establish creative intertextual relations with other discourses, or they constitute a general discourse setting a series of parameters to process

² Among other limitations, Godard and most early feminist translatoologists deal with "women's speech" as something static and fixed, and sometimes reflect a certain degree of confusion in their treatment of the binomials "men's/women's" and "patriarchal-dominant/feminist" as almost synonymical (for a full discussion, see section 2.2.4.). However, contrary to their contemporary feminist linguists, they could tell the difference between "language" and "speech" when discussing the discursive nature of women's subjugation, using sociolinguistic notions like "heteroglossia".

others. Firstly, then, I shall dwell further on the different mechanisms formally attaching new texts to other discursive units, requiring, nevertheless, inferences of ideological nature to hypothesize the political and sociological consequences of their use. For this purpose, Genette's classification of metatextual forms (1982), together with some of Kristeva's semiotic proposals (1980), seems illustrative enough of the range of potential connections produced between different textual units under a feminist agency.

This by no means intends to be an apology of structuralism, whose limitations have been sufficiently stated by multiple authors so far. However, a certain amount of conceptual and methodological foundation seems to be missing from the impressionist descriptions of feminist translational operations. Despite the wide range of useful contributions made by different linguistic currents, including the work on intertextuality by worshipped feminist Julia Kristeva (1980), it is my claim that feminist translationalists have failed to consistently apply the principles and methodologies of potential use for their cause, besides a few theoretical incursions, the experimental writing of which makes them considerably abstract³. Textual rigour, as shall be discussed in our portrayal of (C)FTS, is hardly found in their analyses of allegedly feminist translation projects, not only on the failure to apply narratological and formalist concepts, but also on the neglect of Feminist Stylistics (Mills 1995); Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 2005); and even Gender-Based Corpus Analysis (Baker 2008), among other approaches. A panoramic survey of these fields shall be offered in my methodological section. For now, the type of hermeneutics defined above must be connected with a coherent set of mechanisms possibilitating its analysis and the subsequent inference of ideological operations.

As far as I am concerned, it is Genette who has most thoroughly classified *and exemplified* different forms of metatextuality. Despite his eminent focus on narratology and the lack of concern for translation procedures, I consider this author's taxonomy perfectly applicable to highly ideological interlinguistic projects like feminist translations. In his seminal 1982 work, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré*, he employs *transtextuality* as an overarching term for the series of phenomena operating between textual units, specifically defined as "the textual transcendence of the text", "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (1982: 1). For my part, I find no reasons to

³ Probably the clearest text in this sense is Barbara Godard's *Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation* (1989).

reject the use of this term, as long as it is understood in the *procedural* sense it was originally intended to bear. To me, *metadiscourse* is a preferred term to designate a textual *product* exhibiting a *consistent use* of the mechanisms he describes as *transtextual*, with the explicit aim of an ideological re-articulation of one or more alien pieces of discourse. Thus, the isolated or uncoordinated presence of one or more of such mechanisms may not suffice to consider the textual unit under analysis a *metadiscourse*. The reason for this claim shall be progressively clarified with the presentation of Genette's five modes of transtextual relations.

The first mode he discusses is, in effect, *intertextuality*, the credit for which he grants to Kristeva (1969), who in turn took Bakhtin's work as a point of departure. In Genette's view, this mechanism can be described as "a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts (...), eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another" (1982: 1-2). As one may understand, the sole presence of this mechanism does not amount to a consistent intent of manipulation or adaptation of an entire product. Thus, books like Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) or Steinbeck's *East of Eden* (1952) constitute not an "exercise" of intertextuality, but truly metadiscursive products, exhibiting one or more metatextual strategies, from which intertextuality might stand out. Among the multiple sub-categories considered by Genette within this mechanism, quoting is deemed as the most common one, proving that its mere presence, although always ideological or subjective to some extent, is by no means powerful enough to detect manipulation. Other secondary forms are plagiarism, "undeclared but still real borrowing" (1982: 2); and allusion, "an enunciation whose full meaning presupposes the perception of a relationship between it another text, to which it necessarily refers by some inflections that would otherwise remain unintelligible". Additionally, pastiche and parody are considered in another of Genette's work, *Paratexts* (1997).

Interestingly enough, as with general intertextuality, none of these strategies shall necessarily turn a text into an ideological rewrite by themselves, and therefore influence it on a macrotextual level. As for the forms under which intertextuality may take place, Fitzsimmons' taxonomy (2013), among others, discusses three: obligatory, namely essential to the understanding of the *hypertext* (Genette 1982) or supporting text; optional, or non-essential to the *hypertext*; and accidental, or produced by the reader on the basis of his/her own background, identity, and supported ideologies. To this basic conventional classification, some feminist literary critics have made an interesting contribution. In her review of intertextuality

as a specific operation in Feminist-inspired writing, Québécois scholar Evelyne Voldeng, for instance, makes a very useful distinction between general, restricted, external, and internal intertextuality (1987: 52). General intertextuality, then, refers to relationships between texts with different authors; restricted intertextuality accounts for the connections between texts of the same author; external intertextuality implies a text-to-text connection; and internal intertextuality is restricted to one textual unit, accounting for cross-references among its different parts.

The second mechanism explained by Genette is the paratext. Paratextual operations are of utmost importance for translated products, and more specifically for feminist ones, its most extended classification of translation strategies being essentially concerned with paratextual spaces like prefaces and footnotes (see Flotow 1991). Indeed, the importance theoretically given to these mechanisms by Canadian Feminist translators is such that, in her translation of Nicole Brassard's novel *Amantes (Lovers)*, (1986), Godard states the following: "One could write a history of theories of translation, a history of the relationships between author and translator, indeed between author and reader, by writing a history of the preface as genre" (1986: 7). It remains to be seen, and this constitutes one of the main concerns of this thesis, whether Godard's and other theorists' good intentions result in truly combative paratextual material in their translations. As for Genette's exploitation of the different sub-modes of paratextuality, elements like the title, subtitle, pre/postfaces, forewords, notes, illustrations and even book covers are crucially signaled as spaces for potential manipulation, underscoring the misleading secondariness of such elements in patriarchal epistemology. Once again, as shall be discussed further in this thesis, for Canadian feminist translato-logists, none of them is dispensable for an accurate analysis, although their practical outcome may suggest the opposite in some cases.

The other three elements in Genette's depiction of transtextuality, metatextuality, architextuality, and hypertextuality, shall be described together here on the grounds of their broader nature, affecting matters of global ideology and the adscription or rejection of pre-existing genres, among others. Metatextuality, to start off, is defined as a sort of "'commentary'. It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it. (...) This is the *critical* relationship par excellence" (1982: 4) I certainly agree with the representativeness of this particular mechanism. It constitutes the microtextual equivalent of the macrotextual metadiscourses

established by translated products and translation-related discussions, and reflects the tacitness of the historical, political and identitarian critiques simultaneously contained in them. Metatextuality, though limited to particular connections within texts, illustrates on a smaller scale the synthetic critical prowess of any translation metadiscourse. Architextuality, for its part, is understood as " (...) a relationship (...) of taxonomic nature", silently underscoring the genre or or basic text type to which the text unit, for multiple reasons, might be intendedly said to belong. Titles or subtitles including analytic references like "a novel" or "poems", then, are the result of this procedure.

As for its potentially ideological or manipulative dimension, I would consider architextuality essential for feminist literary theory in general, and for feminist translation in particular, on the grounds of the subversion of canonical generic conventions often suggested or undertaken in these two fields. Particularly successful appropriations of patriarchal genres have concerned the novel (Armstrong 2006) and some particular forms thereof, like science fiction narratives or crime fiction (Coward and Semple 1989). However, another potentially transformative use of architextuality, as shall be discussed in further sections, is the revaluation of those genres traditionally despised by patriarchy. Indeed, the novel and its multiple sub-forms have fallen into this category for centuries, and were considered "female" generic forms (3.1.7.). Other less theorised examples range from erotic literature to personal diaries, on the grounds of the necessary upgrading of women's private experiences as political, in the absence of recorded public interventions. The role of translation here, and in particular of feminist-oriented translation agencies, is that of profiting from the great opportunity which translation offers in order to modify each system's fossilised generic forms, forms under which, frequently, only patriarchy is fully comfortable with. I agree with Monzó (2002) in that translative in-betweenness produces what she calls "transgenres": generic forms exhibiting patterns which cannot be assimilated to any of the preexisting genres in either the source or the target systems. It is, thus, through translation that women can truly explore the sort of novel generic structures which would best fit their agenda.

Finally, hypertext is perhaps the simplest concept of all: "any text derived from a previous text either through simple transformation, which I shall simply call from now on *transformation*, or through indirect transformation, which I shall label *imitation*". This is probably the closest notion to my preferred metadiscursiveness. However, it is Genette's perspective what I would like to deviate from. He is mainly concerned with textual units and

the connections between them, but does not delve into the impact of metatextual relationships in the resulting discursive mechanisms, or therefore try to establish the intersection between ideological stances and discourse in "second-degree" products. Ideology, identity and ethics, in short, are unfortunately missing from a promising analysis which could otherwise provide extremely eloquent insight, for once, on the materialities of hermeneutics. Despite this claim, which shall be dwelled on in my methodology section, I would like to underscore the practical difference posed by Genette between *transformation* and *imitation* in the previous definition. In effect, according to Robinson, *imitation* has come to mean "slavish copying, mimicking and miming" (1998: 111) in official (therefore patriarchal) epistemic circuits.

The apparent twist of fate, "a strange linguistic history", he claims to be behind its meaning in translation theory, "virtually synonymous with free translation" (op.cit.: 111), may nevertheless not be as casual, indeed according to Robinson's own examples, accounting from this deviational meaning in ancient Roman oratory, which would consider any act of speech as an update, a new translation of previously uttered linguistic material (op.cit.: 112). Once again in this thesis must one address the ambiguity produced by statements avoiding to acknowledge the ideology inflected in metadiscursive material, in this case of theoretical nature. Historizing patriarchal thought without willing to expose its manipulative means usually results, like here, in impossible excuses like "a strange linguistic history", pretending to disguise something created by patriarchal elites (linguistic history or history of any kind) as imposed or given, irrefutable. It would certainly be easier to state that a series of contradictory metadiscourses coexist in written history, simply because some men were engaged in reporting the truth while others were fairly busy concealing it. Assuming both functions in one shows a little good shall, but not enough. Imitation is an appropriative act, yet of *tacit* nature, and constitutes patriarchy's main strategy for discursive reception. Transformation, as employed by feminists and other marginalized groups, entails exactly the same mechanisms passed down by patriarchal elites throughout history, only in an explicit and non-apologetical way, which constitutes the main source of critique toward feminist positions (see Arrojo 1994).

In this light, and after what has been intimated in the previous section, I am inclined to consider translated texts in themselves as forms of ideological metadiscourse. These are mainly concerned with their source text, but at the same time allude to a multiplicity of other sources, either from the original or the target systems. This, understandably, implies a previous processing of the networks of literary and epistemic citation generated by the original author,

in other words, a *hermeneutic process*. The mediator's response to the transtextual configuration (s)he has perceived in the original, as well as his/her potential insertion of the translated text within other networks of citation, must sometimes be inferred through the traces of subjectiveness and ideology tensioning and 'foreignising' the original composition. Occasionally, nevertheless, the mediator's position regarding the 'normative' socio-political, literary and epistemic framework of both the original and the target systems may be explicitly reflected, as well as the particular "politics of transmission" (Simon 1996) endorsed.

This conclusion has been reached on the grounds of several research lines, some of them well established, and others, to my best knowledge, unexplored or undertheorised so far. A crucial point of departure for the implementation of this conceptual proposal may be found in Meschonnic's depiction of the source text as undetachable from the sociolinguistic and textual networks tying it to its original context of production: "Traduire un texte n'est pas traduire de la langue, mais traduire un texte dans sa langue, qui est texte par sa langue, la langue étant elle-même par le texte" (Meschonnic 1972: 312). This sort of conviction would lead Meschonnic, in later works, to propose discourse analysis as the appropriate framework to account for the also discursive ties linking the original text to a certain enunciative context. Such context, labeled as "enunciative margin" by Canadian scholar Barbara Folkart, was first defined by her as the intersection between the author's willingness to communicate and the source system's range of available means possibilitating the enunciation of his/her message (1991: 446). Under a translational perspective, this principle also implies the existence of a "re-enunciative margin", which justifies Folkart's understanding of translations as forms of "reported discourse" (1991: 23).

In this previous formal description, which shall be retaken and supplemented in our methodological section, the centrality of discourse allows, in effect, for the exploration of the historical value of translation. In Meschonnic's own words, "le problème du traducteur est de penser son travail comme discours, comme activité d'un sujet historique, pas du tout transparent" (Meschonnic 1986 : 36). Indeed, the level of intricacy of politics, identities, and social structuring within translated products is such that makes them metadiscourses of history, historiographic literature, and literary historiography at once. In reaching this conclusion I have found considerable support on reading Paul St-Pierre's views in "Translation as a discourse of history" (1993). Here, it is St-Pierre's contention that, because translation has been considered "a mere mirror image of its

object" (1993: 63), the status of "discourse" has been systematically denied to it, despite its usual capacities of "control" and "selection" of foreign cultural and political capital through other discursive pieces under what he calls the "limits on translation" (tantamount, I am afraid, to translation norms in the Polysystem theories, despite the author's apparent willingness to be identified with such school). It is my intuition, however, that his choice of the term "discourse" may be inaccurate.

A translated text can only be "a discourse of history" when it amounts to "a formal discussion of a topic [in this case, history] in speech or writing" (OED), "discourse" meaning then something different from the linguistic term he seems to refer to in certain passages. In French, St-Pierre's mother tongue, "discourse" can mean as well "écrit didactique traitant d'un sujet précis", or "Développement oratoire sur un thème déterminé, conduit d'une manière méthodique, adressé à un auditoire" (*Trésor de la Langue Française Informatisé*). By 1993, textual linguistics was sufficiently established within TS for a debate on the autonomous and discursive status of translated texts to be unnecessary. Because St-Pierre discusses particular examples of how historical facts have been reflected by, and shaped through translation, in my view he means to address the metadiscursive nature of translated texts in regard with history. History is too, as I shall discuss in the following section, "a speech-act, a selective use of the past tense" (Steiner 1975: 83). If we translatoologists, like the vast majority of historians after the so-called "Linguistic turn" (see Canning 1994), are to consider history a discursive product, mostly developed by those in possession of a voice (patriarchal elites) till recently; and if we agree with St-Pierre (1990; 1993) and others (see Pym 2014) in that translation has reflected and reinforced history and its politics in crucial ways, then we must be prepared to assume that translated texts are, in a powerful sense, metadiscourses of history: forms of discourse concerned with or alluding to, among others, historical discourses.

As this metadiscursive nature suggests, the relevant manifestations of the mediator's hermeneutic efforts and politics of transmission may be found in places other than the translated text itself. Indeed, the most explicit ones tend to be in peripheral, paratextual spaces. As a result, translational by-products and other related textual operations, both within and outside the main body of a translated text, must be carefully examined as the metadiscursive products they are, illustrating the particulars of the hermeneutic procedure of which such text is a result. Regarding translational by-products, usually accompanying translated texts, procedures such as prefacing, footnoting, (explicit and concealed) supplementations,

adaptations of different degrees and an overall translator visibility have been in place throughout history. The first manifestations of such strategies date back to the Middle Ages, a period where the reception of past literary traditions was crucial for ideological, religious and political cohesion (see section 2.4.3.). Curiously enough, the aforementioned feminist strategies, proposed in a surprisingly prescriptive way by Canadian feminist translatoologists (Flotow 1991; Massardier-Kenney 1997; Maier 1998; Wallmach 2006. See Yu 2016: 21ff for a thorough discussion), are strikingly similar to those employed during such golden age for patriarchy's translational manipulation (Delisle 1993), and perhaps respond to a tacit study into the empowered attitudes of past translators.

Regarding the array of collateral metadiscourses generated by translation, Lefevere, who in effect considers translating a sort of "rewriting", and the main strategy for the "manipulation of literary fame" (1993), extends such consideration to other metadiscursive operations, as already mentioned, like historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing (p. 9). All of these procedures are described as equally capable of "project[ing] an image of an author and/or a (series of) work(s) in another culture" (Lefevere, op.cit.: 9). In a similar fashion, but from a broader and more effective approach, Bastin vindicates the importance of "'minor', or grey, literature such as the press, pamphlets, columns, correspondence, and even graffiti. To this must be added 'oraliture', tertulias, songs, theatrical performances, and other forms of oral expression" (2006: 121). Such contention, stemmed from Bastin's thorough study of Translation History in Latin America, is supported by the crucial conviction that "history must become non evenemential" (therefore not limited to the translation of the books, treatises, charters, and declarations linked to the milestones patriarchal history) and reinforced by the fact that "...translation has been too long considered a non-event, and thus unworthy of interest" (op. cit.: 121). Throughout this thesis, this and Bastin's other recommendations shall be further developed and applied to the feminist historization of Canadian Feminist translation I am undertaking here. Such texts, as I have indicated at the beginning of this section, constitute the crucial anchorage devices between the translated texts and their frameworks of production, explicating their traits and helping to historize them. As far as I am concerned, no school or current so far, including the feminist ones, has ever addressed such metadiscourses consistently.

Finally, and despite no author, to my best knowledge, has explicitly proposed its consideration, theoretical and instructive texts on translation appear to be relevant metadiscourses in the second sense underscored by my initial definition of the term, namely, that of overarching discourses aimed at setting the standards for the use and interpretation of others. In this light, traditional, translation-related metadiscourses constitute a good source for both spotting patriarchy's metadiscursive operations and contesting them from feminist positions. In this thesis, I am to deal with such theoretical and instructive products from three pairs of oppositional poles, two central and one secondary. First, I shall be paying attention to the *continuum* (indeed I am convinced of the productiveness of this continuity) between gender and translation-related metadiscourses from other, sometimes long-established disciplines and translation-specific ones. Among the long-established disciplines relevant for my purpose, I shall be focusing on feminist history (including that of Women's/Gender Studies), feminist literary criticism, and feminist linguistics as the cornerstones of my analysis. Secondly, already within the Translation Studies realm, I shall depart from the series of mainstream theoretical and instructive discourses concerned with, or aimed at, among other aspects, the historicisation of translation from different ideological stances. Here, I am mainly referring to the Polysystem and Manipulation theories, but also to other relevant proposals from unrelated scholars and currents.

In subsequent sections of this thesis, these two axes (well-established/classical disciplines-- Translation Studies and Mainstream Translation Studies--(Canadian)Feminist Translation Studies), shall be subjected to a secondary axis, which I shall could be defined as the "Canadian factor"⁴, in order to reflect the prominent contributions made by this country in more than one sense to the theoretical and methodological foundations of Gender/Women's Studies, Feminism, and Translation. In effect, if I am to study the Canadian polysystem(s) in order to account for the traits and positioning of the Canadian-Feminist Translation current, the particular, Canadian and Québec-based metadiscourses bearing relevant connections with it are expected to be fairly helpful. In the case of the first axis, some feminist currents of Canadian social history have extensively contributed in the development of methodological and epistemic tools for feminist enquiry. The experience of Canadian literary and translation critics, notably more exposed to bilingualism, diglossia and other relevant factors for this thesis, as

⁴ This term was first employed by Luise Von Flotow in a 2006 paper entitled "Feminist Translation: The Canadian Factor".

well as to the difficulties they have referred for the visibilisation of a specifically Canadian Literature (see Sugars 2016: 2ff) must be analysed in order to obtain a "systemic" diagnosis of our particular object of interest. Finally, in regard with the Translation Studies field, Canada is a bilingual country with a complex colonial past, responsible for some of the great initiatives and challenges that Translation Studies is (or should be) concerned with. It relies on one of the eldest governmental translation institutions, the Translation Bureau/Bureau de la traduction, as well as on some of the most prestigious translation and interpreting university programs. Its prominent contribution to Translation Studies has led some scholars to coin the term 'Canadian Translation Studies' (Karpinski 2015: 23), to refer to the multiple lines of research tackled by Canadian translators. In particular, besides its pioneering role in Feminist Translation Studies, which is the main issue in this dissertation, it has played a leading part in Translation History, not only by illustrating its main methodological and ideological limitations (see Delisle and Woodsworth 1995; Bastin and Bandia 2006, etc.), but also by placing the translation at the centre of their efforts, with its taste for Translators' "portraits" (Delisle 1999; Delisle 2002; Whitfield 2006).

2.2. Feminist History: Insights on Gender, Discourse, and Experience

"Because I learned about post-structuralism largely from literary scholars, I also met problems inevitable for those who wander into new fields. These were problems of language and translation, of the adaptability of reigning disciplinary paradigms, and of the significance--if any--of supposed oppositions between the methods and projects of history and literature. I experienced these problems not only as abstract issues but acutely as questions of professional and political identity." (Scott, 1999: 1)

This section intends to underscore a series of connections, triggered by my previous assertions on the discursive character of ideologies and identities, and therefore history, relevant for the understanding of my methodological and conceptual foundations. Its ultimate aim, thus, once such discursivity has been acknowledged, is to provide a clarification on the central role played by translation in the ideological interpretation of history. At the same time, it shall explore the extent to which feminist history may become a common ground for the different feminist currents pushing from each discipline. A space where all feminist epistemologies may fruitfully converge. According to Burton, "(...) feminist practitioners across a variety of disciplines have been invoking history as an important grounding for both feminist politics and feminist theory" (1992: 25).

Today, the interests of both mainstream and Feminist Translation Studies seem to demand more than ever benefiting from this common ground found by feminism in history, as well as contributing to it with the determining impact of translation, the form of ideological metadiscourse operating the gears of history. In Scott's words, "the discipline of history, through its practices, produces (rather than gathers or reflects) knowledge about the past generally and, inevitably, about sexual difference (...)", thus "operat[ing] as a particular kind of cultural institution endorsing and announcing constructions of gender" (1999: 9). As the ultimate perspective to politics, "gender" was first proposed by Scott as a historical, analytic category, in the means of accounting for its discursive evolution through historiographical sources. A review of her perspective essentially, and additionally of other complementary sources, could suggest appropriate methodologies and some notional basis for a truly sociohistorical, descriptive study of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies. An immediate goal here, thus, is to explain why and how history is dealt with from a discursive perspective, and therefore why the articulation of historiographical discourses makes a crucial difference in the reception of past identities and the construction of contemporary and future ones.

Secondly, a brief summary of the work done so far in the intersection of gender and history shall be offered, as well as the main challenges it faces precisely because of its discursive nature. Here, I would like to dwell on the complexity of the historical treatment of the notions of 'womanhood' and 'gender', regarding which feminist historians are methodologically splitted between essentialism and a descriptive approach of differences (see Wallach Scott 1996). In third, I shall dwell on Scott's preference for the notion of "Gender" as a historical analytic category, and connect it, in line with Canning's view (1994), with the notions of experience, agency, and subjectivity, more appropriate, in my view, to depict the mostly intimate, private nature of female past accounts. As I have already suggested, and shall further illustrate below, gender should be the main analytic vector over any other sociopolitical, sociocultural, and socioeconomic dimensions of identity and ideology, sustaining through metaphoric devices the discursive manifestations of power structures.

Finally, I shall make a case for the conceptual/methodological synergies between translational praxis and the historical and discursive evolution of identities and ideologies in general, and of gender identities and ideologies in particular. Consequently, I shall contend that Translation History is a particular form of discourse underpinned by a certain politics of transmission (Simon 1996), and a powerful tool for knowledge mediation and the construction

of epistemological genealogies. This somehow introductory perspective shall be complemented with a subsequent section departing from the standpoint of Translation Studies, and particularly the descriptive approaches.

2.2.1. Discourse as the (Re-)Elaboration of Historical "Truth"

My perception and use of metadiscourse as the manifestation of progress or digress through citation and reference can hardly be discussed from a literary perspective without due attention to the contributions of feminist historians. Within the proposals of the feminist linguists and translatoologists central to this thesis, these and other crucial sources merely appear, if they do at all, as proof of an impressive scholarly background, but hardly ever make it to the kind of notional and methodological debates I would like to bring up here. In line with the deductive structure I have proposed above, this section should ideally act as the cornerstone of a subsequent discussion on the new functions and methods with which translation history could contribute the feminist (translation) arena. For this purpose, my immediate focus shall be placed on how post-structuralism reframed the historiographical realm through notions of discourse, authorship, and subjectivity.

The evolution of history in the last decades is key to understand how epistemological pressure is made from the mainstream structures of a discipline to the most forward-looking ones. By definition, gender-centered currents usually fall into this category, although their approaches vary considerably and not every gender-informed strand, as I shall discuss below, may be considered progressive just for the sake of granting attention to the "female sphere". The important point here, nevertheless, is that any of the metadiscourses generated within a discipline, be it long established, like history, or relatively new, like Translation Studies, on the emergence (or cross disciplinary transmission) of revolutionary paradigms, is that of acting as an overarching, normative framework, tacitly repressing "extreme" ideologies, while granting the indispensable concessions that irrevocable changes imply for survival. Thus, despite the generalized assumption that major texts by Derrida, Foucault and Lacan had enough epistemic weight to penetrate history's fossilized methodologies, Canning contends that it was indeed feminist alignments among social historians, and in particular French feminist currents, that encouraged the use of deconstructivist methodologies and approaches since the 70s. This was more than a decade before the epistemological authorities of the field came to terms with the intra-patriarchal dissent triggered by post-structuralism (1994: 370), usually easier to

process than feminist positions. In this context, the political function of such texts is underscored, besides that of the archival material traditionally constituting the basis of descriptive approaches to the past.

It is these operational structures that a discursive approach to history intends to question. In effect, the times of "great epistemological turmoil" to which Scott refers as the result of post structuralist imports from literary theory (1999: 41) were experienced by dominant (patriarchal) epistemologies as what Stone has called a "crisis of self-confidence" (1991, cited in Canning 1994: 370). The choice of words here is in itself highly revealing in that, having had no part in writing and analyzing official history, the self-confidence of thus-far silenced subjects could by no means be put at a crossroads by this radical shift. Canning, for her part, understands this "epistemological crisis" (1994: 370) as resulting from what historians have called the "linguistic turn":

"In the field of history the term linguistic turn denotes the historical analysis of representation as opposed to the pursuit of a discernible, retrievable historical "reality". (...) Rather than simply reflecting social reality or historical context, language is seen instead as constituting historical events and human consciousness." (Canning 1994: 369- 370)

In this light, the discursive, and therefore political nature of the so-far sacrosanct material held in patriarchal archives is once and for all acknowledged, and its intrinsic subjectivity described as a product of a certain *politics* at work, that is, "the play of force involved in any society's construction and implementation of meanings (...)", but also, importantly, "the ways [in which the] challenges [posed for normative social definitions] are met" (Scott 1999: 5). Indeed, in line with an overall preoccupation for the dominant ideology of the discipline, Scott problematizes scholarly positions like herself as by no means neutral, pairing the importance attached to both "questions of professional and political identity" (1999: 1). In my view, albeit far from formulating a sort of disciplinary ethics, a term absent from her theory, this statement may lay the foundations to explore how political and professional identities intersect in apparently descriptivist research like the one proposed in this thesis. This, however, does not imply the absolute disposal of archival data. Feminist historians grant that acknowledging subject mediation in accounts of the past does not entail abandoning historical documentary sources, but rather reflecting on how they have traditionally been processed and coming up with more productive methodologies to deal with them (Scott 1999: 42).

In my view, this reflection accurately synthesises various aspects crucial to the methodological proposal I would like to implement here. First, it underscores, albeit without mentioning the post-structuralist work employed in many other instances, the different procedural layers implied by a discourse analysis of history, most of which entail slight variations from Foucault's now classical "archaeology", "genealogy", and "ethics" (Foucault 1969). It is my contention that taking these three phases as a starting point could clarify not only the strictly referential contribution of written sources from the past (archaeology), but also how scholarly agencies, just like the ones at work in those same sources, work their way from this archaeological layer to a more sophisticated, ethical one, through a process of constant and subjective interconnection, that is, of transtextual genealogy. As far as I see it, genealogy is a metaphorical image for the kind of metadiscursive, but also transdisciplinary work required to join the dots of textual manifestations of the past.

Transdisciplinarity turns out to be especially meaningful for translation history. Scholars on both sides (historians, on the one hand, and translato-logists/literary theorists, on the other) seem to acknowledge the importance of the criss-crossed operational patterns motivated by post structuralist thought. Some conciliatory perspectives may be observed from both angles. Christopher Rundle, for instance, has worked extensively to prove that any historiographical study would be incomplete without due attention to the translational praxis generated in the context under analysis (2012). As Polysystem theorists have pointed out (see Even-Zohar 1972), although not specifically through this term, translated texts are certainly marked by the aforementioned "politics of transmission" (Simon 1996), where translation, as well as other forms of discursive re-processing, serves overarching cultural and ideological purposes. If something should be clear at this point, after a certain consolidation of Descriptivist Translation Studies, is that translations are the "melting pot" of history, and still, the lack of historical rigour of these approaches, generally considered the departing point of Translation History, is blatant. Yet, I am convinced of a higher permeability of Translation Studies and Literary Theory toward historical interests than vice-versa.

Perhaps methodologically improvable, they have nonetheless proven more persistent than that of History toward the former or, for that purpose, Critical Discourse Studies (see section 2.5.). Somehow, I appreciate in Canning's account of the so-called "Linguistic Turn" (1994) a certain anxiety for contending the pioneering role of literary theory in post-structuralism. As I have indicated before, she believes that feminist historians were challenging

dominant historiographical discourses long before post-structuralism landed on her discipline. However, since the 70s (surely before that decade), feminists have been challenging the dominant discourses of most academic disciplines with their mere intellectual presence. If what Canning intends to underscore is the obscuring of feminist achievement on its symbiosis with post-structuralism, a mostly male movement, generating discomfort among Anglo American feminisms (see Showalter 1981: 181), I should definitely agree with her remarks. However, I see no reason to emphasise that the century-long discursive disruption generated by feminists is not so greatly indebted to Derrida, Foucault and Lacan. What is more: this is the kind of emphasis that places us in constant competition with patriarchal epistemologies, and should definitely be avoided.

That said, the lack of interest for literary theory is, as far as I can tell, generalized, and very limiting for the aims of the feminist history advocated by this and other authors. The most obvious manifestation of such limitations can be observed in Scott's pioneering work on the discursiveness of historical categories of analysis such as gender and class (1999). Her theoretical background is certainly astonishing, mainly drawn from post-structuralism. Nevertheless, considering the amount of explanations she gives, this somehow is expected to not sit well with her main audience, composed by social historians (1999: 4). What does seem problematic to me is the superficial, sometimes inaccurate use of vague linguistic terms she deploys, particularly in her essay "Language and Working-Class History" (1999). Here, she departs from a previous paper on the "languages of class" by Stedman Jones (1983). Here, it is already evident that Jones' use of the term *language* is quite inaccurate, but, as the following quote shows, Scott does not seem to understand its meaning either: "Not only was the Chartist language setting out the terms of a political coalition, but it worked to establish the similarity or comparability of different social groups" (1999: 62). In the same line, the following statement is presented on the previous page: "The issue of discursive field(s) should enter the analysis. It might be more useful to place Chartism in a multidimensional field than to argue only for a linear continuity with radicalism" (1999: 61).

Here, I am left to wonder what she means by "discursive field(s)". It is my belief that she has a permanent confusion between conceptual and terminological networks, and that terminology, discourse, and language are somehow diffuse notions in her thought. Yet, she is not the only one. In the definition of "Linguistic Turn" I have quoted above, Canning treats "language" as a synonym for "discourse", and in turn uses "discourse", as Scott probably does,

mainly in the conventional sense of "a formal discussion of a topic in speech or writing" (*OED*), alternating the overarching singular "discourse" with the specific, plural "discourses". In another example, one is generally able to understand what Scott means: "This kind of reasoning misses the point, for it focuses on the literal content of words instead of on the way meaning was constructed" (1999: 62). Still, no further development is offered in this sense. Similarly, in the same paper quoted above, Canning argues for the need to confront "factual" with "rhetorical" aspects of discourse in order to detect the politics at work in it (1994: 383). This somehow simplistic view seems to demand a potential symbiosis with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar 2005), which I intend to apply as part of my methodology for this thesis (see section 2.5.).

To conclude, I shall return to my main claim in regard with the feminist historical approach, namely the need to introduce a thorough, truly discursive study, among other texts, of *translated texts*. The politics discussed by Scott in the evolution of notions as "gender" can hardly be regarded as a series of isolated processes of signification, alien to the constant intellectual and cultural exchanges among literary systems. In this sense, Canning's acknowledgement of a structured interconnection among variously located, gender-relevant discourses is fairly explanatory:

Although located in discrete social spaces, structured by definite languages, and implementing distinct rhetorical strategies, these discourses were nonetheless ordered by what Denise Riley terms "webs of cross-references" [1988: 141]. Singular discourses converged to form a discursive domain as each sought to resolve the growing discrepancy between the continued expansion of the female workforce and dominant notions about the character of the sexes. (Canning 1994: 381)

Here, both Canning and Riley prove to understand, albeit intuitively, how patriarchal hermeneutics and epistemology work. Despite their lack of more appropriate terminology, which could be solved by truly welcoming the expertise of literary critics and linguists, they seem to understand the functioning of patriarchy's controlled reception of subversive discourses. Similarly, they seem to have identified a "converge[nce] to form a discursive domain", clearly favouring patriarchal power structures and holding up the generation of divergent discourses. What I fail to understand is the lack of interest to study this "web of cross-references" from a transnational scale. Systemic translation approaches could prove very useful here, and would certainly offer the intercultural comparisons required to support the claims of feminist history.

Thus, the orchestration of "transtextual" strategies (Genette 1982) within metadiscursive operations by dominant elites should be analyzed, both inter- and intra-linguistically, as well as more recent attempts by marginalized groups, subverting dominant pieces of discourse under parodic and other critical systems. Therefore, it is certainly disconcerting to see how translations have hardly ever been tackled by feminist historiographical studies, and how the "politics of transmission" referred to by feminist translatoologists does not seem to preoccupy feminist historians in their task. As Scott insists, the goal of feminist history is "(...) to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change" (1999: 29). This underscores the belief that "(...) all institutions employ some divisions of labor (...) (even if such divisions exclude one sex or the other)", and that "references to the body often legitimize the forms institutions take" (Scott 1999: 6). Therefore, "(...) gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott 1999: 42), which leads us to "invok[e] and contes[t] [it] as part of many kinds of struggles for power" (1999: 6), across cultures and literary systems. By virtue of this shall to describe the different forms under which gender operates across cultures, the relevance of translated texts for this aim may not be denied, both as an object of descriptive, diachronic study in itself and as a category of analysis for other forms of repression. It should be dissected more persistently from a historical perspective.

2.2.2. Methodological Insights and Epistemic Lessons of Feminist History

"Each discipline defines its own expertise through a contrast with the other's objects of inquiry and methods of interpretation. Each discipline also resolves the ambiguities of its own project by using the other as a foil" (Scott 1999: 8)

The methodological insights and epistemic lessons offered by Feminist History after the post structuralist turn could be very helpful for both Gender/Women's Studies and Feminist Translation Studies. Its main focus of attention, consequently are the procedures, rather than the vitiated, resulting historiographical products, by which hierarchies of gender are established and validated. In Scott's view, this "emphasis on how suggests a study of processes, not of origins, of multiple rather than single causes, of rhetoric or discourse rather than ideology or consciousness" (Scott 1999: 4). In this section, I intend to survey the main lines of questioning and reflection of the Feminist historiographical project in the means of improving my own

methodology for a Feminist Translation History under four different categories. First, attention shall be paid to the implications of social history as a matrix-discipline of feminist history, for the development of a feminist system of historiographical enquiry. Secondly, I would like to survey the overall impact of post-structuralism in feminist-informed historiography. Post-structuralist thought is constantly quoted by feminists across fields, and its impact in Canadian Feminist Translation Studies is by no means minor, but as any other form of patriarchally approved epistemology, its relationship with feminism is, to a certain degree, conflicted. Third and final, I would like to delve into the her-story proposal. Pioneering as it has been in the constitution of women's history, it understandably provides Scott's with a point of departure to urge for a shift in the object of study of feminist history from "women" to "gender" (since this remains considerably implicit in Scott's own work, I suggest Capern 2008: 1-2, or Canning 1994 as clarifying, outsider views on her significant contributions).

Social History as the Matrix Discipline of Feminist History

A first interrogation addressed by feminist historians revolves around the methodological and notional basis provided by social history, indeed the matrix of feminist historiographical concerns. Interest on social approaches and their focus on daily life problematised the "uncovering of new information about women", and its ability to "right the balance of long years [centuries!] of neglect" (Scott 1999: 3). If we follow Foucault's procedural scheme in his *archéologie du savoir* (1969), this uncovering merely constitutes the initial step toward a (re-)construction of history and epistemology, that is, a sort of objective browsing of the available archival sources, which absolutely depends on the patriarchal processing of past life. Indeed, as feminist historians tried to apply the frameworks of social history, methodological problems arose. Social history, as Eley explains, is a branch of history aimed at the analysis of daily life experiences, considering them the space where "abstract structures of domination and exploitation [are] directly encountered" (1989: 324).

Taking this current as a point of departure guarantees, in first place, the necessary subversion of classical considerations of historical relevance (Scott 1999), which, as I understand, would imply a revalorisation of the intimate discursive forms available to historicise female subjectivity (see section 2.4.3.). However, more efforts should certainly be put into exploring the kind of historical relevance we apply to our analyses. For instance, Scott criticizes how some social and anthropological approaches leave women's matters for the

historization of family life and family relationships, detaching their mostly private experiences from political spheres on account of their public nature (Scott 1999: 3). Indeed, as Scott wisely points out, "the separate treatment of women could serve to confirm their marginal and particularized relationship to those (male) subjects already established as dominant and universal". This remark warns against the reinforcement of a systematic object-subject relationship (see Beauvoir 1949) between "women" and "men", "women" being a category pre defined by patriarchy in these sources, the critique of which must be subjected to subsequent phases of metadiscursive "genealogy", and "ethics" (Foucault 1969). Another crucial point suggested here, which Scott develops further in a specific paper (see Scott 1999: 28-52), is the significant transition from the already vitiated "women" category to the "gender" category, a controversial terminological issue across the whole feminist spectrum, which shall be explained below as the ultimate category of analysis in Scott's approach. For now, however, I would like to focus on the theoretical outcomes and responses of potential use in Feminist Translation History.

A second point of interest I would draw from social history is its focus on the concept of "experience", granting any historical figure a complex subjectivity which should be established to make sense out of historical discourse. As Scott shows, particular aspects of social history should be relevant to a feminist approach to history, underscoring as they do a certain tendency of feminism (both within and outside translation) toward theoretical "impressionism", seldom accompanied by practical developments. To me, it should be no issue to acknowledge that well established disciplines have undergone processes of (self-)legitimation still unexperienced by some branches of Translation Studies, and learning from other experiences might be illustrative as long as we understand the extent to which they may apply to us. The first relevant aspect is the consolidation of quantification methodologies. It is problematic to see how very few descriptive studies of a given period or movement are able to overcome a certain proneness toward "anecdotalism" in translation, our field being, in Robinson's words, "unofficially policed by what amounts to an anecdotal ethic" (Robinson 1999: 403). As he does not delve further into his views on such ethics, once again, I am left unsure as to what it may mean, and I would say that as long as this metadiscursive power of translation and its prerogatives remain unexplored, it shall continue to be the case. However, he is right in asserting that "from its beginnings, translation theory has been insistently anecdotal (...) theoretical pronouncements on translation hav[ing] arisen almost exclusively out of specific translators engagement with specific texts (...)" (Robinson 1999: 402). This, as

Berman claims, is probably due to the fact that translation has frequently been a secondary activity for most of its theorists till very recently (1984: 11). It is certainly now time to complete the already initiated archaeology of names and works, so that the resulting genealogies and ethics may not be as partial in the establishment of new canons as the patriarchal counterparts they react against. Apologies like Luise von Flotow's in a 1991 work acknowledging the absolute lack of variety of objects of study for feminist translation purposes (p. 70) are happily no more in order these days, as Flotow herself, still contributing to Feminist Translation Studies, has decided, together with other theorists, to explore feminist creative writing and its translation outside the realm of "eurocentrism" (see Flotow's mention to Larkosh's criticism in Flotow and Farahzad 2016: xi).

A second aspect, useful to a certain extent, is the already mentioned conceptualization of the categories visibilizing traditionally female experience: family relationships, fertility and sexuality. This strategy of categorization has probably been useful as an archeological basis in the early stages of feminism, and shall be analyzed as a crucial perspective in Québec feminism. Nevertheless, as already explained, the traditional layers of significance persist in them, tying women to the same reproductive capacities many feminists believe to be responsible for their oppression. In Mary O'brien's words, it is "an adequate understanding of the process of reproduction" what lacks in some mainstream, social history approaches. The exploration of the evolving quality of these categories is a recurrent factor in Québec's feminist literature, channeling both traditional (catholic, rural) and subversive (nationalist, feminist) historical discourses through new metadiscursive forms (see section 2.1.2.). In third place, Feminist approaches, like social history, intend to challenge the traditional narratological line of patriarchy. As soon as we conceive that networks among different texts are able to tell our stories, constructing new historical narrations would be, in my view, the basic mechanism behind Foucault's textual genealogy, a form of what feminist historian Nancy Fraser calls "metanarratives" (1990: 34-35). Its small-scale expression is transtextual reception, the subversion of patriarchal discursive forms in both feminist literature and its translation (see 4.4.2.*ff*), already addressed by feminist translato-logists through analyses of particular translation projects. Nonetheless, without proper attention to the "metanarrative" conformed by these projects, to the "history" of Feminist translation I intend to endeavour here, only the aforementioned "anecdotalism" (see Robinson 1998) is possible. Finally, it is undeniable that social history has placed a scholarly lens on marginalized groups. Situating patriarchal subjectivities as the axes around which all other identities spin has proven distorting

and corruptive. However, as explained above, the effects of singularizing those non-hegemonic subjectivities as unaltered blocks have been nevertheless limited. Such is the point of departure for a discursive perspective on the evolution of analytic categories.

(Dis-)Encounters between Feminist Theory/History and Post-Structuralism

[Lacan's influence] proved to be a double-edged sword for the feminist reception of Kristeva, given the contested status of Lacan within feminism (...). It is because of this perception that Kristeva has been described as one of Lacan's "dutiful daughters" (Grosz 1990; Gross 1986; Braidotti 1991); the depiction is meant to diminish Kristeva's feminist credentials, but neglects her substantial reworking of and departure from Lacan (...). (Schippers 2011: 41)

A second interrogation of potential interest relates to the aforementioned, complex symbiosis between post-structuralism and feminist analyses of history. Intra-patriarchal forms of dissent have usually provided an initial support to the emergence of feminist movements, despite an eventual need to deviate from their guiding principles. Scott's rationalisation of this particular movement, interestingly, explains quite well the different evolution of the sempiternal "Anglo American" and "French" traditions, a distinction she depicts as problematic *per se*, on the grounds of a geopolitical generalisation (1999: 37). In this sense, she succeeds in underscoring the common ground of both strands: psychoanalysis. For its part, Anglo-America has generally placed the focus on the so-called "subject-object relations", and particularly on the burden implied by maternity for the social relations women develop in public spheres:

Women's mothering is central to the sexual division of labor. Women's maternal role has profound effects on women's lives, on ideology about women, on the reproduction of masculinity and sexual inequality, and on the reproduction of particular forms of labor power. Women as mothers are pivotal actors in the sphere of social reproduction. As Engels and Marxist feminists, Lévi-Strauss and feminist anthropologists, Parsons and family theorists point out, women find their primary social location within this sphere (Chodorow 1999: 11).

Here, Scott expresses doubt regarding Chodorow's ambiguous shift from household relationships to "forms of labor power". Can we universalise what motherhood implies, and how it translates into social structures of power? What is more, why should motherhood be the core of the gender construct? In so doing, are we not reinforcing biological determinism? In contrast, the "French" approaches (already an extraordinary generalisation in itself) take language as the means by which realities are signified and identities are constituted, underlining

phallogentrism as the central element in the knowledge structures and power relations thus generated. Still, as the initial quote hints, feminists have often felt alienated by post-structuralist thought, to the point of becoming Lacan's "Others" in theoretical terms:

"The work of Albert Memmi in *The colonizer and the Colonized* was very useful as a metaphor for understanding both our situation with regard with postmodernist theorists and the situation of some postmodernist theorists themselves: Those of us who have been marginalized enter the the discussion from a position analogous to that which the colonized holds in relation with the colonizer" (Hartstock 1990: 160).

Here, similarly, Scott acknowledges a difficulty to understand how small-scale, individual experiences contribute to a global system of social structuring through oppression. In her view, nonetheless, both currents (Anglo-American and "French") show aspects applicable to the historisation of women's experiences. Anglo-American, subject-object theorists like Chodorow, for instance, do well in legitimising private spheres as the spaces where subordination originally emerges. On the other hand, "French" post-structuralists, famously including Bulgarian Julia Kristeva, Algerian H el ene Cixous, and Belgian Luce Irigaray, have rightfully underscored language as the matter with which this subjugation is shaped. Below, a specific section is devoted to the implications of using "gender" as an analytic category in order to overcome the aforementioned limitations. At this point, however, I shall focus on what this connection between post-structuralism and feminism represents, especially for the (self-)legitimation of feminist disciplines, their objects of study and methodologies.

In the descriptive study I am to introduce in this thesis, the relationship between Qu ebec's feminist writers and nationalist literature shows similarly contradictory traces, from an intellectual symbiosis to a progressive differentiation of aims and strategies (see section 4.4.). In the case of Feminist History, Scott has historicised the different positions taken by feminist historians before the impact of post-structuralism. Firstly, a number of them deemed as untimely the arrival of an intra-patriarchal bunch of theories "decenter[ing] a (...) subject whose own subjectivity is still in the process of being historically constituted" (Canning 1994: 372). Canadian Feminist Translation is by no means alien to this "essentialism", despite theoretical awareness of its dangers (see Knutson, Mezei, and Godard 1991), but its pioneering status, as seems to have happened in other disciplines, may explain this limited reception of difference (see section 5.7.). In short, at the initial stages of feminist approaches, certain theorists would rather insist on their recently conquered female agency before potentially

distorting theories, perhaps seen as contributions of a new generation of patriarchal fathers unleashing their "anxiety of influence" (Bloom 1973).

A second group of scholars quickly embraced post-structuralism as the decentralising shift which could rearrange patriarchal epistemology from the inside, and therefore open up its doors to a wide range of new agencies and identities, even if this implied the need to manage a certain amount instability regarding female and feminist agencies. An interesting proposal in this line lies within Rooney's survey of feminist literary criticism, where she suggests that the problem of essentialism be tackled by focusing on the "modes of address" that constitute different audiences whose performative capability of response thus breaks their passive epistemic condition as objects of knowledge (2006: 15, 17). This idea, inspired by the post-structuralist deconstruction of authorship, is useful to the new concept of hermeneutics I am arguing for here, reflecting as it does the socio-relational side of metadiscursive operations. Still today, as we know, such socio relational aspect touches a raw nerve among the multiple feminist standpoints in dialogue, mainly organized on the basis of identity traits set by intra-patriarchal differentiations (geopolitical cultures, for instance), but is hardly ever addressed whenever more productive bonds among feminist strands are hypothesised.

Somehow, as I shall explain later, Canadian feminist translators were able to experience it in their very circumscribed but complex sociolinguistic context, which took them to briefly mention issues of dissent among the multiple agents involved in the publishing of translations. De Lotbinière-Harwood, for instance, briefly explains how re-establishing grammatical gender in Gail Scott's *Heroine* (1987) required constant debates among the author, the editor, and herself, the final solution being partially unsatisfying to all parts involved (1991: 40). Similarly, Godard's and Davey's translation deal of Québec-feminist novels with feminist publishing house Coach House Press came to an end after years of editor-translator dissent (Mezei 2006: 206). Despite a supposedly shared feminist view, editor-writer-translation relationships have entailed the establishment of frequently tense internal dialogues, taking the issue of hermeneutics to a whole new dimension and underscoring the importance of a fruitful redefinition. Still, they have mostly remained undertheorised, generally outside the spectrum of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies. Conversely, general approaches to Editing Studies are considerably strong in Anglophone Canada (see Irvine and Kamboureli 2016 for a survey)

and Québec (though the work of the Collectif GRÉLQ⁵), and could suggest new lines for more comprehensive studies in this sense, within very few but notable contributions so far, like Eichhorn and Milne's work on editing women's literature (in Irvine and Kamboureli 2016: 189-210). To my mind, however, the ultimate contribution of post-structuralist-informed Editing Studies, applicable to all feminist disciplines, is Hurley and Goodblatt's feminist proposal of a "New Textualism" (2009). Their understanding of authorship as "fragmented" is broader than most literary and book historians' in that it includes multiple agents, mainly editors, other than author and translator in the (re) establishment of texts. This approach, as far as I see it, is the most successful one so far in integrating discursive and textual analysis with historical archeological work and sociological inputs, which makes it a perfect candidate to supplement the weak points of DTS under feminist and other agencies.

A third reaction to post-structuralism would represent a middle way between its rejection and an absolute assimilation of its principle. A good number of feminists have understood post structuralism's deconstructive methods as worthy of exploration, given the theoretical door they open to subjectivity and reinterpretation in discourse. The difference lies in a calculated distance with their intra-patriarchal origins. Post-structuralism, as other revolutionary forms of thought, have nevertheless found institutional and epistemic shelter *within* the existing patriarchal structures. Feminist thought, on the other hand, has been from its very inception *outside* of those structures. Not a fraction of them could accommodate a movement whose very existence, by definition, requires new ones. In my view, this is the reason why a systemic study of translation, historical and sociological as it intends to be, should not ignore the process by which its discipline(s) and epistemic structures have been constituted. Once again, Scott is one step ahead of the historical studies in translation available so far:

When (...) we take the disciplines as analysts and producers of cultural knowledge, we find that what is at stake is not simply a literary technique for reading but an epistemological theory that offers a method for analyzing the processes by which meanings are made, by which we make meanings (1999: 8-9).

In short, in the same way that every new discipline or branch should question the previous information available in the field in which it intends to settle down, and unveil the

⁵Although this matter shall be further discussed in subsequent sections, a basic directory of databases and relevant work in this sense may be found at <https://www.usherbrooke.ca/grelq/>.

politics behind its particular system of knowledge-processing, Feminist Translation today would do well to question, first, the politics of the epistemic pillars sustaining its matrix-discipline, Translation Studies, and the officially sanctioned methodologies potentially useful for their task: post structuralist thinking, including deconstruction (Derrida 1998) and the "archeology of knowledge" (Foucault 1969), and especially, within Translation Studies, the systemic approaches (see Hermans 1999). Second, but not least, it should also be able to define the politics of its own, newly-established discipline: Feminist Translation Studies. Here, as it happened with Translation Studies in the early 70s (see Holmes' celebrated 1972 paper), not only the "nature", but also the "name" of this new field constitute an ideological issue to the multiple feminist identities, willing to add their particular adjective to it. Understandably, this has implied a critique of the original epistemic structures claiming for the universality of feminism: Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies.

This being my main object of study, attention shall be paid to the contrast it establishes with the objects of interest and methodologies of other disciplines, as well as with the intra feminist debates inspired around them. Precisely because of their hybrid historical and sociological background, it is my belief that Canadian Feminist translato­logists opted for this intermediate position in regard with post structuralism⁶. Despite their deep immersion in dialogical feminism, that is, the exclusive consideration of an Anglophone and a Francophone tradition, they successfully reached a considerable degree of acquiescence between both. Their constant habit of reading and translating French made the very distorting English translations of post-structuralist works unnecessary (see Simon 1996: 86ff). And yet, in sight of a limited implementation, their impeccable command of these complex theories, as far as I am concerned, was mostly a gesture of intellectual recognition. The question here would be: intellectual recognition to whom? The choice between exploring the patriarchal intellectual heritage of one's own geopolitical space and surveying someone else's is often based on (patriarchal) perceptions of epistemic prestige. Albeit without questioning its patriarchal origins, Jane Todd's following remark on the status of deconstructivism among Anglo-American feminist criticism is quite illustrative:

It has become fashionable to criticize, even mock, American socio-historical feminist criticism and to see it as naïve beside the enterprise of French deconstructive and psychoanalytic theory. Francophile critics like Toril Moi, Mary Jacobus and Alice Jardine are exasperated at what they see as benighted empiricism and "essentialist

⁶ For an overview on this matter, see Godard 1987.

simplicities". Some of the mockery undoubtedly sticks but some should be deflected, deriving as it does from a determined misreading of the method and historical enquiry and a refusal to acknowledge the context in which this criticism was produced (Todd 1988: 1).

This excerpt seems to emphasise the hermeneutic nature of the relations among feminist strands, as well as among these same strands and post-structuralism or other mainstream theories, materialised, among other critical products, in a series of translations of dubious accuracy, whose aim within the feminist polysystems generating them should definitely receive more attention. Note, on the other hand, the "Francophile" term in Todd's bitter criticism. Till very recently, geocultural differences have marked the use made of epistemic capital by feminisms. Even Barbara Godard, in her "survey of feminist criticism", which she significantly labels as "mapmaking"⁷ (1987), seems to acknowledge this fact:

In order to understand French feminists, their work must be situated within the prevailing discourses (ideologically encoded languages) which they seek to challenge. Marxism, phenomenology, Structuralism, and Freudianism all come together in French literary theory, as they do in French intellectual spheres in general. (Godard 1987: 15)

The pairing of "discourses" with "languages" is in itself debatable. "Ideologically encoded languages" seem to be here the geopolitically distinct codes inherited from patriarchy, but "prevailing discourses" are no interchangeable synonym for them: on the contrary, they are the ultimate epistemic product of those languages. That said, Godard is recognizing here that French feminists have inherited the hermeneutic task of questioning those foreign theories from "French intellectual spheres in general"⁸, thus consolidating the epistemic personality of their "nation". What is, then, the significance of this constant praise to the hermeneutic notions and methods borrowed from patriarchy? Do they suit our purpose? Differences in feminist capital are considerably dependent on patriarchal networks of "intellectual spheres", which have a narratological value *per se* and constitute the same "genealogy" we nevertheless seek to rewrite for ourselves. What have we achieved by pairing male stereotyped values with feminist movements? Godard herself seems to think that Anglophone feminists are more prone to activism and pragmatism, two typically male-anglosaxon qualities, while "French" feminists are more intellectual, probably on the grounds of the French epistemic fames (1987:

⁷ One can only map out the already existent. This approach implies that the discursive, epistemic and methodological basis is already available within patriarchal structures.

⁸ Note that expressions like "prevailing" or "in general" seem to omit the question of patriarchal dominance and imposition of epistemic capital in feminisms.

4-5).

Despite this very conventional, limited picture of feminism, Godard's standpoint is paradigmatic of a more original, intermediate position before post-structuralism. Being the most prolific theorist and translator of the movement I am portraying in this thesis, her views on the applicability of this epistemic framework summarise quite well the position of most of the other members. In *Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation* (1989) for instance, she briefly mentions several deconstructionist theories to draw parallels between intralinguistic or intersemiotic forms of feminist discourse and the interlinguistic ones with which we are concerned here, implicitly reinforcing the idea of feminist translation as a hermeneutic process, and a distinct form of interpretation (see Eshelman 2007). Among such theories, however, she avoids mentioning the classical Foucault/Derrida/Lacan sources, replacing them for Antoine Compagnon's 1979 *Théorie de la citation*, and Canadian scholar Linda Hutcheon's theory of parody (1986). It seems to me, then, that she intends to alter the epistemic canons traditionally followed by feminists in benefit of less quoted sources (Compagnon), or Female-Canadian ones (Hutcheon). Additionally, such mentioning does not include the careful critique which French feminists have offered (for more details, see Derrida, Cixous, Arnel, and Thompson 2006; Cixous 2007; De Nooy 2013; Alcoff 1988; Williams 2020, etc.). In another work, Godard discusses "literary archeology" in the following terms:

'Literary archeology' is not a novelty here: much (though certainly not proportionately enough) resurrecting of the lives of women writers of the past has taken place, so that our national canon has been enriched with the presence of figures such as Anna Jameson, Susanna Moodie, and Sara Jeanette Duncan (Godard 1985: 11).

This quote reflects multiple aspects of interest. First, it suggests the "resurrecting of (...) lives" as an appropriate standpoint for the current's "tacit", seldom explicitly labelled project of Feminist (Translation) History, which implies the need for an appropriate historiographical framework to complete this task. As may be understood throughout this section, I believe that Scott's work in the intersection between feminism and social history could be helpful for this purpose. Second, Godard's straightforward address of "literary archeology" entails the already consolidated existence of this methodology as independent from Foucault's original proposal. This independence is marked with such energy by Godard, that she does not mention the French philosopher, while suggesting female and feminist authors to counterbalance the "our national canon". Beyond Godard's failure to conceive of a transnational space for canonical subversion,

she has probably offered the most detailed research so far on this "literary archeology" (for further details on her vast bibliographical work, see Godard 1985: 231: 250, or Godard 1985b), the only historiographical line of thought sufficiently developed by this or other feminist strands, "genealogy" and "ethics" remaining for the most part undertheorised. After my analysis of Canadian Feminist Translation and its structures, I expect to have (re-)constituted the so-far dead ends of feminist genealogical work into real networks. Likewise, I shall seek a formulation of my feminist ethics for the endeavouring of this particular project.

2.2.3. *Her-Story* as a Crucial Approach to Women's (Translation) History

The concept of "her-story" occupies a central place in Scott's most celebrated essay on women's history (1999). It derives from two distinctive aspects of potential interest for this thesis. First, there is the problematic aspect of how (and with which purpose) information about women in the past should be gathered. What are the appropriate sources for this, what specific methodologies do they require? What procedures should be targeted on the basis of their critical or hermeneutic ability? Unfortunately, the attempt to answer these questions from a feminist historian's perspective has overtly ignored the potential and "historical significance" of translation and translators, agents as they are of historical change. Secondly, like feminist writers, translators, and scholars in general, feminist history seeks to constitute women as subjects in their own right, so that they can tell their own stories through a scientific validation of the experiences they have gone through across time, usually falling out of the scope of patriarchal "historical matter" (see the previous section for a full explanation). Their difficulties and contributions to this task, therefore, could provide us with an already implemented and validated framework to survey women's identities throughout history as they are enacted (and translated) in documents of any nature. Given women's ostracism in political and public matter, I would like to contend that, particularly for us, literature is as much of a form of political discourse as others, and should by no means be ignored, precisely if what we are all trying to challenge is this historical relevance, strongly dependent on literary canons. Feminist literary theory and criticism, indeed, are no strangers to historicising attempts, having taken the initiative of constituting the subject of feminist history (see Canning 1994), perhaps on the grounds of a previous preoccupation with constituting it in literary history.

Canadian Feminist Translators, perhaps unsurprisingly, mostly started off their translation inquiry of female identity through (feminist) comparative literature and literary theory⁹, a good dose of which rely on this search of the women subject, as well as the woman author, and sometimes the woman translator, in fiction. This last aspect, given the lack of "referential" texts at our disposal for feminist historicisation, is expected to be quite revealing in this dissertation. From a mainstream perspective, the fictional portrayal of the translator has been theorised in several works, delving on what Kaindl and Spitzl have named as "transfiction", a form of "research into the realities of translation fiction" (for the homonymous book, see Kaindl and Spitzl 2014; additionally, see also Delabastita and Grutman 2005; Ben-Ari 2010; Strümper-Krobb 2003, etc.). Among the main contributions in this topic, unfortunately, not much can be found on female and feminist fictional translation agencies. Yet, translation fiction has been interestingly problematised from a "paratextual" perspective (Daddesio 1988; Saint-Gelais 2006) which may point out to new metadiscursive sources for Feminist Translation History. Because of its historical and sociocultural framework, Canadian, and more specifically Québec literary scholarship have been particularly prolific in this sense, especially Patricia Godbout, via the GRÉLQ research group, who for a number of years now has been developing the project "Les traducteurs fictifs dans la littérature québécoise depuis 1960" (Godbout 2010; 2014). Considering the importance of bilingualism for Québec feminist writers, who see in Québec's colonization a metaphor of their own subjugation (see Cixous, Gagnon and Leclerc 1977), this and similar Québec-based projects shall be of great help for this thesis.

The origins of the term "her-story" remain somehow enigmatic, both in Scott's work and in that of other feminist (translation) theorists: although extensively quoted, the methodological purpose of its implementation is mostly left undefined, and no explicit intellectual credit is granted to this theory in any of the sources I have been able to access. In effect, Scott herself introduces it in a very ambiguous manner:

One approach--the first chronologically--to the problem of constituting as historical subjects was to gather information about them and write (what some feminists dubbed) "her-story". As the play on the word 'history' implied, the point was to give value to an experience that had been ignored (hence devalued) and to insist on female agency in the making of history (Scott 1999: 18).

Here, Scott understands her-story as one form (apparently her preferred one, since no

⁹ See an explanation of these common origins in Sherry Simon's interview by Siri Nergaard, 2013 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TDjqD40fYc>).

other approach is surveyed) of addressing the need for archaeological work which could support this much-awaited feminist "genealogy", again in Foucault's terms (1969); this new narration of the past under a feminist politics; as well as the formulation, albeit of little interest to Scott, of a new feminist "ethics". As can be seen, the performativity of this "play on the word history", essential to anyone concerned with the discursivity and the politics of the discipline, is nevertheless ignored. Additionally, from the many profeminist approaches to history briefly suggested here, her-story is the only one truly developed. To this and other essentialist gestures must be added, despite Canning's recommendations (2003: 368-369), the lack of transdisciplinary communication. As can be observed throughout this section, such limitation is not exclusive of feminist history, but seems to affect other feminist disciplines, including Feminist Translation Studies.

Still, I am inclined to think that both the later and feminist linguistics have provided more illustrating insights. To start off, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the first use of the term "herstory" (to my best knowledge, only Scott uses it with a hyphen) may be found in Robin Morgan's 1970's work *Sisterhood is powerful*, where she explains the acronym of her *WITCH* project: *Women Inspired to Commit Herstory* (1970: 539). Nevertheless, no specific methodology is offered in this very early mention of the term, central as it may seem. A second, perhaps more insightful incidence of the term appears in Casey and Mill's well-known work *Words and Women*: "Their purpose is to emphasize that women's lives, deeds, and participation in human affairs have been neglected or undervalued in standard stories" (1976: 135). If the previous use was mostly rhetorical, this one is purely lexicographic. A third, more illustrative treatment of this neologism, found in Mary Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*, is also lexicographic, but this time more attentive to etymology and the politics behind it, which leads her to dismiss its use:

Her-story, I think, shortcircuits the intent of radical feminism by implying a desire to parallel the record of men's achievements. It fails because it imitates male history. Inherently, it has an "odor" of mere reactive maneuvering, which is humiliating to women. It conveys an image of history's junior partner. The point is not simply that this term is "etymologically incorrect". It is enlightening to compare this term with such woman-made constructs as man ipulated or the/rapist, which are also "incorrect", but do succeed in targeting/humiliating the right objects (Daly 1978: 24).

Here, Daly's reason to criticize the idea behind "herstory" does not only respond to the lack of etymological rigour, but also to something more elusive, which I shall delve into

throughout this section: the problematics of employing mainstream notions or departing from patriarchal disciplines, which "convey[s] an image of (...) junior partner" to any feminist attempt at reorganising knowledge. By 1989, Mills did not seem to find the origins of the word relevant: "The rewriting or respeaking of history as "herstory"--coined by some feminists in the early 70s-- is guaranteed to annoy most men, many women and almost linguists" (1989: 118). Leaving aside Mills' humorous tone, this blurring seems to be almost intentional in this and other sources, perhaps in the means of dissolving the patriarchal concept of authorship. Finally, already in the mid-nineties, the criticism inaugurated by Daly is reinforced by new scholars, like Hoff Summers, whose approach to this and other feminist neologisms is, once again, lexicographical:

Does it matter that academic feminists speak of replacing seminars with "ovulars," history with "herstory," and theology with "thealogy"? Should it concern us that most teachers of women's studies think of knowledge as a "patriarchal construction"? It should, because twenty years ago the nation's academies offered fewer than twenty courses in women's studies; today such courses number in the tens of thousands. Such rapid growth, which even now shows little signs of abating, is unprecedented in the annals of higher education. The feminist colonization of the American academy warrants study (Hoff-Sommers 1994: 50).

Note Hoff-Sommers' bitter tone when referring to this "feminist colonization of the American academy", which in her view is mainly lexical. Her focus on etymological disruption is the main source of problematisation of her-story I have been able to observe across the feminist spectrum, the methodological difficulties of a potential implementation apparently constituting a non-issue. Further below, interestingly enough, Hoff-Sommers delves into this majoritarian, etymological and lexical perspective by contrasting this with other widespread feminist neologisms:

Linguistic reform is one characteristic activity of feminist academics, and biological coinages are very much in favor. Feminist literary critics and feminist theologians (who call themselves thealogians) may refer to their style of interpreting texts as "gynocriticism" or "clitoral hermeneutics," rejecting more traditional approaches as inadmissibly "phallogentric." (Hoff-Sommers 1994: 50).

Here, Hoff-Sommers pairs "linguistic reform", deeply relevant, as I shall argue, to Québécois feminist writers (see 4.4.4.), with particular feminist kinds of text interpreting like "gynocriticism" (Showalter 1979), or "clitoral hermeneutics" (Schor 1987), terms for which, again, she offers no source, nor does she grant anyone credit for them. What is relevant here, nonetheless, is the priority given to "biological coinages" for the creation of feminist

neologisms. Despite the lack of interest in the methodological potential behind their notions, neologisms are of considerable importance as forms of linguistic subversion in themselves. In our field, the practical use of her-story has been emphasised slightly more often than in other feminist fields. Ergun, for instance, has mentioned it as one of the goals of feminist translation: "To rewrite his / story or write herstory (another pun exemplifying feminist linguistic disruption) by recovering women writers and translators works 'lost in patriarchy and other intersecting systems of oppression like racism, colonialism, heterosexism, etc.'" (Ergun 2010: 310). Our main contribution, however, still focuses on feminist lexical innovation, based on the discussion of strategies for the translation of feminist puns, as shown in the following quote by Flotow:

While the greatest pains have been taken to transfer as much of the meaning of each pun in footnotes, in translator's comments in the text, and in added cultural information, the effect is one of word labour rather than wordplay. This makes the reading of the target version a tedious and lengthy task, in which the playful and amusing elements of the source text have been largely lost. The result does not necessarily lead to greater feminist solidarity. More insidiously, however, some of the copious notes designed to explain the puns are either wrong or give a skewed and negative view of American culture. One of the more blatant examples occurs in the notes on the word herstory. (Flotow 1980: 191)

This is only one of many analyses of this kind, generally revolving around the same limited number of terms coined in the 70s, when the domination paradigm was at its full potential. No archaeological or genealogical rigour, as can be seen, accompanies any of these mentions, which in my view undermines the discursive focus encouraged by most feminist strands, proving that, after a number of decades, 80s/90s feminism was still not ready for the kind of self-criticism and discursive scrutiny to which it was nevertheless subjecting patriarchal discourses. This critique shall be crucial in our prospective analysis of the Canadian Feminist Translation movement.

In Scott's survey of her-story, three different approaches have been distinguished so far in regard with the constitution of women as subjects and agents of historical change (1999). On the one hand, some historians are convinced, as I have mentioned before, that gathering information about women may only be effective if the categories of analysis employed illustrate their likeness to men. Thus, and since activeness and subjectivity are the ultimate male attributes in any patriarchal hermeneutic process, the aim of seeking this 'likeness' seems to be the pursuit of a new authority as agents of change. Here, Scott disagrees with the urgency

to make women's identities fit into the patriarchal mould of tolerated subjectivity, which never intended to suit them, and fears the distortion this may cause on the resulting analysis. From the point of view of feminist translation, the means and strategies employed so far for the subversion of patriarchal texts could be said to fall into this category, although not in order to search for equality, but to imitate domination.

On the search for likeness with male attitudes in metadiscursive operations, we find ourselves trapped in a sort of mimicry, like "ventriloquists" (Godard 1984) quoting the rhetorical façade of subjugation. This impersonation of patriarchy's hermeneutic violence, accurately depicted by Steiner's 'trust', 'aggression', 'embodiment' and 'restitution' (1975), is probably the result of the so-called domination paradigm (see Daly 1978; Spender 1980; Daly and Caputi 1987). In contrast with the deficit paradigm (Lakoff 1975), centered on the discursive void separating women's from men's language, and that of difference, conceiving gender equality in diversity (Duchen 1986; Delphy 2001), domination was the reigning trope among the different feminist disciplines throughout the 80s. In the case of feminist translation, and particularly of its Canadian branch, most of the theoretical and methodological work available, as well as a good deal of its praxis took place between the 80s and the early 90s. Therefore, this paradigm had a considerable amount of weight in the formulation of strategies like Flotow's "supplementation", "footnoting", "prefacing", and particularly "hijacking" (1991), and in works like Jill Levine's translation of Cabrera Infante's *La Habana para un Infante Difunto* (*Infante's Inferno*, 1984, later analysed in Levine 1991).

When feminist metadiscourses are concerned with patriarchal texts, this aggressive agency is reflected in contradictory terms, oscillating between the "collaborator" (Chamberlain 1988; Levine 1984) and the "sub-versive scribe" (Levine 1984), one of the many labels employed to mark aggressiveness in appropriation. Once again, like in Steiner's depiction of patriarchal hermeneutics, impersonating male subjectivity, thus exerting the power of interpretation, while simulating traditionally female openness to an Other leads to severe metaphorical contradictions. How different is our scenario when female/feminist works must be translated, and that Other is an Other woman¹³? I have been unable to find any clear specifications as to whether these aggressive strategies should be replaced by others when dealing with feminist/women-authored texts, particularly if they belong to other cultures and/or epochs. What remains to be analysed, then, and this thesis is very much concerned with, is the apparent validity of those same strategies in such new context. *L'autreté*/Otherness has been

an extensively quoted motif in Québec's feminist novels, from Gabrielle Aubry's more recent *Je est une Autre* (2013) to Lise Gauvin's celebrated *Lettres d'une Autre* (1984), drawing their inspiration from Lacan's disquisitions on *L'autre femme* (see Lacan 1966). It is curious to see how this "Other woman" on the other side of Canada often becomes the new hermeneutic intrigue. Gauvin's aforementioned novel, for instance, was translated by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood as *Letters from an Other* (1989), in whose preface the translator, curiously enough, states to have an "understanding" of feminism different from that of the author's, and therefore justifies a series of interventions to impose her view on an apparently shared ideology. Our prospective analysis of the Canadian Translation project shall further clarify this point.

A second approach considered by Scott within the her-story framework is the analysis of the raw data from feminist archaeological processes, in the means of contesting officially agreed-on discourses of progress and regress. A deeper analysis shall be offered in a subsequent section on Feminist Translation History (2.4.). An important point I would like to make here, nevertheless, is that the most superficial archaeology, regardless of the discipline we work from, should reveal translations as the hinges which open or close doors to progress. Pym, whose excellent views on the methods for translation history shall also be reviewed later, actually underscores this as one of the stages of translation history (2014):

"Historical criticism would be the set of discourses that assess the way translations help or hinder progress. This is an unfashionable and perilous exercise, not least because we would first have to say what progress looks like. In traditional terms historical criticism might broadly cover the philological part of historiography, if and when philology conjugates notions of progress as moral value (and the best of it used to)" (Pym 2014: 5).

The previous excerpt refers to one of the methodological aims of this thesis: historical criticism. For Pym, this task, which I would consider a form of hermeneutics, interestingly relies on philology, although no mention to the discursiveness of ideologies is made. However, an essential issue I have encountered in my analysis is hereby stated in quite illustrative terms: if, as I have proposed above, we are to admit that translation is a form of metadiscourse of history, an underlying premise is its inherent hermeneutic capacity for historicisation. "Historical criticism", to me, is no distinctive process of translation history, but indeed inseparable from translating, and a constitutive function of any translated text. I agree with the fact that such criticism is aimed at asserting "the way translations help or hinder

progress". What remains to be said, prior to that, is *whether* and *to whom* they actually help or hinder progress, as well as, in case the translator's motivation is declared, the truthfulness or accurateness of this declaration. These questions could supplement Pym's accurate belief that defining progress or digress is problematic and subjective, placing any explicit attempt at definition as the ultimate interpretive framework for the processing of both the translated text itself and of other interwoven products. Considering that no text is an island, and that translations have been strategically used by patriarchy as interpretive frameworks of reality in each and every milestone of history (see 2.2.1.), this perspective demands further attention.

Feminist translation, for its part, has been rightly deemed as a particular form of interpretation (Eshelman 2007), and therefore of historical criticism, which in my view guarantees its potential as a distinctive hermeneutic procedure with historical value. It has coordinated a series of partial attempts at textual archeology intended to reveal the female subject throughout history and her evolution through (meta-)discursive procedures, but feminist translation genealogy and ethics are at an even more preliminary stage, beyond theoretical intentionality (for relevant theoretical layouts of these two phases, see Vidal Claramonte 1998 and Godayol 2011). In this thesis I have the intention of addressing and delving into these two stages, a task I consider impossible without defining the notion of (feminist) progress behind the translation praxis targeted, and contrasting it with its real outcome. As we know by now, not all feminists have found in these initial projects enough common ground to feel concerned by their notion of progress. Their own proposals in this sense, however, seem to me far too rooted in intra patriarchal notions of social evolution. Mohanty's work (2003), for instance, announces in its very title that her critique of the reigning "politics of location" (Rich 1986) behind mainstream feminism shall be responded from the approach of anticapitalist struggles.

As far as I understand it, this implies that Mohanty is willing to embrace intra-patriarchal fights as her own, as well as the discourses of the "progressives", a profile which remains unexplained. Who does she refer to by "many progressive critics of postcolonial studies" (Mohanty 2003: 523)? When she argues about "antiglobalization discourses produced by progressives, feminists, and activists in the antiglobalization movement" (Mohanty *ibid*: 527), what kind of progressiveness does she judge compatible with (her) feminist agency? After a thorough analysis, I would say that the main challenge faced by feminisms, for the resolution of which feminist translation shall be instrumental, is the lack of interest in defining

the basic requirements of a common space where each group can make its own "progress". In this way, feminisms could engage in a tacit genealogy of progress through discourse, which may once and for all facilitate internal dialogues (with other forms of feminism) and external ones, with further marginalized groups. In conclusion, the ethics of feminism, still under construction, requires this previous self interrogation on progress, and no common ground for (feminist) progress may be found without (feminist) translation.

The last perspective considered by Scott is one concerned, interestingly enough, with the fights to control the narrativisation of history. The complementary role of history and literary theory in exposing the blurring of the female subject should lead us to consider history and fiction two not-so-different forms of ideological metadiscourse, processable under similar narratological standards. To me, history results from a trifold process, comprising the inventory of 'relevant' textual productions (archaeology), the signification of transtextual bonds (genealogy), and the analysis of the metadiscursive strategies behind them (ethics). The preoccupation of feminist literary theorists with a downgrading difference between private and public spheres, tantamount to that of feminist historians with historical relevance (see 2.2.1.ff), has laid the foundations for a scientific interest of women as agents of literature and history, and with female experience as valid literary/historical matter. In practical terms, this implies the undermining of the sacrosanct difference between history and stories as the only way to legitimise the available material on past female experiences. In a most interesting metadiscursive operation, Hannah Arendt cited in his famous work *The Human Condition* (2013: 175) a fragment of Karen Blixen's eloquent statement in this sense:

"I am not a novelist, really not even a writer; I am a storyteller. One of my friends said about me that I think all sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story or tell a story about them, and perhaps this is not entirely untrue. To me, the explanation of life seems to be its melody, its pattern. And I feel in life such an infinite, truly inconceivable fantasy" (Blixen in Wilkinson 2004: 77).

Curiously enough, the author of celebrated novel *Out of Africa* (later also a celebrated film) used a male pseudonym to sign her best works: Isak Dinesen. Therefore, many questions remain to be posed in regard with her real ability to "born all sorrows" by "t[elling] a story" about them. Once that said, it is interesting to see how Blixen believes "the explanation of life" to be "its melody, its pattern". Considering that *Out of Africa* is autobiographical, and that it reflects her and other women's tortured relationships with men, the author seems to underscore the importance of narratology as the mould through which experiences are processed.

Similarly, she considers herself not a novelist, neither a writer, but a 'storyteller', underscoring 'stories' as the true material of literature and life. If, as García Márquez believes, "good novels amount to a poetical transposition of life" (García Márquez in Apuleyo Mendoza 1982: 140, my translation), stories are the translation of different life experiences, and history is the translation of stories.

To me, this "poetical transposition" would hold up with part of Lefevere's analytic notion of "poetics": "an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols (...), exert(ing) a tremendous system-conforming influence on the further development of a literary system" (1993: 26). Such notion, however, would be incomplete without due attention to "what the role of literature is or should be in a given system" (1993: 26). This concept is opposed in Lefevere's work to that of "ideology", namely "motivations" and "constraints" based on convictions held by the agents of manipulation in each system, often in direct confrontation with that of others. In this thesis, nonetheless, I am not inclined to conceive of such a clear cut between ideology and politics. In line with the already described hermeneutics of German romantics (see section 2.1.), "poetics" is in itself a form of criticism, its constant updating through new compositions, which implies an impossibility to disentangle form from politics. History, therefore, is inseparable from poetics and ideology; from literature and translation. Similarly, to Genette, "the subject of poetics is *transtextuality*, or the textual transcendence of the text, (...) defined roughly as "all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (1982: 1). In this way, it is fairly difficult to detach poetics from politics, relying as they do on a critical relationship with other texts.

To conclude, I would like to present a summary of the main contributions and limitations of her story, taking Scott's views in this regard as a point of departure. As for the effects of her-story on historical scholarship, it is her contention that, like feminist literary theory and critique in regard with their core disciplines, this new field places women's subjectivities on the map. Yet, if, as Scott suggests, gender differences must be contextualised through, among other factors, cultural spaces, ignoring translation seems irresponsible and constraining. In second place, it successfully alters the premises on which historical significance has lied on so far, granting new importance to privacy and intimate experiences, and equating them to the public and the political, a move which, in view, was first rehearsed in women's writing. It is my conviction that women's silenced experiences were first promoted

in women's literature, a space protected by the permissiveness of fiction and the openness of genres like the novel, to which minor and intimate text types like biographies, private journals and internal monologues followed. Therefore, it would be crucial to reassess the value of literature, as well as of metadiscursive forms like translation or literary critique, in the feminist rewriting of history.

Third and final, her-story proposes that the notions of sex and gender be surveyed through their historical-discursive evolution. I would argue that, once translation has been duly integrated in the equation, a literary/historical approach, departing from the descriptive methodologies available in Translation Studies, could prove most fruitful for the study of gender constructs. In terms of the limitations it faces, besides the already mentioned, incomprehensible neglect to translated products, her-story needs to reconsider whether its solid attempts at legitimising any form of women's experience risk to overdo any woman's words or acts just for the sake of their gender. Such observation, in my opinion, should be extended to the constant confusion between feminist agencies and female ones. Understandably, both feminist literary theory and feminist history initially sought to consolidate female subjectivities as worth of consideration. However, at a certain point, when a distinction between feminist and female agencies was in order, it did not seem to be applied by many feminist theorists, including some feminist translato-logists who seem to think it enough to translate books by women in order to justify their female agencies. This shall be further analysed in subsequent sections. Lastly, her-story, in Scott's view, has proven incapable of integrating the aims and foci of women-centered historical research in a more fruitful analysis, one integrating men's agencies, as suggested by Scott herself, using the gender category as a prism. I am afraid that the potential accuracy of this critique in terms of feminist translation praxis might also need to be explored. The one-sided view of femininity and feminism it often shows responds, once again, to the aforementioned domination paradigm, and shall be further analysed throughout this thesis.

2.2.4. New Analytic Categories for Feminist (Translation) History

What new shape of politics emerges when identity as a common ground no longer constrains the discourse on feminist politics? And to what extent does the effort to locate a common identity as the foundation for a feminist politics preclude a radical inquiry into the political construction and regulation of identity itself? (Butler 1990: xxix)

This section has a twofold aim: in first place, it shall account for the paradigm shift entailed by Scott's introduction of "gender" as a new analytic category in feminist history, a task which requires a preliminary comparison with its main contender: the "woman" notion, an initial attempt to deal with female identities leading to the constitution of fields like Women's Studies (Scott 2020), mainly drawing on the Anglo-American realm of Cultural Studies for its constitution; and women's writing, a relatively recent object of study materialised in the intersection between feminist literary theory and critique. Secondly, Scott's original proposal of "gender" as a new prism for feminist approaches to history shall be surveyed, accounting for its origins and its promotion of other useful categories for female narrations: agency and experience.

"Gender" at the Crossroads of Feminist History: An Overarching Category for Female Agency and Experience

It has been Scott's main contribution to feminist history to replace the highly contended notion of "women" with an emerging analytic category among feminisms: "gender" (Scott 1999). In effect, I am afraid that the analytic prism, and therefore the object of study remain insufficiently defined, reinforcing the need to weight on claims such as Kaplan's, who regards the women's writing movement as the result of "the unfortunate all-too warm reception" (Kaplan 1992: 165) of certain totalising feminist ideologies, generally employing the term "women" in order to refine their field of interest (like in "women's writing", see 3.1.7.), as well as other related concepts such as the French "féminin" (like in "écriture au féminin", see section 4.4.). Some of the main representatives of this current, (Cixous, Irigaray, etc.), in Kaplan's view, "are not feminists, and some of [them] are blatantly anti- feminist" (Kaplan 1992:165-166, cited in Brufau-Alvira 2010: 21). This methodological shift towards the more sociological, scientific looking category of "gender", however, is by now means devoid of controversy across multiple feminist realms, including the feminist translation field. In effect, in Toril Moi's words:

(...) The original 1960s understanding of the concepts has the merit of stressing that gender is a social construction and the demerit of turning sex into an essence. Considered as an essence, sex becomes immobile, stable, coherent, fixed, prediscursive, natural, and ahistorical: the mere surface on which the script of gender is written. Poststructuralist theorists of sex and gender reject this picture of sex. Their aim is to understand 'sex or the body' as a concrete, historical and social phenomenon, not as an essence (Moi 1999: 4).

Similarly, the resulting fear to employ "sex" as an analytic category has been systematically rejected, once again on the grounds of an allegedly underlying biological determinism, and often replaced with "sexuality", understood as "sexual difference" (Cameron and Kulick 2003). This has led to a confusing use of "gender", "sex", and "sexuality", often treating "gender" as the politically correct form to refer to physiological forms of interpersonal relationship:

(...) The new theoretical terminology has not entirely dispelled confusion around sex, gender and sexuality. Partly, this may be because some speakers still cling to traditional beliefs (...). But it may also be partly because the phenomena denoted by the three terms—having a certain kind of body (sex), living as a certain kind of social being (gender), and having certain kinds of erotic desires (sexuality)—are not understood or experienced by most people in present day society as distinct and separate. (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 4-5)

It is my contention that this important differentiation would certainly enrich the analysis of feminist translation as a form of ideological manifestation. Consequently, I intend to implement it in my own study on the Canadian Feminist Translation movement. However, I also think it crucial to understand that social oppression is a form of notional, epistemic tyranny, sustained by a series of metadiscourses conditioning human communication. "Gender" is, in my view, the main notion situated at the crossroads of corporality, knowledge, and language which has allowed patriarchy to articulate its history-long domination. As an analytic device for feminist Academia, it has been frequently used by theorists who believe in the relational nature of identities, and therefore think that no analytic progress may be achieved without due attention to the successive, historical (re-)constructions of both "male" and "female" as interdependent notions. Indeed, Martín Ruano (2005: 36) has observed that "(...) more and more feminist trends would agree on a self-definition as 'gender-conscious' rather than simply 'woman-centered'. As Scott notes (1999), part of the appeal of the term "gender" lies in its clear allusion to a scientific, anthropological perspective, while "women" seems rooted in this humanistic, quasi literary view from which many historians wish to escape. As I have contended above, the translation of seminal texts on feminism has underscored this discomfort (see Möser 2017), on the confrontation of the historical and anthropological analyses of Anglo-America, pioneering the use of the term, with the literary and psychoanalytic "French" approach, strongly opposing it.

Across the feminist spectrum and its interdisciplinary infiltration, I believe Scott's depiction of "gender" to be the most accurate one. In light of my previous statements, the connection which she establishes between this construct and epistemology essential: "Gender (...) means knowledge about sexual difference. I use knowledge, following Michel Foucault, to mean the understanding produced by cultures and societies of human relationships, in this case of those between men and women" (Scott 1999: 2). For Scott, this definition relies on a bifold "proposition", namely, that "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (1999: 167). In order to define the implementation of gender as an analytic category, four elements are underscored in its definition: first, its instrumentality for the signification of cultural symbolism; second, its dependance on a series of overarching norms guiding the signification of such symbolism; third, its connection with the historically-evolving notion of politics, as well as, by extension, with each period's social institutions and organisations; fourth, the legitimation of women's subjective identity, previously absent from historical studies, as a particular form of historical agency. As for its relationship with the signification processes involved in cultural symbols, Scott underlines the struggle which leads to the imposition of a certain set of symbols over others, and surveys a series of examples where the hermeneutics of symbols relies on gendered processes of signification. This vision of gender as the interpretive motif behind all social structures is the essence of radical feminism, which converges with feminist historical insight in its problematisation of domestic realms as the root of all political oppression, as well as in the observation that, albeit under culturally different symbolic systems, this basic form of oppression may be spotted transnationally (cf. Willis 1984). The task of feminist historians, thus, remains this systematic survey of the gendered background of symbolic systems and their materialisation principles across cultures and epochs, but also across the social organisations and structures which they generate. It is this aspect that Scott believes undertheorised in the thus-far-available, feminist works of both the Anglo-American and "French" strands. How does gender oppression relate and differ across different systems? This essential task of feminist historians could hardly be undertaken without attention to the discursive means capable of circulating these patterns: translated texts. Only through translation may we explain the multilateral evolution of gender and its trans-systemic (dis-)encounters.

Feminist translato-logists, for their part, are by no means alien to the weight of this symbolic infrastructure and its (meta-)discursive materialisation. Indeed, Chamberlain's

seminal work on the "metaphorics of translation" (1988) establishes an unquestionable connection between gender symbolism and what Toury deems as the "value", namely, the "function" to be fulfilled by translations within the system for which they have been devised (2012: 12). Thus, it is Chamberlain's conception that patriarchal structures have systematically attributed male symbolism to source texts, therefore connecting masculinity with originality and authority, while femininity has been tied up to translation as a merely re-productive, subordinated task. I would indeed go further, and claim that, since patriarchy has crucially utilised translation to exert and maintain a solid form of cross-cultural, cross-temporal power, it *knows* how instrumental it is for global oppression and, more importantly, for the emancipation of subordinated groups. Therefore, the aim of this hermeneutic trap is to dissuade the latter from disturbing their exclusive use of translation, and thus exert it for their own benefit. In a subsequent section (2.4.), I shall offer a survey of these careful operations of gendered signification in historically relevant translations, which should allow me to reconstruct the notion of historical relevance to suit not only female/feminist agencies, but also (female/feminist) translational ones.

The second element to consider in this definition is, as I have stated before, the existence of overarching concepts guiding the interpretation of cultural symbols in binary terms. Implicit in Scott's work is the idea that pinning down and verbalising such principles requires an inductive process, from the discursive façade of domination to its conceptual core, its ideological foundation: a form of revolutionary hermeneutics. When we translationalists analyse translations, defining them in regard with "the system", as descriptivists name it, we proceed in a similar manner: we depart from this metadiscursive surface and seek to rebuild the silent textual genealogies materialising this politics, establishing multilateral relationships with other texts, mostly parodic and ventriloquistic if they are conservative, or creative and (self-)exploratory if they are disruptive. What remains undetermined, and should be further researched, is whether the *laws* and *norms* (Toury 2012) identified by descriptivists following equally inductive procedures are not the principles of interpretive oppression identified by Scott. What is the true aim of these apparently descriptive, analytic devices? If we are to assume that descriptivist discourses also respond to a certain politics, a certain hermeneutic motto, we should then apply hermeneutics to our own work, and uncover its underlying politics. This is no minor issue, especially in sight of the methodological nature of descriptivist schools, which would doubtlessly condition the outcome of its implementation. Throughout this thesis, I expect to resolve the epistemic tension generated by the sharp contrast between a

feminist politics and the recurrence to descriptivist methodologies, and therefore reconsider the latter so that they may welcome feminist agencies.

The third and fourth elements mentioned by Scott in her definition of gender are, in my view, inevitably connected. One is the historicity of politics and its constitutive process, bridging the individual and the intimate (domestic spheres) with the political and the public, that is, social organisations, which constitute the fourth element. For Scott, this shift from domesticity to polity is the dark spot of thus-far existing explanations of patriarchal oppression, be they anthropological (Anglo-America) or psychoanalytic ("France"). If we admit the emergence of gender politics within family structures, albeit in a primitive, small-scale form, how does it extend to the infrastructure of social organisations? The only coherent focus for researching this shift is textuality, a discursive form possibilitating the projection of individual agencies onto public spaces. For all we know, archival studies must be interrogated and deconstructed to consider feminine literature, a basic escape route thanks either to fictionality (novels, short stories, etc.), or to absolute political irrelevance (personal journals, biographical texts). To my best knowledge, no specific analytic tools have been devised to deal with female agencies, thus with female experience. In order to accommodate these unreleased experiences into the notion of historical relevance, theoretical frameworks like those of Feminist and Post-colonial Translation Studies, as well as those of Editing Studies could be of great help given their focus on discursive forms traditionally out of the authorial scope. Closer collaboration between history, literature and translation shall therefore be sought in this thesis.

Similarly to the previously described "metaphorics of translation", several studies on political and labour relations have successfully proven how forms of gender metaphorics establish hierarchies among organisations and, importantly, how they depict different national sensibilities. In the case of Québec and its relationship with English-speaking Canada, the struggle for the consolidation of a national identity has faced a series of discourses feminizing the subjugated Québécois entity in order to discourage its emancipatory aspirations (see Lamoureux 2001). Femininity, understood as the patriarchal construct of selfless motherhood and abnegated community service, was brought up as a mantra, forcing women into unacceptable charity work on the consolidation of Québec's first public health system, which contributed to devaluating every legitimate effort put into it (Lamoureux 2001).

Consequently, a reconstruction of cultural and political contexts shall require expanding the sociological scope of descriptivist translation approaches to the gendered dynamics of the patriarchal organisations traditionally profiting from the power of translation. These are truly responsible for the orchestration of patriarchal translation politics. However, other institutions and organisations of marginal and cultural condition should also be surveyed: publishing houses, new literary journals, clubs, theatre troupes, cultural associations, etc. Female agencies have found community in structures falling outside the patriarchal spectrum of political relevance. By this I do not mean that these spaces have systematically remained under the radar of feminist and translation historians, but the relevance of the structures they have created and their decisive influence on political spheres requires the adoption of more flexible and openminded standpoints, especially from a feminist perspective.

2.3. Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies?

For those of us aware of that hidden labor, the idea of going beyond Toury is part of remaining faithful to his adopted discipline, rather than to a person. For those of us who have been reading Toury's work over the years, the movement is all the more justified to the extent that Toury himself has not remained within fixed borders (Pym, Shlesinger, and Simeoni 2008: x).

Descriptive translation approaches are relevant to this thesis on various accounts. First of all, as I shall explain in the following lines, modern Translation Studies ought much of their methodological and theoretical background, if not at least their disciplinary structuring, to this very first attempt at detaching translation theory and praxis from their matrix disciplines. For the first time, translation is placed as a relevant factor within each systemic literary order, interacting with other forms of literary creation. For the first time, the possibility of analysing the set of mutual influences binding the literary system with the overarching, social one is proposed. This is the main reason why this approach has been deemed as "sociological" by its own ideologues, which, as Toury takes the time to explain, is the outcome of a system's normative dealing with social differences in order to impose a homogeneous set of regulations:

(...) Negotiations breed conventions, according to which members of the group then feel obliged to behave in particular situations. With time, sets of accepted conventions may crystallize into quite complex behavioural routines which become a kind of second nature of people as members of a particular community. (...) What is not given in advance is the exact shape the processes would assume in any particular case, as that shape is a function of the prevailing circumstances. The creation of a societal group requires time and usually involves power struggles. (Toury 2012: 62)

I believe that it is precisely these "negotiations" and "struggles", slowly establishing networks between social and literary life, constitute what could account for this difficult passage between women's subjugation in domestic realms and the gender-oppressive structures of public organisation (see 2.2.2.ff). Instead of a merely "sociological" approach, which is in itself an ambiguous term considering the strongly formalist nature of these theories, a truly "sociocritical" view (Brisset 1989) should in my view explain how negotiations and struggles produce the discursive spread of gender oppression, not only within a specific system, and therefore under its social conventions, but also, importantly across systems, through translations. Québécois scholar Annie Brisset considers systemic theories the origin of "un nouveau paradigme, descriptif et sociocritique" (1989: 51), and thus lays the foundations for a "sociocritique de la traduction":

(...) la comparaison d'un texte original et de sa traduction présente un réel intérêt lorsqu'elle se soutient de l'ensemble textuel et discursif où cette traduction vient se placer. À cette condition, les écarts font sens et forment un système cohérent qui met à découvert les codes de la littérarité et, plus généralement, de la discursivité caractérisant le milieu récepteur contemporain de la traduction. (Brisset 1989: 61)

Interestingly, the previous definition is substantially more emphatic than Toury's (2012) or Hermans' (1998) work in conceiving of descriptivist translation studies as a form of social critique, based on the comparative study not of mere linguistic material, but of the discursive networks established by the source and target texts in their respective systems. In Cros' even more explicit definition, the structures of literary and cultural products are by no means hazardous, but respond to underlying, societal patterns of behaviour:

Sociocriticism aims to bring out the relations existing between the structures of literary (or cultural) work and the structures of the society in which this work is deeply rooted. This theory claims that the encounter with ideological traces and with antagonistic tensions between social classes is central to any reading of texts. (Cros 2006: 32)

If, in line with Brisset and Cros, we consider translation as operating on a set of pre-existing social (and literary!) discourses and conventions, either by modifying or by conforming to them, we should understand that the politics of translation lies precisely in this capacity of metadiscursive critique, of ideological hermeneutics. In this way, translated texts may be productively regarded as forms of "rewriting" (Lefevere 1993), interconnecting political aims with metadiscursive exploration. This promising step, nonetheless, is generally

absent from systemic approaches, which fail to politicise the manipulative operations they observe, on the grounds of an alleged neutrality which they feel constantly obliged to break, as I am about to explain, by virtue of their own methodology (see Hermans 1998: 56).

Another source of insight, albeit usually neglected by feminists, is the development of the Translation Studies discipline as a form of political networking in itself. As has been explained before (see 2.2.2.*ff*), the consolidation of patriarchal organisations is crucial for the study of gendered politics and gendered hierarchies, transposing in public realms the basic forms of gender oppression observed in domestic spheres. In my view, there is no reason to exclude scholarly disciplines from this category, since they project the methodological and conceptual foundations which could lead to challenge or consolidate patriarchal epistemologies. Additionally, from a structural perspective, they can ultimately contribute to either reinforce or subvert patriarchal organisational systems, and could do much good by pinning down the kind of patterns perpetuating gender inequality within social groups. In his review of systemic theories, Hermans provides us with two concepts of great use for this purpose: the "disciplinary matrix" (1998: 10ss), a notion taken from Kuhn (1970); and the related concept of "invisible colleges", inspired by Diane Crane (1973). As for the idea of "disciplinary matrix", its discussion derives from the urge, felt by Holmes and other pioneering translation scholars, to give Translation Studies the accuracy and rigour of a scientific discipline. For Crane and, by extension, for Hermans, the purpose behind this "matrix", understood as the paradigm according to which a new discipline emerges, consolidates itself, and eventually dies out, is to claim "that scientific and scholarly practice is not a matter of disembodied ideas spontaneously combusting and gaining acceptance from an early rational mind" (Hermans 1998: 10). In fact, its members need institutional relationships, personal contacts with each other, a binding sense of solidarity, and intellectual and material infrastructures to engage in what feminist Linda Steiner deems as "finding community" (1983).

In this thesis, I would like to explore the reinterpretations of epistemological communities offered by different feminist disciplines from a discursive approach. It is my belief that proposals like Harley and Goodblatt's "New Textualism" (2006), featuring the notion of "fragmented authorships", may help understand how cooperation takes place within a scholarly body among different professional roles (scholars, writers, translators, editors, literary agents, critics, etc.), often neglected not only by feminists, but also by comparatists and descriptivist translato-logists. As I shall explain below, it is in this crucial direction that

Translation Studies has moved lately, displacing the focus once and for all from "translation" to "translators" (Chesterman 2009), not because translations must be disposed of as epistemic objects, but because the way in which we have been dealt with would disconnect them from agency. Similarly, I think that the notion of "thought communities" (Stein 2004) is worth exploring and rewriting. For Stein, "we are participants in thought communities that prompt us to carve up reality" on the grounds of "conceptual distinctions between things we perceive as different", thus "group[ing] together things we consider similar" (2004: 254). Here, the author's main concern are constructs on gender orientations, but she seems to conceive of their consolidation as a purely cognitive phenomenon, failing to acknowledge its discursive nature, inseparable from it. It is my belief that the meanings of these "thought communities" for different feminist agencies, projects and, especially, organisations are left undetermined by Stein. For my turn, I would propose defining them as multifold circuits of textual exchange, marked by collaborative strategies, where all personal, professional, and intellectual affinities among equal agents have an impact. In my view, these lines of thought could contribute to fully explore the potential of translator focused approaches under feminist agendas (Chesterman 2009, see 2.4.2.).

Indeed, an overall willingness to disarticulate any female-centred attempts at "collaboration", which is the main form of agency encouraged by feminists both within and outside our discipline (Chamberlain 1986; Jill Levine 1991; Hurley and Goodblatt 2009; Cobb 2014) seems to suggest an urgent need to define the disciplinary matrix of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, especially considering that the disciplinary and methodological "maps" from which we tend to depart, in Holmes' terms, have already been laid out by patriarchy. Let us not forget what "mapping" originally implies: descriptivist approaches depart from the imaginary borders of national "communities" which, as Benedict Anderson has famously claimed (1983), are imaginary products, in my view orchestrated by Western patriarchal systems and imposed on their colonised territories. Some peoples, according to Anderson's analyses, have extraordinarily survived constant disarticulation throughout time and space on the grounds of a common image of being, strongly supported by sacred narrations of their stolen past.

Perhaps, it is not by chance that his main example is drawn from Jewish people, great architects of the "promised land". Perhaps we should not be surprised at the emergence of Polysystem theories in newly-founded Israel, whose location was imposed by this sacred

narration of Jewish history that constitutes the Bible; an imaginary space in the memory of generations and generations of ethnically-mixed, linguistically-diverse individuals, who, once given their chance to build up their national state, would even struggle with the choice of their national language (Thiesse 2007: 20). What did they have in common at that point? It is in this context that a generation of Israeli translation scholars, some of them of Central-European background, therefore familiar with Russian formalism and the Prague Linguistic Circle (Tyulenev 2013: 160), decided to undertake a huge translation project in the means of recovering Hebrew from the abyss of history.

If this "imaginary community of faith", in Anderson's words, survived history on the basis of biblical narration, God's promises and their status as "the chosen people", it is certainly because, as Homi Bahbah has convincingly explained (1990), nations are the product of narrations, and those narrations are constantly subjected to rewriting, be it intra- or interlinguistic. Indeed, not all Jewish individuals feeling this bond with their past would describe themselves as "religious", but surely find in the the myths of religion a shared space with their peers. Literature is thus inseparable from the fabrication (and imposition) of identities, and its capacity for bringing these "imaginary communities" together must justify a feminist study of female literature and its translation for historical purposes. In this thesis, I am willing to consider this pursuit of "imaginary communities" as the basic motto of both descriptivist theories and their practical outcome: the translation of relevant literary works for the enrichment of a still young national literature, when indigenous production was still faint, and needed inspiration from the outside. Nationalist motivations have incessantly chased the translation project endeavoured by Israeli Polysystem scholars. Eventually, with the outburst of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this cost two of its prominent members, Gideon Toury and Miriam Shlesinger, their "unappointment", as they themselves put it, from the advisory board of both *The Translator* and *Translation Studies Abstracts*. Later, Toury's publications would also be banned at St. Jerome Publishing. In the words of pro-Palestinian scholar Mona Baker, initially responsible for this boycotting, Israeli attacks against Palestine were comparable to the Nazi holocaust, which culminated Jewish persecutions through History:

Why I am boycotting Israeli academics

(...) I believe, based on a long and close familiarity with the situation in Palestine, that what we have here is nothing short of a holocaust. And I am pretty sure that if I had been living and working as an academic

during the time of the holocaust I would have been equally determined to boycott German academics as a group, as well as German goods, etc. (Baker 2002, personal correspondence)

Toury, for his part, depicts Baker's position in equally nationalist terms, suggesting her anti semitism, and reminding her of the past shared by many Israeli nationals¹⁰:

Dear Mona,

I am writing this letter at home, some 150 yards from the point where the daily human bomb has just exploded. It was in Herzliyya, not anywhere near the occupied territories, and in a diner, not even remotely resembling a military camp, a government office or any other building of a similar nature. (...) I would appreciate it even more if the announcement made it clear that "he [that is, I] was appointed as a scholar and unappointed as an Israeli".

(...)

Let me just make one biographical note: the only reason why I am alive in the first place is that my parents, each one of them separately, managed to leave Germany in the mid- and late-1930s, the only ones of their immediate families, and go to Palestine ("Eretz Yisrael"), which was the official names of the place in those days. As a result, I have got a Palestinian birth certificate, but I have never had Grandparents, Uncles or Aunts. Try to think about THAT once! (Toury 2002, personal correspondence)¹¹

I believe that this confrontation had a long-lasting impact on the structure of the discipline. At an individual level, it forced prominent members to take sides before what some regarded as the only possible way to exclude Israeli Academia from international circuits, and others, as a violation of the original terms of the boycott, intended to target whole institutions or movements, and not individuals. Some authors even wrote about Shlesinger's research on, and humanitarian aid to, Arab communities in Israel (Tobin, Weinberg, and Ferer 2009: 144) and, on Toury's death, in 2016, Yves Gambier's obituary remembered with sadness Baker's move: "Gideon knew well how to resist personal attacks from the general editor of a journal,

¹⁰ For a summary of the position taken by Jewish scholars in the matter of the boycott to Israeli scholars, see Tobin, Weinberg, and Ferer 2009.

¹¹ Early correspondence between Mona Baker and Gideon Toury may be found on Baker's official website: <https://www.monabaker.org/2016/01/04/correspondence-with-gideon-toury/>.

perhaps not without a secret sorrow"¹². As can be seen, no scholarly project, neutral as it is intended to be, has thus far escaped from geographical politics and identities, from the same "politics of location" criticized by non-hegemonic feminisms (see Álvarez, De Lima Costa, Feliu et al. 2014), and yet often applied.

No discipline to this day has been fully capable of ignoring patriarchy's mapping obsession, and the wars instigated by national "imaginary communities" end up informing disciplinary politics. In this thesis I am willing to consider female subjects as a most extraordinary example of "imagined communities", one non-dependent on the possession of a distinctive land dominion, or on control over defined borders. Neither having, nor wanting, a country to ourselves (Woolf 1938), we have challenged patriarchy's constant attempts at disarticulation and incommunicativeness across time and space since the beginning of history, our narrations helping this feeling of community survive against all odds. In sight of the texts I have produced above, I think we could make better use of our "imagined communities", especially regarding the role of translation for the consolidation of feminist transnational bonds. As I have stated before, for most of history, translation has been a prerogative of nation-states and religious organisations, and the image projected by debates like the previous one, using in both cases terrible patriarchal wars (the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Nazi holocaust) to outline who should be part of a discipline, proves that, unfortunately, Translation Studies is not yet immune to their influence. The position of nationalist goals shall therefore be surveyed in my study of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies which, pioneering as it was, never reached in my view the necessary degree of detachment from nationalist matters in order to fully focus on what female experiences truly relate to.

The second notion previously mentioned, that of "invisible colleges", is somehow complementary to the previous one. In Crane's view, Kuhn's "disciplinary matrix" should comprise 4 phases, identifying the different stages of development faced by a discipline in the making. A first step takes place in what I have previously referred to as "core disciplines", that is, disciplines acting as the basis for new ideas, agencies, approaches, and new objects of study. It is here where seminal ideas arise, pointing at the need to open up an entirely different field. In the case of feminist epistemologies, methodological and conceptual discomfort is inevitable on the acquisition of a certain degree of (self-)conscience. The second step is what Hermans

¹² <https://est-translationstudies.org/2016/gideon-toury-translation-scholar-died-on-4-october-2016-at-the-age-of-74/>.

calls "infection", that is, the exponential spread of these new approaches, objects of study and methodologies, transforming an apparently casual convergence of scholarly interests into the consolidation of a distinctive disciplinary space. A third stage follows, this time of stagnation. Thus, the amount of scholarly production motivated by the new paradigm seems to be approaching at a dead end, perhaps because the contradictions or limitations it faces, or perhaps because it has naturally given way to further preoccupations. Finally, the fourth stage implies the eventual declination of an initial project, a previously feasible endeavouring seeming no more appropriate or possible. According to Crane, this possibility of disciplinary networking across time and space is what makes of Translation Studies, as well as of many other disciplines, an invisible college, an imaginary community the origins of which respond to a very fruitful convergence between two geographically distant schools: the Polysystem School, located at the University of Tel-Aviv, and the Manipulation School, generally based in Belgium and the Netherlands.

In my view, what both Crane's paradigm and Hermans' explanations fail to acknowledge is the symbiosis of sociopolitical interests between both nations and, therefore, these strands, which hold highly geopolitical standards at their core. In effect, they both operate on the basis of "the romantic principles of the West-European nation-state", which, despite being their exclusive focus, is by no means the only form of political organisation; as well as of "symbols of popular unification and national identification"; and "the nation-state's fundamental sociopolitical institutions" (Meylaerts 2006: 63). In the case of Israel, it had been longing for an emulation of the same West-European nation-states their new citizens came from, and, perhaps more importantly, for the consolidation and development of Modern Hebrew as the official language of its new state (for more details see Delisle and Woodsworth 2012). In Belgium's particular stance, a sociolinguistic conflict of high magnitude between the Flemish and the Walloons made "people's access to the legitimate language [French] and the accompanying institutions (...) uneven", and "standard French (...) the upper-classes' language" in contrast with the Flemish dialects of the lower classes (Meylaerts *op.cit.*: 63). Despite several differences in their approach and notions, both strands were developed in regions where, for diverse reasons, the literary aspirations typically identified with accomplished nation-state systems were pursued.

Curiously enough, Meylaerts has hinted at the potential similarities between Belgium's and Canada's sociolinguistic situation, which, in her view, could lead to the implementation of

a similar methodological approach (Meylaerts op.cit.: 63). It is in this light that I am willing to consider traditional Descriptivist Translation Studies a series of methodologies explicitly devised for the creation or reinforcement of nation-states¹³ (cf. Pym 1998: 17), which sure leaves feminist theorists like me at odds with a productive implementation of their principles. From the transnational perspectives guiding the present and future of Feminist Translation Studies, we shall have to reconsider the extent to which Crane's four-stage paradigm, or the institution of Translation Studies itself, may account for the evolution of our own discipline; weight on the raise and fall of Canadian Feminist Translation; and consider what its end meant not only for the new paths found by its members, but also for other Feminist Translation Movements which have made of Feminist Translation Studies the transnational discipline it is today.

2.3.1. A Critique of the Basic Notions of Descriptivism

After this introduction, it has become clear that two distant schools, albeit with partially coincidental geopolitical motivations, have succeeded in conforming an invisible college across space and, in some case, across time, with different generations of scholars from both locations, progressively contributing to the discipline with critical revisions of the previous work. For the sake of clarity, I have decided to conduct this section on the grounds of Gideon Toury's thorough study of DTS, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, a cornerstone of descriptivist analysis which has undergone several revisions (1995/2012). In my view, this comprehensive work may act as the perfect point of departure for this section, and shall be supplemented with the contributions of other relevant scholars, particularly from those belonging to the Manipulation School, (Van Leuven-Zwart 1991; Lefevere 1991; Hermans 1998; Meylaerts 2006, etc.), but also from more general realms of Translation Studies (Pym 2014; Brisset 1989). Finally, and despite feminist translation scholarship has in my view failed to explore the potential and limitations of DTS for its project, I shall illustrate a feminist critique of these theories with several contributions which may lay the foundations this feminist exploration of DTS, which is precisely what I wish to do in my survey of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies.

¹³ For a clear example of nation-states as the point of departure for system delimitation, see the portrayal of map making procedures in Lambert 1991.

(Assumed) Translations

Translation Studies typically fails to reflect on the concepts it uses in its own internal terms. Not only have many of these concepts been imported from other fields of knowledge (which is quite understandable), but they have undergone very little adjustment to the specificities of their new setting (which is less understandable and much less forgivable) (Toury 2012: 35).

One of the main contributions made by descriptivism is a much-needed, critical emphasis on concepts and their application. In particular, the greatest legacy of this project is its relativisation of certain notions thus-far treated as unalterable, perhaps in order to protect patriarchal translation circuits from unwanted intrusion. The first notion, understandably, is that of translation. For Toury, it is precisely historiographical survey what leads to the conclusion that no universal notion of translation exists, its multiple definitions relying on the standards and needs of each system across time. This has a series of implications. First, translated products must be determined and researched as "facts of a target culture" (Toury 1995: 29ff). This entails the impossibility to obtain more than a reconstruction of translation intentionality. All translated products we regard as such are "assumed" to fulfill that function in, on the basis of an archeological reconstruction of the system for which they were devised, which means that no text may act as a translation without establishing a multilateral network of metadiscursive relations with other products within the system, and crucially, I would add, outside it. Thus, the possibility of acknowledging translation as a historical category, or as a distinctive genre across time and space (Hermans 1998: 22) relies only on what Toury identifies in Wittgenstein's terms as "family resemblance" (Toury 2012: 69), and never to the factual existence of prescriptive criteria universally defining them. Consequently, identifying translations within a given system at a given point in time requires an inference of the so-called "value of translation" (2012: 69), that is, the "understanding" that members of a given system at the chosen timeframe may have had of what translating meant. This is undoubtedly a tentative operation, since reconstructing the conventions, past or present, of any system, be it foreign or our own, requires a hermeneutic process and therefore, pouring the scholar's subjectivity into the analysis. For Toury, this "value of translation" is a relational concept, located at a certain point on the traditional scale of "foreignisation" and "domestication" (Venuti 1995). Thus, the defining patterns of translation are bifold:

1. The production of a text in a particular culture/language which is designed to occupy a certain position, or fill a certain slot, in the host culture"

2. (...) "A representation in that language/culture of a text already existing in some other language, belonging to a different culture and occupying a definable position within it". (Toury 2012: 69)

As for the first dimension comprised in Toury's definition, it emphasises the "dynamic functionality" (Even-Zohar 1990; Sheffy 1990) of translation products (Toury 2012: 8), addressing the needs of the target culture and operating a certain sort of metadiscursive networking. The degree to which a translated text complies with the conventions held by this culture is labeled here as "acceptability", while "adequateness", reflected in the second dimension quoted above, responds to an "image" (see Lefevere 1993: 5) of the original text offered by its translation. As Toury underscores, the transposition of the source text may not dispose of the metadiscursive networking responsible for its "definable position within" the source culture. He seems to suggest that it must be accounted for in the translation process. What he does not delve into, and Manipulation scholars merely suggest, is that a certain politics has orchestrated the positioning of the original within its system, so no operation intended at reconnecting it within a new one may be devoid of political significance. What is more: no reflection whatsoever on the political criteria guiding these metadiscursive connections, either in the source or the target cultures, seems to occupy Polysystem theorists or, for that matter, Manipulation ones.

A truly sociocritical approach to literary systems should first explore the reigning politics behind social networking in each of the systems concerned, perhaps more than two. As the previous section has contended, human sociability has been structured on the basis of patriarchal gender conceptualisations, from houses to parliaments; from schools to companies; from conversations to books. In my view, there is little point in offering a sociological approach to translation if one is to bypass patriarchal politics, and act as if its encoding of literary conventions actually represented the whole mass of population allegedly concerned by each systemic structure under study. How can descriptivists, departing as they do from the imaginary borders of nation-states, be sure that their assumptions match the feeling of belonging of the individuals concerned? If they spoke (some of them, especially women, have traditionally been silenced), would they recognise themselves in the "image" created by descriptivists? Are not most of them multicultural, simultaneously attached to various literary systems (Pym 2014)? Systemic descriptivism, as the interpretive, political task it is, has mostly ignored the agency of the subjects of whom it intends to speak, mainly of translators (see Hermans 1998), but also of many other actors involved in literary (re-)production. In my view,

in establishing the "value of translation" for a given system within a certain timeframe, we must be honest in terms of which social group is "informing" our inferences.

Despite their failure to connect particular forms of translation with the ideological projects of each system's (patriarchal) elites, descriptivists have singled out metadiscursive products of great interest for the new voices raising in Translation Studies since the 90s. In particular, Toury has devoted different degrees of attention to forms of translation blurring the lines with other sorts of textual products: pseudotranslations, self-translations and polemical translations. Pseudotranslations are dealt with in depth since they are part of the main dilemma addressed by systemic theories: the "value of translation" as a historical, reconstructed concept, although no ideology is recognised behind such reconstruction. Some textual products, in effect, are devised to look like translations in accordance to the conventions held on translated products by the system in question, mainly on the grounds of their prestige at certain stages of the cultural development of certain peoples (Toury 2012: 47). Though somehow superficial, the historical survey of pseudotranslations undertaken by Polysystem theorists has underscored an essential fact for feminists and other marginalised groups, argued in the previous section: patriarchal societies granted political and identitarian worth to the translation status, to the point that translated fictions were desirable to get across cultural, poetic or even political capital in ways acceptable to the system. Fake translations of Sherlock Holmes adventures were encouraged by the Ottoman Empire in the means of exploring "a poetics that was largely inherited from [its] folklore literary tradition" (Tahir-Gürçaglar 2008: 133). Similarly, pseudotranslations of science fiction novels were devised as delusory, distracting products during the Francoist regime, their authors using American-sounding pseudonyms (Vazquez de Parga 2000; Gómez Castro 2006).

For their part, self-translations should be regarded not as an exotic curiosity of descriptivism, or as the whimsical exercise of a bilingual genius, but as an essential product of multinational, multicultural spaces, reflecting how the imposition of the nation-state structures and strict systemic patterns leads to conflicted forms of social relations. Of particular interest are examples of simulated, fictional self-translations, which should definitely form part of the aforementioned studies into "Transfiction" (see 2.2.3.). Québec has provided very illustrative examples of this practice, for instance, in Michèle Lalonde's *Speak White* (Mezei 1988). Indeed, "speak white" was a derogatory expression used by Anglophone Canadians whenever a Québécois individual would use French in public. Québec's "informal bilingualism" is a

source of tension with the bilingual institution of the Federal State (see Esman 1982), and some intellectuals either purposely resist it, or, like songwriter Francoeur, consciously utilise it with a political aim. Self-translating is fairly present also in feminist realms, by virtue of the triple diglossia suffered by Québec women: diglossic as the non-Anglophone Others of the Canadian State; diglossic as non-hegemonic speakers of the *Francophonie*; and diglossic simply for being women (see Godard 1989: 45; de Lotbinière-Harwood 1991: 15). Thus, novels like Nicole Brossard's *Picture Theory* (1982), translated by Barbara Godard (1991), and particularly *Le désert mauve* (1987), translated by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (2006), are either written in the two official languages of Canada, or reproduce fictional translations in their original version, which has surely implied a considerable dilemma for their translation. The ideological significance of self-translation as a narrative strategy must be reconsidered, especially in what it can contribute to feminisms.

Finally, polemical translations should perhaps be the most important translative form for feminists out of Toury's classification. Following Popovic's definition (1978/2011: 21), Toury considers a polemical translation "an intentional translation in which the translator's operations are directed against another translator's operations" (Toury 2012: 97). This assertion is fundamental in recognising a distinctive form of agency to translators, either cooperative with a certain, time- and space-bound established order, or critical with it; and the capacity of translations to establish networks of discursive criticism not only in regard with their source texts, but also with pre-existing translations. Polemical translations, according to Toury, constitute the object of study of one of the "levels of comparison" comprised by descriptive methodology: contrasting parallel translations into one target language at different points in time (Toury 2012: 96ff). Once again, as with Steiner's hermeneutics, no other source of interpretive dissent but diachrony is conceived.

Of course, admitting that two different translations might be produced at the same point in time, one a critical response to the other, without any visible change in the stylistic taste of the target culture, amounts to acknowledging that their difference lies in their ideological stance. This distinction would be later clarified by Lefevere, who contended that translations, like other forms of rewriting, were motivated either by "poetic" (1993: 26ff) or "ideological" shifts (1993: 59ff). Additionally, I would argue that polemical translations are subject to emerging at another of Toury's levels of comparison: "several (assumedly parallel) translations into different languages" (2012: 99). Although the contrast would be far more difficult to

analyse, I believe it would be worth the effort, especially if we are to argue that gender is the ultimate analytic category underlying all forms of social networking, private and public (see 2.2.4.). Surprising as it may seem, it is hard to find studies on feminist retranslations of prominent works, be they literary or philosophical, patriarchal or feminist in their own right; not least to find feminist retranslations in themselves. Besides the feminist retranslations of the Bible (for an overview, see Simon 1996: 111ff; Flotow 1997: 52ff), H. M. Parshley's English translation of Beauvoir's *Le deuxième sexe* (1949/1953), for instance, has been long criticised by feminist translato-logists (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991: 49; Flotow 1997: 5; Castro 2006; Bichet 2016; 2017; 2020; Merkle 2018, etc.). Even Parshley himself has had the chance, and felt the urge to reconsider it (1979; 1993; 1997). Yet, it was not till 2008 that a retranslation was published (Bordes and Malovany-Chevallier 2008, see Flotow 2009).

Regarding famous feminist novels translated from patriarchal standpoints, Allende's *La casa de los espíritus* (1982) has been retranslated into Portuguese by a Brazilian Feminist translator (Berton-Costa 2019). Within the specific movement I am analysing here, Canadian feminist translation, only two retranslations have been undertaken, exclusively of feminist works from Québécois writers. One is Louky Bersianik's *L'euguélienne* (1975), translated by G. Denis *et al.* (1981), and Howard Scott (1996). The other is *La nef des sorcières* (1976), by Nicole Brossard, France Théoret, *et al.* (1976), translated by David Ellis, and Linda Gaboriau (1979)¹⁴ The later, as Flotow acknowledges, has been extensively quoted to explain the differences between a "more traditional" translation and a feminist one; a "tight circle, which may also go to show how few literary translators and critics in Canada are sensitive to feminist issues" (Flotow 1991: 70). Unfortunately, it also shows how very little internal polemics was generated (or tolerated) within that movement, which should in my view be reconsidered as an overall limitation of translative feminisms. What is clear, I believe, is the importance of economic factors when translation projects are considered (Pym 2012), something which often helps editors rule out what they consider to be extreme proposals. Unfortunately, this issue has a particular impact on feminist translation agendas (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991: 30-31), and should be incorporated in any descriptive study we may endeavour.

¹⁴ Here, neither Ellis' nor Gaboriau's full translation of this work were published. Since it was a play, I suspect these translations were distributed only for staging purposes. The only part of the play actually published was Brossard's monologue *L'écrivain* (*The Writer*), in Gaboriau's translation (1979).

(Assumed) Source Texts and Translatability

Despite not being their main focus, descriptivists have also tried to discern the equation of "translatability", a notion intended to guide the seemingly hazardous task of "coming up with the *appropriate* source text" (Toury 2012: 99, my emphasis):

(...) There are indeed several cases where a multitude of candidates for a source text may exist. In such cases, any attempt to justify a researcher's selection of a source text would depend, at least in part, on what the assumed translation itself has exhibited, which would render the establishment of the appropriateness of a source text part of the study itself rather than an auxiliary move. In each of these cases, the reasons why the text actually picked to serve as a source text was deemed preferable to others constitute an interesting issue as such. Uncovering these reasons may even have important implications for the overall account of the relationships between function, process and product, e.g., on the level of preliminary norms. (Toury 2012: 99)

According to the previous explanation, any analysis of a translation becomes a form of hermeneutics, where source-text pertinence is subjected to the discursive moves apparent in the translated product, and an interpretive effort is required to trace back lost metadiscursive connections. Importantly, source-text candidacy is for the first time conceived of as multiple. The fact that, like in the case of medieval translation, the existence of multiple source texts is accepted as a working premise (Toury 2012: 99) opens up, albeit without exploring, new possibilities to deconstruct discursive authority. Indeed, in Toury's statement, regarding the "reasons" and "preferences" behind considering one or another text as the source of a translation, a major limitation of descriptivist methodologies becomes apparent: the "gloriou[s] overlook[ing]" of "the translator" (Hermans 1995: 222 in Meylaerts 2006: 59), but also of the many other actors operating in polysystems. Still, it is by this "beating around the bush" of subjectivity that a conciliation between structuralist and post-structuralist approaches seems to be timidly suggested by the last developments of DTS. As a consequence, "Translatability" seems crucially conflicted by this equidistance.

At the beginning of *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Toury defines "translatability" as "the initial potential of establishing optimal correspondence between a TL text (or textual-linguistic phenomenon) and a corresponding SL text (or phenomenon)" (Toury 2012: 38). Later in the same text, he discusses the "translatability of (...) texts" as "the initial potential of them remaining invariant under transformation vis-à-vis the language/culture one is interested in checking their translatability into" (Toury 2012: 94). Some aspects of these two

definitions, which are by no means synonymous, seem to me out of place for a descriptivist treatise, even contradictory. First of all, if an "initial potential" for comparability exists, how can it be assessed? What is more: is that "initial potential" compatible with Toury's requirement that *ad hoc* comparisons guide all conclusions made on the relations between the target and source texts? In second place, what does this state of "invarian[ce] under transformation" amount to? What is the nature of this static core which must remain unaltered? Toury seems to follow here a somehow simplistic distinction between "what is culture- or language-specific in translation and what is more general, maybe even universal" (2012: 99), which points at the principles of generative grammar. In the impossible quest for "descriptivism" as neutral depiction, the necessarily subjective nature of methodology and analysis is denied, leading to a series of paradoxical convictions.

In his earlier work (1980), Toury would go as far as to propose the analyst's own translated version of the source text as an "optimal" *tertium comparationis* (Hermans 1998: 56; Toury 2012: 111), to which the solutions of the translation under analysis would be compared. This idea he progressively abandoned (see Toury 2012: 111), as it implied a clear departure from the source text and not vice-versa, as well as a fragrant imposition of a self-devised equivalence, the main prescriptive concept against which he intended to react. This move, liberating as it was, was nonetheless so invested in making a point against prescriptivism that it denied the amount of subjective processing implicit in re-visiting a piece of discourse. Still, an important deconstruction of translation *auctoritas* was tacitly on its way through this and other foundational texts of DTS, encouraging researchers to dismiss any imposition prior to contrastive experience. Additionally, the relativisation of the source-text status as merely "assumed", and sometimes, as in Middle-Age translations, indiscernible among various candidates (Toury 2012: 99), has encouraged an appreciation of the metadiscursive, critical potential in each and every translation; a capacity of simultaneously rewriting multiple discursive products.

2.3.2. The Dynamics of Descriptivist Text Analysis

It is Toury's contention, as already indicated, that no delimitation of potential objects of interest for the researcher may be prior to the "mapping of each assumed translation onto its assumed source" (2012: 103). The emergence of "translation problems", to which a subsection shall be devoted below, is therefore considered an inductive "reconstruction" of the "solutions"

"observed" in the target texts. This has a series of methodological implications. On the one hand, DTS has encouraged the inception of text analysis practices in translation. Therefore, a division into segments is suggested, first, of the translated text under analysis, and then, of its assumed source text, *on the basis of the segments previously problematised in the translation*. The resulting "replacing" (target) and "replaced" (source) segments are not pre-existent to the confrontation of both textual products, and may not be suggested by any prescriptivist grammar reference books in either of the languages concerned, but "determin[e] each other in a mutual way" (Toury 2012: 103) *on the researcher's observation*, a fact which remains inexplicably obscure, even after the already consolidated deconstruction of both readership and authorship brought about by post-structuralists (see section 2.2.2.). Still, a respectable aim is pursued to place our focus on the translational outcome, and not, as has been traditionally intended, on the assumed original text (Toury 2012: 103), the identification of which is part of the analytic enquiry on the translated product, and not the departing point for it. On the other hand, the question of how these "replacing" and "replaced segments" are to be defined begs for further definition. According to Hermans, it is in Van Leuven-Zwart's work (1985) where a method for this purpose has been most clearly developed (Hermans 1998: 58ff). In contrast with Toury's view that no macro-textual perspective may sufficiently illustrate the translation relationships binding target and source texts (2012: 102), Van Leuven-Zwart integrates both micro- and macro-textual aspects into a two-phase analysis.

The first phase, of contrastive nature, analyses semantic, stylistic, and pragmatic micro-textual "shifts", that is, the changes observable in the target text with respect to its source, below the sentence level. For this purpose, Van Leuven-Zwart suggests departing from the delimitation of *translemes*, coincidental with traditional syntactic structures: *state of affairs translemes*, for their part, comprise a predicate and its arguments, and *satellite translemes* refer to any supplementary syntactic structures of the sentence. Similarly to other descriptivist notions, guided as they are by generative grammar, an unaltered, universal core is believed to remain between target and source texts, which Van Leuven-Zwart labels as *architranseme*. The second phase, this time of descriptive nature, accounts for each of the two texts, target and source, as a whole. Despite her conviction that macro-textual effects must also be accounted for in a methodical way, Van Leuven-Zwart's is a "bottom-up" approach, proceeding from micro- to macro-textual devices on the basis that "the accumulation of micro-level differences produce[s] a qualitative difference at the macro level" (Hermans 1998: 58). In later works, Toury himself would realise that the excessive attention to these "shifts" between target and

source, resulting from an equally excessive weight of micro-textual analysis, led to a "negative kind of reasoning" (Toury 2012: 111), that is, to focusing on *what the target text was not in regard with its source*, instead of on *what it factually was*, in accordance with its context and function, which could hardly encourage the intended dismantling of prescriptivist, source-oriented judgement. Under the uncovering of translational shifts, in Toury's view, still lies "optimal or even maximal notion of the representation of a source text" (Toury 2012: 110); "something which can be defined a priori as a goal and guideline"; "a yardstick for quality assessment" (Toury 2012: 11). For Toury, descriptivism should proceed in positive terms, "uncovering [only] those principles which are relevant to a particular case", a functionalist approach apparently pointing at the principles of the *skopostheorie* (Reiss and Vermeer 2013; Nord 2018).

A third implication of this model, somehow suggested above, is its deconstruction of the prescriptive notion of *equivalence*. On observation and contrast, the researcher must be able to identify the particular translation relationships binding a target text to its assumed source. Departing, once more, from this presupposed, generative core invariance, translation relationships at their basic form are the particular set of similarities and dissimilarities found within a "coupled pair", that is, between two texts, one of which is believed to be the source of the other, identified unidirectionally, namely from target to source, and never pre-established. For Toury, translation relationships emerge both at a linguistic (micro-textual) and at a textual (macro-textual) level, and may fall into two different categories: formal and functional. Each segment, by definition, is simultaneously composed by lower-level units, as well as comprised within higher-level ones, which means that a variety of non-coincidental relationships, formal or functional, may arise at each level, linguistic or textual, to the point that a single segment or element may exhibit more than one, depending on the structural unit we focus on. One may proceed to a listing of relationships between translational units at different scales. Comparisons may be effected between (target/source) text and co(n)text, or between (target) text and (source) text. Additionally, a certain problematic may be selected for the contrastive analysis of various texts, or a corpus may be devised on the basis of certain principles. What is clear in Toury's later reflections is that uncovering these relationships and merely listing them, without connecting them to higher systemic orders should not constitute the ultimate aim of descriptive methodology. In particular, a certain degree of "relevant" segment selection is required, as argued by Toury, to illustrate "both translation decisions and the constraints under which they were made" (2012: 116). In other words, and despite the

eligibility of each and every segment's translation relationships to influence overall equivalence, not all segments may be significant in its establishment. Classical, prescriptive studies of all sorts have proposed and implemented classifications of these "translative" shifts, also known as "translation techniques" (for a survey, see Hurtado Albir y Molina 2002), as a one-step procedure toward translation equivalence.

Even if we assume, as both Toury and Van Leuven-Zwart do, that an integrative, systemic analysis departing from micro-level shifts may eventually account for overall equivalence, without due attention to the way these build hierarchic, superordinate networks, no possibility exists of inferring the *norms* sustaining the "underlying concept of translation" (Toury 2012: 110) at various levels, either for a particular coupled pair, a group of texts or an entire system. In this light, two different definitions of *equivalence* are offered by Toury. On the one hand, it is defined as "that translation relationship which would have emerged as constituting the *norm* for the pair of texts under study" (Toury 2012: 32). This first description, in my view, reflects the abstraction of norms only from basic-level, text-to-text relationships, but the purpose of systemic methodologies, of which this text-to-text equivalence constitutes only a preliminary layer, is to connect the each coupled pair with an overarching, systemic customary practice, both time- and space-bound. The following is a much more explicit definition of descriptivist *equivalence*, clearly accounting for what norms amount to, and reflecting the extrapolation of systemic norms from a series of lower-order, text-to-text studies on equivalence: "that set of relationships which are found to distinguish *appropriate* from *inappropriate* modes of translation for the culture in question" (Toury 2012: 112, my emphasis).

As I have previously suggested, great importance is placed by descriptive methodologies in a neutral justification of hypotheses and inferences, but without a profound critique of language and its evolution, of the reigning patriarchal principles of the past (and the present!), and of the specific use that patriarchal elites would give to textuality, "appropriateness" appears to be a questionable term from many standpoints, especially from a feminist one. If equivalence is founded, as Toury claims, on "appropriate" and "inappropriate modes of translation for the culture in question", then we may find that the analyses based on this method shall invariably consider, among others, female and feminist forms of agency as "inappropriate", unrelated to each system's norms, absent from canonic positions. Still today, should descriptivism force researchers into the artificially invisible positions which they

themselves have already rejected as translators, thus reinforcing the discursive coercion exerted by patriarchy across time and space? Perhaps, the lack of attention to both the translator's and the researcher's subjectiveness in descriptive methodologies is the only way to facilitate an uncritical depiction of systems as the oppressive mechanisms they are.

On denial of the subject's critical capacity, the only retrievable version of translation history departing from patriarchal literary conventions is the patriarchal one. According to the descriptivist method, which I shall analyse in depth in a subsequent section, three phases for systemic analysis are acknowledged. The first one is the compilation of data, which amounts to Foucault's "archaeological" stage. The second and the third are discovery and explanation, tantamount to Foucauldian "genealogy", where both translation (text-to-text) and intrasystemic relationships are established and justified on the basis of the system's sociological context. It is Foucault's "ethics" what such an obvious neglecting of the subject leaves unexplored. In their studies into translation history, feminist translatoologists have made timid, by no means exhaustive, incursions into relevant data: inventories of source and target texts within particular systems; surveys of writers, translators and, to a lesser extent, editors of interest to feminists; and critical revisions of institutions influential in regard with their purposes. In this thesis, besides a more profound implementation three stages on descriptive analysis (data retrieval, discovery, and explanation), I intend to reflect on the ethics of translation history from a feminist perspective, a task for which a certain amount of self-criticism, besides that devoted to patriarchal systems, is surely to be needed.

Solution-Problem Strategies

By hypothesising solution-problem patterns through "observation" and "reconstruction", descriptivist methodologies prove to be cautious in their assumptions, suggesting that analyses depend on contextual perceptions. However, if what we are discussing are "observed" solutions and "reconstructed" problems, how can we make sure that any and all researchers shall "observe" and "reconstruct" the same exact number of identically-configured units? If we assume Voldeng's definition of translation as "*une ré-écriture dans la langue d'arrivée d'une lecture dans la langue de départ*" (1984: 220, my emphasis), both the production of the translated text and its assessment by an outsider must depart from totally different reading processes. Toury's silence on this evident fact invites to reconsider the implications of this bifold hermeneutics, but still offers a disruptive approach on the alleged stability of meanings,

thus-far supposed to be pre-existent to the act of analysis. In this line, the aforementioned concept of "problem", central to the descriptive models of analysis, is a comparative abstraction, situated by Toury in "expert to-expert communication" (2012: 37), with three different meanings responding to the three discursive layers where difficulties may be spotted:

^{problem}₁ has its place in discourse about source texts (or parts/aspects thereof, or phenomena occurring in them) and the way they constrain their envisaged translation (...). ^{Problem}₁ is prospective (i.e., it refers to translation which would at most be performed in the future) and utopian. It involves a phase of recognition before any measure can be taken. In fact, its recognition is a precondition for the very possibility of taking any such measures. (Toury 2012: 38-41)

Unlike ^{problem}₁, ^{Problem}₂ features in discourses which are retrospective (i.e., they refer to acts which have already been performed) and where the basic issue is one of factual replacement in concrete acts of translation. (...) ^{Problems}₂ can be identified only by looking at concrete texts assumed to be translations, for whatever reason, and mapping them onto other texts, in another language/culture, which are assumed to have served as their respective sources. (Toury 2012: 42)

The only way ^{problems}₃ can and will manifest themselves is step by step, alongside the gradual unfolding of ^{act}₃ itself. Rather than being punctual, they may therefore be regarded as processual. This kind of observation can be attempted only inasmuch as ^{act}₃ has left more traces than just the end-product, as was the case with ^{act}₂; most notably, temporary, interim replacements, on the one hand, and reflections on the act on the other: on both ^{problems}₃ and their ^{solutions}₃ (final or interim) – as well as on ^{act}₃ itself. (...) ^{Problem}₃ is thus a dynamic notion (...). (Toury 2012: 44)

The "degree of abstraction" in systemic definitions is, as Lefevre warns us through Schwanitz's words, "forbidding" (1993: 11), but has in my view the distinctive advantage of problematising the discipline's discursive spaces and terminological networks as objects of study in their own right. Although in a very aseptic manner, descriptivists suggest that the notions and terms we use in our analyses affect the interpretation of our research, which could seem contradictory given the deliberate oblivion they force the subject into, but should definitely invite to further reflection, especially from a feminist perspective. If we go back to the previous excerpts, the three discursive spaces where Toury identifies different meanings of the term "problem" are source-oriented, target-oriented, and process-oriented. The first one is located in what he puts as "prospective" discourses, that is, discourses predicting the outcome of a translation process on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the source text. Here, one must understandably depart, against usual practice in descriptivism, from "observed" problems in the original, and not from the solutions of a finished translation product. This hypothetical

space is typical of prescriptivism, which tries to narrow down what Toury deems as the "initial possibilities of translation replacement". Its main notion, solvability, emphasises the number of potential solutions for each segment available for the translator to choose which, as I have previously mentioned, timidly gives way to certain post-structuralist assumptions on the deconstruction of language. According to descriptivist thought, of course, each system's norms shall act as constraints to the translator's choices, acting as a limiting vector on the potential number of replacements for each translation unit.

As for Problem₂, it relates to the habitual operative space of descriptivist work: target-oriented frameworks, where, as Levý would put it, the researcher is playing a "game with complete information" (Levý 1967: 1172, in Toury 2012: 39), where, once contrastive efforts have led to the delimitation of replacing and replaced units, a retrospective effort is needed to track down the source text's problems allegedly encountered by an anonymous translator, on the basis of the "observed" solutions (Solutions₂).

Although no explicit mention is made in descriptivist work, a considerable amount of fragile hypothesising is needed for the reconstruction of the problematics which a particular evolving state of the source language could pose to that of the target language. The sociological foundations of the system in the allegedly concerned timeframe are equally elusive, but undoubtedly the most elusive part of the process is the assumption of the translator's cognitive, emotional and social processes relevant to the particular translation project concerned. The aim of the already mentioned Translator studies (Chesterman 2009), which shall be presented in a subsequent section, should be that of establishing the translator's "system" of emotional, professional, ideological and methodological alignments, alliances, and divergences; his/her implementation (or lack thereof) of the series of norms felt as constraining the project, as well as the context-specific arrangements he/she establishes for this purpose (the so-called "translation tendencies", described in the next section); his/her cooperation or dissent with other relevant agents, and the professional networks they conform. From feminist translation approaches, the revaluation of individual experience encouraged by gendered social history (see pp. 61ff) should invite to give even more weight, and put more effort into this reconstruction, being as it is a crucial window to censored female and feminist subjectivities.

Finally, the third meaning of "translation problem" in expert discourses is process-oriented. Similarly to problem₂, it reflects the undertaking of an impossible task: that of

accounting for the specifics of a metadiscursive process like translation without the slightest interest in the translator's subjective, individual processes. The timeframe is the precise moment of substitution of one or various segments of the source text for (an)other(s) in the "interim" version of the target text. This means that, this time, the translator (and researcher) does not count on a finished product, but finds his/herself immersed in its production, or intends to reconstruct the hypothetical decision-making processes of another translator at different steps of translation production. Thus, on a procedural approach, our point of departure is not a particular problem, but the virtually undetermined number of problems (problems³) encountered in the translation process, the account of which by an outsider must necessarily remain tentative and hypothetical. The result of the analysis of the potential replacements leads to Solutions³, either "interim" or final, since at the particular point in time chosen, there is no possibility of predicting the ultimate outcome of the whole procedure. This third standpoint on translation problems may be found in the cognitive approaches to the translation process (for an overview, see Albir and Alves 2009), particularly through projects like the so-called think-aloud protocols (Kussmaul and Tirkkonen-Condit 1995). Raw data collection has been the main contribution of these trends, but their social, emotional or ideological signification is generally missing, most often irretrievable from plain figures.

Potential and Limitations of a Norm-Governed Approach

(...) It is the tendency to conform to dominant discourses and standards that lies at the root of self-censorship in translation and self-limitation in general (Tymoczko 2009: 31).

At the beginning of this section, I have explained how the incipient aim of DTS was to mirror the development of scientific fields in the means of consolidating and legitimising a discipline of its own. Hence, a tendency is observed toward the search for systemic norms and ultimately, for laws providing translation with the systematically deprived dignity of a scholarly subject. In this sense, the formulation of analytic constraints for the diachronic study of translation praxis may be said to pursue ideological aims of the present, only strategically aligned with the past. These aims are inseparable from the latest developments in the disciplinary politics of Translation Studies and, as I have contended above, from the recent nationalist developments of patriarchal nation-state structures, more and more conflicted as days go by. As already suggested, it is no coincidence that the geopolitical blocks where descriptivism was first developed, different though their motives may be, have been consistently claimed a nation-

state to themselves for a long time now. The methodologies they have devised for historical translation analysis no doubt have strongly contributed to the common aim of reinforcing translated products as nodes of social structuring and networking. But the very conceptual nature of the norms and laws by virtue of which such structuring and networking may be explained has proven to have certain limitations pointing at this underlying, nation-state reinforcing role of methodology. Albeit without relating them to this burdening nationalist focus, I believe that Pym's work on the method of translation history has eloquently explained them.

The first limitation serving this nation-state structural reinforcement is the emphasis placed by norms and laws on "non-change" (Pym 2014: 111). In effect, the obsession with finding a set of unified social constraints binding nation-bound literary practices, together with a circumscription to theoretically uni-national, and uni-cultural states for the conduction of their studies, leads descriptivist theorists to a consolidation of the common ground shared by the "imaginary communities" of nation-states, instead of questioning how historical change was made by those overtly deviating from this common ground. Interestingly enough, Pym criticises how any form of norm deviation has traditionally been justified by descriptivists as a sign of foreign "interference", as Toury would put it (Toury 2012: 62, in Pym 2014: 111). Thus, the validity of normative abstractions by an allegedly neutral researcher is protected, and any potential case of intra-national dissent regarding translational praxis denied. This, in my view, reinforces my previous claims on the status of "foreigners" granted to each and all intra-national groups challenging systemic homogeneity, especially women, as well as the impossibility that patriarchal norm-governed methodologies grant any legitimacy to female and feminist discourses, contended in the above section. In fact, Pym contends solidly that the uni-national approach of descriptivism, conceiving of each system as one perfectly homogeneous, impermeable national unit, does not conform to the melting-pot reality of translational environments, where a great number of individuals, especially translators, may feel part of more than one national or cultural reality at the same time (Pym 2014). Instead, two more realistic notions are proposed for the identification of translation-relevant discursive communities: "interculture" and "regime". As for "interculture", it is defined as a series of "beliefs and practices found in intersections or overlaps of cultures, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once" (Pym 2014: 177). Acknowledging the existence of intercultural spaces amounts to destabilising the clear-cut, pure origins of norms, and suggesting the possibility of equally transnational constraints, resulting from cultural hybridity.

The concept of "regime" is somehow complementary. Pym draws it from Ruggie's work in the field of international politics (1975), and depicts it as a state of supranational collaboration, derived from willfully shared expectations, norms, and commitments. It is my belief that these two concepts may be of great help for a feminist-informed translation history project since, as previously contended, no nation-state approach may account for the evolution of female and feminist translation agencies.

A second limitation serving patriarchal nation-state configurations relates to the methodological foci of translation history conceived of by traditional descriptivism. In this thesis I have contended that, among others, translation paratexts, famously problematised by feminists (again, see Flotow's classification in Flotow 1991) and translation theory are forms of ideological metadiscourse relevant to truly depict the underlying "politics of transmission" of one or more translational objects of study across historical periods, movements, societies, etc. This, as my survey on women's position in translation history intends to show (see section 2.4.3.), implies overcoming the "deceptions of theory" (Pym 2014: 106), and infer the purpose of the serious asymmetries observed between what translation praxis shows and the impression thereof created by its commentators, translators or not (Pym 2014: 115). Such deceptive effect of translation's metadiscursive products should not exclude them from a descriptivist analysis but, quite contrarily, complement any historicist study of translation praxis in the means of discerning, among other crucial descriptivist objects of study, the "value of translation" for a distinctive social/literary environment (Toury 2012: 69, see the previous section), that is, the purpose fulfilled by translated products according to the constraints imposed by their dominant groups, usually deserving, among other epithets, that of "patriarchal". As long as we, as researchers, identify such constraints as "normative", naturally issued from social agreement (Toury 2012: 62), and not as "imposed" on an artificially united social mass, our analyses shall invariably lead us to validate and reinforce the same social standards oppressing women and other non-hegemonic groups; standards by which the first descriptivist theorists did not seem to care to live by.

What remains suggested but mostly unarticulated in Pym's critique is the coercive potential of norms. As the academic abstraction they are, norms certainly allow a great deal of subjective involvement by researchers in dictating what pertains in each system and what does not, in a way which requires discerning the politics under which descriptivist analyses have been formulated. This, to a certain extent, is doable, especially, as Pym suggests, through

contrast between actual translations and the paratextual and theoretical metadiscourses connecting them in more or less explicit terms with a distinctive system's needs and conventions. What is certainly more elusive, and much more interesting, especially in order to describe what feminists have encountered on their undertaking of disruptive translation praxis, is the reconstruction of norms as perceived forms of constraint by translation practitioners *as they operate* within a given system. This kind of analysis holds up with descriptivism's third type of translation problems (Problems₃), where the translator's weighing up of potential solutions for each translational challenge takes place, informed by these yet unarticulated constraints, mere shadows in the cognitive process of translating, which nevertheless point at "appropriateness" and "inappropriateness" in powerful ways, and force subjects into taking ultimate decisions on the ideological function of their work.

Here, an additional aspect of norm implementation arises, one that neither descriptivists nor Pym have, to my best knowledge, duly considered: (self-) censorship. In Tymoczko's very acute perception, we should seriously reconsider descriptivist views on the translator's "free" self-subjection to allegedly agreed-on constraints which, let us remember, besides the traditional oppositions of free versus literal translation, mostly lacked the status of articulated norms at the time of their implementation, and were therefore applied in a sub-conscious manner:

(...) The tendency of translators to buy into dominant views and to stop themselves from textual production suggesting dissent can be analysed in terms of norms. The discourse about norms in translation has explored how translators under certain circumstances freely subordinate their work to the dominant social, ideological, and textual norms of their culture. (...) It is the tendency to conform to dominant discourses and standards that lies at the root of self-censorship in translation and self-limitation in general (Tymoczko 2009: 31).

This, as one may understand, opens up a considerably broad field of enquiry from a feminist perspective, as it raises pertinent questions on how patriarchal gender constructs operate through translation agencies, in the means of either reinforcing dominant views of society, or challenging them. Women have had a particularly meaningful relationship with (self-)censorship, beginning by their treacherously named "mother" tongues (see De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991: 15). The sole fact of expressing themselves in languages devised by patriarchy is, as Canadian feminist translatoologists have often contended, an act of translation in itself (Godard 1989), an act of passage (Capperdoni 2007). Still, the feminizing

intention of this metaphor is quite meaningful, perhaps intending to portray patriarchy's most powerful weapon as passive and inoffensive. A more habitual focus of study of materially discernible forms of textual manipulation through interlinguistic/ intercultural translation, the most straightforward approaches being based on previously classified censorship files, now made available by the new democratic regimes of former dictatorial states. This has been a very fruitful line of research in countries like Spain, where research groups like TRACE¹⁵ and scholars like Pilar Godayol (see Godayol 2014; 2016; Godayol and Taronna 2018, etc.) have extensively worked on these files in the means of materialising patriarchal textual manipulation.

Considerably more difficult are research projects into coetaneous acts of gender-based (self-)censorship, in which cases norms may not simply be retrieved from classified documents. Indeed, even for contemporary scholar, working on translations produced within their own literary systems and timeframes, research into (self-)censorship is almost a utopian endeavour and, despite the less and less frequent situations of tyranny and dictatorship we run across these days, it has by no means lost its significance, especially when patriarchal gender constructs are concerned. This crucial reality seems to point at the right directions of amendment for descriptivist methodologies: establishing textual networks and accounting for transtextual connections shall not suffice in order to trace back the roots of sociological coercion. We need to complement this traditional standpoint with the already mentioned personal, emotional, professional and political networks affecting the translator's performance in each particular project. We must be able to link the norms we infer with both small-and big-scale forms of discursive oppression, be it (more or less willingly) accepted, or (more or less explicitly) challenged by the subject. By discerning between small- and big-scale forms of discursive oppression I intend to emphasise the importance of a translator's contexts of production, and how they conform (or fail to do so) to the higher-order translational circuits and their fluxes, be they scholarly, local, "national", transnational, or otherwise. I also expect to raise awareness on the multiple agents usually disregarded by descriptivists in their study of norms. How can editors and original authors be left out of the equation, when they constitute the most direct source of coercion to translator decision-making? Which institutions should be included and analysed in our study?

¹⁵ For an overview of the work done by TRACE, see Merino and Rabadán 2002, and Seruya and Moniz 2009, among others.

Even if many environments today do not have the explicit censorial apparatuses of dictatorships, they certainly rely on organisational structures which, besides acting as cohesive nodes for society, are responsible for more or less evident forms of discursive coercion. A thorough study of the context of production, in my view, should reveal which organisations are relevant to the particular translation projects, movements or trends under analysis. Finally, although these aspects shall be further developed in a subsequent section on Translator Studies (see section 2.4.2.), the importance of the translator's identity, emotions, convictions and intimate relations must be researched as far as possible, for the very same reasons which lead literary historians to account even for the most insignificant aspects of a writer's life in order to explain both the form and content of their works. Parallel to the "national" literary systems, smaller, subject-centred systems do operate in ways much more powerful than descriptivist work allows to see and, given women's systematic exclusion of public spheres and public discourse, they should be considered in any historical study of female and feminist translation praxis.

Norms and Laws

In Toury's foundational contribution to DTS, translation is depicted as a "norm-governed activity", a trait inherent to any kind of culturally-bound practice. In his view, each system's constraints to discursive praxis are materialised by different entities, among which norms represent a sort of *aurea mediocritas*. In fact, norms constitute an intermediate point between two extreme behavioural notions: those represented by "rules" and those embodied by "idiosyncrasies" (Toury 2012: 69). For descriptivists, rules are allegedly objective sets of regulations, explicitly displayed in reference books and other theoretical sources, while idiosyncrasies constitute almost whimsical individualities. When confronted with actual praxis, rules are often found to constitute extreme abstractions, non-coincidental with empirical data. Idiosyncrasies, for their part, must be rejected as non-representative, isolated forms of praxis. What truly makes norms an acceptable compromise between these two poles is the observable repetition of their implementation within a system. On an imaginary axis between rules and idiosyncrasies, norms may situate closer to either pole, therefore having a stronger objective nature, or a more subjective, individualistic one. The limits between notions, however, are far from clear, as Toury himself acknowledges (Toury 1995: 57, in Martínez-Sierra 2015; 45). Now, what descriptivists leave unclear is the minimal recurrence of this repetition in order to justify the formulation of a norm (see Martínez-Sierra 2015: 47) or, for

that matter, the influence of voices of authority across space and time on our perception of this repetition, reinforcing certain behavioral patterns over others without a true sociological basis for it, but for purely ideological reasons.

Importantly, it is in this belief in "norms" as patterns of production, reflecting a certain form of social organization, where the "sociological" nature of descriptivist approaches lies. For Toury, norms emerge from a context of social debate which, in his view, ends up with a seemingly unproblematic imposition of one faction's preferred set of regulations over the rest, and with non-hegemonic groups simply accepting their official sanctioning. The positivist¹⁶, homogenising aim depicting norms *exclusively as forms of social agreement, ignoring the considerable dose of imposition they entail*, has already been discussed below, as well as the tacit form of this imposed agreement, silence being, as female subjects know well, the best ally for oppression. I nevertheless feel the need to remind them in sight of Toury's definition of the term "norm":

Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what would count as right or wrong, adequate or inadequate – into performance 'instructions appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations. These 'instructions specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension (Toury 2012: 62).

As Toury himself previously acknowledges, normative frameworks are required as a response to a context of variability and freedom of choice. Discourse is operated through initially free combinatory structures, where innovation is at the core of (self-)representation and (self-) positioning within a community. Since patriarchal societies understand community in hierarchical terms, the discursive operations consolidating it are by no means deprived of certain degrees of silenced controversy and forceful compliance, especially when half the human population has historically had no part in these settlements. Patriarchal norms are founded on submission, dictating obligations (what has to be done), prohibitions (what must not be done), non-obligations (what does not have to be done) and non-prohibitions (what may be done) (Toury 2012: 63), tasks for which different forms and amounts of coercion are required. For Toury, however, establishing norms from a retrospective, academic standpoint

¹⁶ Positivism in descriptivist approaches is heavily responsible for the silent manipulation of data they encourage researchers to undertake when describing literary systems. For more information on its implications for DTS, see Hermans 1998: 125ff.

has to do not with the group's internal dynamics and debates, but with what researchers perceive from their time and space-distant frameworks:

1. Group homogeneity and discernible internal categories;
2. Attention to agents playing allegedly secondary roles in text production, such as editors, revisers, teachers, critics, censors, publishers;
3. Translator consumers and their perceived degree of intervention in norm establishment;
4. And the importance of multiple-role agents in the group. (Adapted from Toury 2012: 75)

Sensitive as these questions may seem in regard with translation-related agencies, they must be seen as Toury's most recent reflections, after a few decades of descriptivist experiences and considerable criticism on their limitations. Still, they clearly reveal the groups under analysis as constructed by the observer, in many cases from self-interested, non-contemporary perspectives, "making the past speak for [their] purposes" (Pym 2014: 114). In fact, this procedure is by no means new. It affects a great deal of what we know about medieval literary translation, the surviving copies of which are often early printings. This gave Late-Medieval and Renaissance editors great power to lay the basis for the study of past literary systems, audiences and, of course, norms in their paratexts (see Long 2010: 63), at a time when the very first-nation states were being consolidated, and translations into the vernaculars could play a vital role in this consolidation (Thiesse 2007: 19). This, in my view, proves two relevant points of this section: first, it shows how early the imposition of the nation-state prism started to influence translation history, using the invention of the printing press (ca. 1440) to reset most textual traditions at will. Second, it sheds new light on apparently reproductive roles like that of editorship, who seem to be of secondary importance to Toury in the establishment of norms. It is perhaps not by chance that the deconstruction of an allegedly minor editor agency has been undertaken by feminist traditions. For instance, on the basis of the already mentioned "New Textualism" (see section 2.4.1.), a defense of "fragmented authorships" among authors, translators, editors and other agents may be argued on the grounds of the normative coercion operated by these allegedly neutral mediators. Finally, notions like that of *transediting* (Stetting 1989) point at the same direction of normative orchestration from editorial positions, requiring further revision from a feminist perspective.

Regarding the nature and typology of norms, Toury distinguishes four kinds: initial, preliminary, operational, and textual-linguistic. The terms chosen for this taxonomy are, as often happens with descriptivism, not as illustrative of their content as one would wish, but seem to effectively point at different layers of translational operations. As for initial norms, they respond to the translator's decision between the two classical "contending sources" of translation, patriarchy's classical false dilemma: "foreignization" and "domestication" (Scheiermacher 1814; Venuti 1995, etc.), which, in Toury's terminology, amount to source-text "adequacy" and target-text "acceptability" (see 2.3.1.). In this "initial" norm, therefore preceding the implementation of any other normative framework, we see the basic false dilemma of patriarchal manipulation, the clearest instance of discordance between descriptivist norms and actual praxis. Within a patriarchally-controlled system, where no single dissident voice is welcome, what does this "adequacy" vs. "acceptability" dilemma amount to? Is not every single translation conveying patriarchally-sanctioned values regarded as "adequate", and every single translation produced under potentially dissident motivation subjected to "acceptability"? From descriptivist premises, patriarchal geopolitical differences may seem to orchestrate the differences between these two poles, but, just as I have previously argued for the existence of female imaginary communities across time and space, their counterpart, patriarchal imaginary communities, are in my view the true vectors of the "adequacy" vs. "acceptability" axis, leaving geopolitical differences as supplementary variables, mostly contributing to patriarchal sociological models, but potentially capable of challenging them, as post-colonial theory has shown.

Regarding preliminary operations, Toury describes them as previous to the undertaking of any particular translation project, and composed by "two main sets of considerations which are often interconnected", those regarding the existence of distinctive translation policies, and those referring to the directness of translation (Toury 2012: 82). The directness of translation, which I consider less related with the usual lines of research in feminist translation, is concerned with the potential existence of intertranslations between a source and a target text. This is a usual phenomenon, especially in medieval translation, where a great number of English translations from the Latin had used previous French versions as a basis (for an overview, see Washbourne 2013). In less distant times, texts written in languages with which a certain system had no contact were translated through the versions generated in another system, perhaps with more frequent translational exchanges and therefore a certain number of trained translators for this purpose. The Spanish translations of canonic theatre plays in the

modern and contemporary age were translated relying on previous French versions for exegetic purposes (Zaro 2007; Lafarga and Pegenaut 2004: 397).

As for translation policies, they are, in my view, the most relevant aspect of descriptivist norms from a feminist perspective. They comprise the factors governing a system's choice of particular text types, specific media (oral or written), and human agents or groups (as an example, publishing houses are mentioned) for translation purposes. As descriptivists have recently acknowledged, this term refers mainly to "the conduct of political and public affairs by a government or administration", as well as "the political or public practices as implemented in legal rules", which makes apparently confusing the inclusion by former descriptivists of "informal" manifestations of ideology, translation and publishing strategies, prizes and university lectures (Meylaerts 2011: 163). Interestingly enough, Meylaerts indicates that policy regulations constitute a transversal axis between public organisations and private corporations (op. cit.: 163), which should in my view suggest further attention to how patriarchal discursive constraints develop, from domestic and private economic structures to public ones. As contended in a previous section (see pp. 64ff), this constitutes a grey area in Anglo-American theories of gender oppression: how do gender-oppressive structures spread from households, humanity's basic social and economic units, to whole corporations, be they private or public, be they companies or states? It is my belief that norms, as the abstract generalizations they are of somehow widespread, individual innovations have considerable weight in this process.

As I have contended before, I am convinced that oppression and imposition in their most prototypical form start within gender relationships, through an essentially discursive struggle to impose a set of gender constructs over others. Quickly enough, they have trespassed the couple's intimate realm to take on public spaces, operating symbolic representations of strength and weakness, of power and submission, through gender metaphors. This, understandably, requires the imposition of discourse-oriented norms, the effectiveness of which is such that they have survived in women's "imagined communities" across time and space. This places translation praxis in a crucial position to be interrogated regarding the transnational evenness of patriarchal abuse. Dealing with translation policy as a gender-neutral, naturally accepted set of norms is therefore, naïve at best. Despite the great emphasis placed in gender-inclusive language nowadays, a transnational, therefore translational approach is still

missing from the work of most international organisations, governmental and non-governmental, whose influence in systemic norms is by no means minor.

That said, Toury's "understanding" of translation policy covers aspects of great importance for the literary and translational emancipation of women. On the one hand, it invites us to rethink the ideological importance not only of text types, but also of genres which, as argued somewhere else (see Castellano-Ortolá, forthcoming) are often subjected to intersemiotic translation procedures (Jakobson 1959), resulting in what Monzó defines as "transgenres" (2002), that is, new generic products whose traits do not fully match any of the generic forms of either the source or the target systems, which encourages Toury to support views on translation as conforming a distinctive system, and especially a genre in its own right (Toury 2012: 23). This holds up with my belief that patriarchal tolerance on women's literary praxis was based on the attributes of literary genres as the basic unit of norm implementation in systems. Translation, from a patriarchal perspective, is in my view no different and, under the fabricated norms of commentators and theorists, has been considered an inoffensive female occupation since at least the Renaissance (see Simon 1996, and 2.4.3.).

As much as I disagree with claims considering any female or feminist attempt at channeling well-established patriarchal genres as an act of gender-subversive reappropriation, I nevertheless observe great potential in certain illustrative experiences with both mainstream and secondary generic forms. Tuchman and Fortin (1989), for instance, have worked extensively on women's successful appropriation of the 19th century novel, turning it from a second-rate model (*littérature du second rayon*, in Berman's words, 1984) to a best-selling formula. Similar claims have been made from the point of view crime fiction (Coward and Semple 1989), where an innovative current was taking up new space for feminist and other dissident groups, breaking up with the monotony of the whodunit era. If not "feminist" in themselves, these works may be considered first steps into the creation of female discursive subjectivities. Regarding text types, women have powerfully inhabited paratextual devices in many instances, of special interest to feminist translation given its reliance on prefaces, footnotes and other editorial strategies for manipulative purposes (for an overview, see Wallmach 2006). In one of her translations, Barbara Godard even suggests that text types like the preface should become genres in their own right (1987: 7).

Operational norms, for their part, orchestrate the decision-making process entailed in

any translation project, affecting the various discursive layers of the texts concerned: first, what Toury labels as the "text matrix", which amounts to "the way textual material is distributed"; the "textual make-up", and "textual formulation" (2012: 82). More importantly, however, they are critical in order to identify the relationships produced between the target text and its source, that is, this invariant core allowing researchers to effectively connect them as target and source. Within operational norms, matricial norms constitute a distinctive sub-type. In Toury's work, they are described as "govern[ing] the very existence of TL material intended as a replacement of corresponding SL material (...), its location in the text (or the way linguistic material is actually *distributed* throughout it), as well as the text's *segmentation* into chapters, stanzas, passages and suchlike" (2012: 82-83). This, as far as I am concerned, amounts to a considerable dose of prescriptivism, and fails to subject the contrastive-linguistics perspective reigning in the first attempts at translation analysis. What is more, it implies a surrendering before the inequalities deeply encoded in discursive conventions, especially from a feminist perspective.

The treacherous instructivism of these norms becomes more apparent as one reviews the third type of norms: textual-linguistic norms. These norms orchestrate the actual selection of linguistic material in the means of replacing that of the source text. Together, matricial and textual linguistic norms impose limitations in the lexical choice both before and during the translation act, which very much questions the importance which descriptivists attach to ad-hoc, text-to-text analysis, as well as the extent to which they may represent female and feminist forms of discourse, excluded as they have been from traditional normative frames. In light of the previous considerations, the limitations of these norms to reflect inclusive normative frameworks should lead us to search for more accurate systems of analysis. In this sense, Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Weiss and Wodak 2007; Fairclough 2013; Wodak and Meyer 2015, etc.), and especially its feminist strand (Mills 1995; Lazar 2005, etc.) would indeed make a valuable contribution to descriptivist text analysis methodologies. A "feminist critique of language", as Cameron puts it, (1990), is also needed in order to determine whether these operational norms are actually denying proper textual representation to half the population of the world. It is my belief that the potential of these contributions for the improvement of descriptivist methodologies is considerable. In accordance, in my discussion of the methodology for this thesis In line with Castro (2009: 60), I shall be proposing the introduction of certain procedural principles of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (from now on FCDA) in the means of overcoming the serious limitations,

both ideological and formal, complicating the use of descriptivist text analysis from a feminist perspective.

I shall now be presenting a fundamental concept across the short history of descriptivist studies: laws, a classical, key term, resulting from the last developments in the field. Laws, as I have mentioned before, are essential for descriptivist scholars given their objective of granting DTS a scientific status, which implies the consolidation of a theoretical branch on the basis of descriptive observation obtain by the systemic methods. Laws, then, represent this difficult reconciliation between theory and practice for which feminist scholars have often advocated (see Federici and Leonardi 2013), and which descriptivists have problematised in prescriptive trends, extracting from descriptive analysis the core principles allowing the prediction of a system's translational behaviour across different contexts and eventualities. And still, despite the desirable simplicity and clarity of law formulations in science, Toury sees it fit to contextualise the explanation of what rules with a number of pages devoted to what they may be easily confused with. This, as one may understand, is not the most promising starting point to lay out fundamental scientific principles. Laws, he warns us, may not be confused with "lists of possibilities", that is with the virtually limited and manageable possibilities surrounding texts, events, or acts (2012: 296-297). Nor should we take "directives", as bearing lawful value. By "directives", Toury ambiguously refers to "modifying factors of one kind or another" accompanying "normative formulations" (2012: 297). All of these supplementary notions, adding complexity to a difficult methodology in itself, fall into the category of "non-lawlike generalizations" (Toury 2012: 295), that is, inferences of low theoretical worth, devoid of the predicting capacity of truly lawful ones, and illustrating mere "options", instead of "choices" and "decisions" (Toury 2012: 297). What is, then, a translational law?

Translation laws are the sublimation of descriptivist studies. It constitutes the passage "from the most elementary kind of theoretical framework, equipped only to deal with what translation can, in principle, involve, through that which translation does involve, under varying circumstances, to the statement of what it is likely to involve, under one set of conditions or another" (Toury 2012: 300-301). In short, after solid descriptivist work, we depart from a realm of potentiality ("what translation can involve"), based on the multiple materialisations of certain alternatives over others within each translated product ("what translation does involve"). However, in order to obtain a theoretical body granting DTS its

well-deserved legitimacy, Toury insists in the necessity of a last step: the formulation of universally predicting principles, the forms under which they must be presented are conditional, hypothetical: "if X1 and/or X2, and/or ... Xn, then the greater the likelihood that Y, whereas if Z1, Z2, and/or ... Zn, then the lesser the likelihood that Y, if X1 and Z1, then the likelihood of Y is greater than if X1 and Z2, and even greater than if X1 and Z3" (Toury 2012: 303)

The enormous fallibility of this law-formulation enterprise strangely leaves Toury's "optimistic" views on the discipline untouched (see the quote opening this section). Whenever predictions do not match the reality observed, according to him it is surely because of "variables (...) presumably unknown" (Toury 2012: 302), therefore not considered in our equation, or because the "respective positions and relationships" need some adjusting. In a nutshell: with the authority granted by the "descriptivist-researcher" status, presupposing absolute neutrality, one may always find ways to fit reality into his/her laws. Considering that the extraction of translation relationships, the establishment of translation equivalence, and the inference of norms relies absolutely on the subject's perception, I still fail to understand how the resulting laws may escape from the pernicious suspicion of prescriptivism. May anyone be able to unearth the principles predicting the precise discursive combination to be employed by a subject under particular circumstances, especially when the subject is ignored and the circumstances reconstructed by an outsider? Could descriptivism constitute the perfect excuse for anyone wishing to dictate on others' translation praxis, on the basis of subjectively perceived universals? When employed from an uncritical stance, descriptivist methodologies constitute an effective tool for the reinforcement of patriarchal order under a seemingly objective standpoint.

2.3.3. A System-Oriented Approach

"When I use the word "system" in these pages, the term has nothing to do with "the System" (usually spelled with a capital S) as it increasingly occurs in colloquial usage to refer to the more sinister aspects of the powers that be, and against which there is no recourse. Within systems thinking the term "system" has no Kafkaesque overtones.
(Lefevère 1991: 12)

I have decided to start this section with a prominent Manipulation school theorist, André Lefevère, to illustrate the concept of systems. On the grounds of his greater honesty regarding the manipulative, interpretive dynamics of translation in patriarchal systems, as well as of his

belief that translation is the "metaliterary discipline" *par excellence* (1978), I have preferred to discuss his contributions in my portrayal of translation and its historical critique as metadiscursive, hermeneutical processes (see section 2.1.1.). The relevance for this thesis of his views on systemic analysis lies in his progressive, critical distancing from those held by polysystem theorists (see Even-Zohar 1979) in several crucial directions:

[Lefevère] criticized polysystem theory on several grounds: it tended to be essentialist, i.e. to behave as if systems really existed; it was too fond of jargon and diagrams and the rest of the "scientific panoply"; the opposition between "primary" and "secondary" activities was superfluous; and its abstract categories were not sufficiently amenable to concrete research (1983: 193-94) (Hermans 1998: 125).

Toury's exhaustive analyses and curated attention to terminology make his the most comprehensive depiction of descriptivist theories, which has encouraged me to depart from his most recent work in order to portray them. Nonetheless, this analytic complexity, mirroring the "scientific panoply" of the well-established disciplinary discourses it strives to keep up with, is what makes the greatest wrong to the well-intended project of approaching theory and empirical research. Abstraction in descriptivist discourse very much ends up producing the same effect of prescription, forcing the researcher to readjust the outcome of his/her descriptive work till it matches the principles obtained through systemic theory. As Hermans notes (1998: 125), Lefevère himself was by no means alien to prescriptive dangers in his early work, indicating that the aim of DTS was to provide "a guideline for the production of translations" (1978: 234). This is, in my view, the greatest danger of system-oriented approaches, and perhaps explains why this scholar feels the urge to defend himself from critiques depicting "the System" as a structured form of discursive oppression (see initial quote). He intends to discuss a different kind of system, one he labels as "contrived", "consist[ing] both of texts (objects) and human agents who read, write and rewrite texts" (1993: 12).

Curiously enough, no mention to such agents appears in Lefevère's definition, neutralising a crucial (although not fully explored) difference between manipulation scholars and polysystem theorists: "a set of interrelated elements that happen to share certain characteristics that set them apart from other elements perceived as not belonging to the system" (Lefevère 1993: 12). Here, no time or space specification is mentioned for the systemic delimitation, which, as I have argued in my portrayal of translation as a form of hermeneutics, gives researchers a very-much needed chance of expanding our research horizons beyond diachronic and diatopic evolution. Discerning between elements belonging

and not belonging to the system requires, as descriptivists tirelessly remind us, a sociological approach, placing its focus on agency. Similarly, the perception of systems as homogeneous sets of (meta-) discursive networks, be it by its own members or by researchers, lies on imaginary constructs (see the previous quote by Hermans 1998: 125), like the constitution of communities themselves (see Anderson's 1983 work, explained in 2.4.1.), both strongly dependent, as I intend to argue throughout this thesis, on gender constructs. Without offering the ultimate approach to subjectivity in systemic analysis, Lefevere does succeed in providing four useful analytic tools for an initial outline which: "patronage", "ideology", "poetics" and, to a lesser extent, the "universe of discourse" (Hermans 1998: 125). Although the author presents them in this order, I shall begin by commenting on "ideology" and "poetics" as the two main forms of constraints provided by a system.

It is Lefevere's main contention that "intrasystemic relationships", that is, "the relations between (assumed) translations and other members of the host systems" (Toury 2012: 99), are produced by a series of rewritings of a given author, work, genre, literary trend, or historically locatable form of taste, projecting "images" (Lefevere 1993: 5), imaginary constructs of them. Importantly, this entails various radical shifts. Translators are paired with writers, editors, historiographers and other systemic agents in a complex, network operation on the inherited constraints, either from conservative or challenging positions, which helps conceive the kind of feminist "fragmented authorships" placing translation in a position of ideological and poetical equivalence with that of other agents (Hurley and Goodblatt 2009, see section 2.2.2.). This critical positioning is, according to Lefevere, not only understandable, but necessary in order to ensure the historical evolution of systemic constraints, which, in my view, indicates a connection between a certain critical capacity, a particular form of literary hermeneutics, and the renewal of poetic conventions, in terms similar to those employed by German Romantic Schlegel (see Berman 1984: 194, and section 2.1.1. of this thesis). The renewal of "poetics", however, is absolutely independent from the "ideology" function in Lefevere's work. He understands them as two separate forms of systemic constraints against which rewriters of any kind may react in either supporting or confrontational ways:

Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by translation. These two factors are, in order of importance, the translator's ideology (whether he/she willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made. The ideology dictates the basic strategy the translator is going to use and therefore also dictates solutions to problems concerned with both the

"universe of discourse" expressed in the original (objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original) and the language the original itself is expressed in (Lefevere 1993: 41).

In the previous excerpt, Lefevere summarises the interconnection among the elements I am discussing here, which constitutes an excellent point of departure for their definition. Let us focus on ideology, which appears as a condition pertaining exclusively to the translator, but may be extended, as implicitly intended in the rest of his work, to other rewriters operating in literary systems. As mentioned in a previous section (see 2.1.1.), Lefevere is nevertheless incapable of according this same hermeneutical capacity to a most obvious interpreter of alien discourses: the researcher. As for his definition of "ideology", Lefevere goes far beyond the conceptual limitations of traditional descriptivism in granting it a broad operational spectrum. In contrast with traditional understandings, ideological processes are "not limited to the political sphere", but, according to his quote of Jameson (1974: 107), as a "(...) grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions". This helps conceive of private realms, understandably often portrayed in female and feminist literature, as settings of ideological significance, providing new directions to explain the causation between basic traditional gender relations and broader patriarchal social structures and organisations (see pp. 82ff). But, most importantly, the exploitation of relationships between "form, convention, and belief" underscores literary production as a space where repression is either reinforced or challenged, through critical reactions to normative frameworks, allowing for an understanding of DTS as a truly sociocritical, hermeneutical procedure.

Poetics

"Poetics", for its part, is presented by this author as "consisting of two components: one is an inventory of literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; the other a concept of what the role of literature is, or should be, in the social system as a whole" (Lefevere 1993: 26). In short, "poetics" refers to the set of aesthetic and functional constraints imposed to literary (re-)production within a particular system. Various observations arise from this definition. The first set of remarks I would make have to do with Lefevere's treatment of aesthetic and functional patterns as essentially independent from "ideology". Within this "poetic" repertoire of literary custom, all of the elements mentioned, as previously explained, fail to escape from patriarchal literary politics. Within the first stages of feminist

linguistics, characterised by the already mentioned search for essential differences between women's and men's "language" (for more information on the "difference paradigm", see section 2.2.3.), several studies have dealt with the troubled intersection of "gender, language and literature", as surveyed by Deborah Cameron in her seminal 1995 work, *The Feminist Critique of Language* (1995: 47-82). In Cameron's compilation, several highly illustrative texts are featured. Already in the late 20s, Virginia Woolf discussed the potentially distinctive signs of women's relationship with fictional discourses (1929, published in 1958), focusing on the particular practices conducting "female sentences" in ways deeply discernible from those guiding "male" sentences. Additionally, Kaplan's article on gender and poetry is presented (1986), revolving around a crucial question: "Do men and women in patriarchal societies have different relationships to the language they speak and write?" (Kaplan in Cameron 1995: 95). Finally, Sarah Mills delves once more into thus-far prevailing presuppositions on a hypothetical "female sentence", from Woolf's already mentioned discussion to the view of "French" feminisms on women's writing (for an overview, see Carr 2007: 120-137), on the grounds of a crucial lack she has observed in these contributions: " (...) their discussions frequently remain at a rather abstract level, since they rarely give concrete examples", which leads to an insufficient sustainment of their conclusions (Mills in Cameron 1995: 65).

This, in my view, is one visible limitation common to the critiques of both feminist literature and feminist translation. As Wallmach has suggested, backed up by Godard's own empirical conclusions (see the preface to her translation of Brossard's *These Our Mothers*, 1983), "feminist translators are so called not only because they translate feminist works, but also because they wish to imitate the original authors' writing processes as part of the translation process" (1996: 284). So much rhetorical emphasis has been put by feminist translatoologists on defining the "feminist poetics" (Showalter 1988) characterising both feminist source texts and guiding their translations, also in the Canadian Feminist Translation movement¹⁷. However, the kind of archaeological work encouraged at the first stages of descriptive translation analysis is far from sufficient in order to justify the amount of theory produced by the different branches of Feminist Translation Studies, a theory which, according to Toury's premises, constitutes the culmination of the entire descriptive process (see section 2.2.1.). it is my belief that a proper grounding of the discipline requires the integration of a

¹⁷ For more information, see, among others, De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991; also, Godard's discussions in Godard 1978 and 1989, but particularly her translations prefaces: 1983; 1986; 1991a; 1991b; 2004, etc.. As can be seen, linguistic reflections have rarely been the object of scholarly work, but stem mainly from praxis, and as such are reflected in paratextual material. The "anecdotalism" (Robinson 1998) entailed by this fact is obvious.

linguistic perspective, perhaps not in the directions taken by the incipient, difference-paradigm studies surveyed by Cameron (1995), but in the more exhaustive lines of thought proposed by the aforementioned Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (see section 2.5.).

The "abstract level" (Kaplan in Cameron 1995: 65) at which most feminist critiques of either source or translated texts have operated must be contextualised in the important work by Anglo American authors on what constitutes in my view a distinctive form of feminist hermeneutics: feminist literary criticism. From the late 70s onwards, scholars in this field (Gilbert and Gubar 1979; Kolodny 1980; Showalter 1981, etc.) have worked extensively on two fundamental aspects for the definition of female agencies in literature, formulated by Showalter herself in the clearest terms: "woman as reader" and "woman as writer" (1988: 216, see also Woolf in Cameron 1995: 47). In Showalter's work, female readership is mainly connected it with the "consum[ption] of male-produced literature, and with the way in which the hypothesis of a female reader changes our apprehension of a given text, awakening us to the significance of its sexual codes" (1988: 216). This scenario, in Showalter's view, is the departing premise for a "*feminist critique*" of literary activity, that is, "a historically grounded inquiry which probes the ideological assumptions of literary phenomena", concerned with women's literary images and stereotypes, critical distortions of femininity, the "male-constructed literary history", and the perception and interaction of a "female audience" (1988: 216). As for female authorship, this dimension seems to fit most clearly the descriptivist task of system definition, but with the crucial difference of a focus on female agency, which may suggest intersections between classical DTS and the new paradigms of *Translator Studies* (see section 2.4.2.). According to Showalter, it entails the exploration of "woman as the producer of textual meaning, with the history, themes, genres and structures of literature by women" (1988: 216). This particular form of critique has been labeled as *gynocriticism*, a term which Showalter has adapted from the French (*gynocritique*) (1988: 216).

Showalter's approach, in my view, offers distinctive advantages in comparison with classical DTS since it succeeds in problematising literary reception, whose absence in systemic theories seriously corrupts any research outcomes, but it exhibits some limitations too. Initially, as one may understand, the object of feminist literary critique was mainly "male-produced" literature, which is at the core of a serious confusion regarding patriarchal literary apparatuses: female produced literature and translation, by virtue of their female authorship, do not always fall outside of patriarchal systems, and vice-versa. In her diachronic studies of Québec's

littérature féminine as a distinctive "system" (the term she employs is "sous-champ", for instance, in Boisclair 2004), As Boisclair has convincingly explained how the beginnings of this feminist critical apparatus may understand as "feminist" manifestations which are not so, but imply a certain systemic disruption on the sole grounds of their femininity (Boisclair 1999: 102ff). Feminist literary critique should not only occupy itself with "male" literature, but with patriarchal literary production, which implies abandoning the essentialist "male-female" dichotomy, and understanding that agencies build alliances with certain gender constructs, regardless of the biological sex exhibited by bodies. What is more: if we are to prove that female subjects willfully join particular "systems" with their literary praxis, we should not restrict our analyses to the "systems" within which they do not feel integrated, or to those they wish to challenge, but place our best interest in their choices as literary agents. Obvious as this may seem today, so much remains to be done to join the dots of female and feminist literary constellations.

As for the concrete results of implementation shown by feminist literary theory, again, both positive and negative sides may be spotted. In general, the main trend has been to leave aside the more linguistic dimension of "literary devices" to focus on content aspects such as "motifs", "prototypical characters and situations", and "symbols", in Lefevère's terms (1991: 26), of particular literary products, in the means of defining a feminine version of what this author labels as "the universe of discourse", that is, "objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original" (1991: 16). Usually, and given the difficulties experienced by feminisms in reconciling their diversity with the aim of creating solid disciplines (see Showalter 1981: 179ff), the search for overarching "laws" defining whole "female-constructed" systems has been minoritarian, with notable exceptions in the Canadian and, particularly, in the Québec context (see Boisclair 1998; 1999, etc.). In this particular region, "motifs" such as motherhood and mother-daughter relationships, classically theorised by Chodorow (1978) and Hirsch (1989), have received considerable attention (see, for instance, St-Martin and Cote 1998, or Godard 2001), as well as the female literary "self" (Verduyn 1985); the classical relation between female body and female writing (Boisclair and St-Martin 2006); or even the witchcraft/fairy dichotomy, portrayed in well-known, initial Québécois-feminist works such as *La nef des sorcières* (Brossard, Théoret *et al.* 1976) and *Les fées ont soif* (Boucher 1979). The concept of "genre", also mentioned by Lefevère in his definition of "poetics", has acted as a crucial catalyst of female and feminist translation agencies, which is reflected in the great attention received from feminist literary critics.

In her revision of feminist criticism, Eagleton (1996: 77ff) devotes an entire section to the interconnections between "gender and genre", surveying the reasons of women's special relationship with the novel, a genre to a certain extent despised by patriarchal literary elites, and therefore lacking strict poetic standards, which allowed women to experience with their agencies for the first time (Spencer 1986). Now, discussions on what is meant by "the woman's novel", and the potential essentialism of this definition are equally brought up, and the female/feminised dichotomy presented (Eagleton 1996: 84), underscoring the importance of statistical evidence as a first step towards the outlining of a female-centered literary map. Additionally, an autonomous section of Eagleton's work is concerned with the analysis of what Cranny-Frances has labeled as "feminist uses of generic fiction", and defined as "the feminist appropriation of generic "popular" literary forms, including science fiction, detective fiction, and romance (Cranny-Frances 1990). The fact that these genres are what Berman depicts as "*littérature du deuxième rayon*" (1984) loosens the imposition of systemic "norms", allowing women to circumvent them without initially drawing as much patriarchal attention as they would with other generic forms.

Importantly, however, the possibility that not all generic fiction by women is "progressive", or "feminist", is discussed on the grounds of contributions like Coward and Semple's (1989), and particular analyses of feminist detective and science fiction are surveyed. In my view, a crucial contribution of Eagleton's survey is the underscoring of fictional "closed communities" of women (Eagleton 1996: 97-98) as potentially controversial ways to explore female agencies in literature, channeling opposed standpoints like Coward and Semple's (1989), in favour of this practice, and Kaplan's (1986), against it. Revisions like the one I have just discussed prove that, albeit generally distrustful of the essentialism implicit in identifying "*sous-champs*" (Bosicclair 1998), "thought communities" (Stein 2004), descriptivist "systems" or other homogenising creative spaces, feminist critics have extensively worked on the study of a distinctively female and feminist "poetics", and openly hypothesised the ideologies of the texts under analysis. Still, this descriptivist effort often responds to the legitimation and consolidation of a distinctive trend of feminist academic enquiry over others, as well as to the feminist critic's equally subjective standpoints. Rarely are discursive devices presented to back up conclusions on textual ideology in a sufficiently exhaustive manner, which may turn feminist translation history into the same self-interested hermeneutical praxis undertaken in patriarchal systems.

Thus, an important limitation shared by mainstream descriptivist translation studies and feminist criticism, which I wish to overcome in the present thesis, is the incomprehensible dislocation of discourse and ideology observable in most of the analyses I have surveyed. In my proposal of an effective methodology for feminist translation descriptivism, the experience accumulated by feminist literary criticism constitutes an essential input, I intend to vindicate Lefevere's partial defense of the intersection of "form, convention, and belief" as the "grillwork" guiding intrasystemic operations (Jameson 1974: 107 in Lefevere 1993: 16). It is my belief, as contended above in this section, that no possibility of truly discerning poetic form from "ideology" exists. In fact, the cornerstone of translation hermeneutics as presented in this thesis is precisely the inseparability of these two dimensions, critique being the metadiscursive procedure responsible for poetic innovation. An efficient reconciliation of descriptivist textual analysis and the exploration of female/feminist agencies would lead to the adoption of the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis methodologies. It is my intention to overcome this sterile separation of ideology and form through this methodological prism.

Patronage

Patronage is defined by Lefevere as "something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature" (1993:15). A distinctive trait of progressiveness in this concept and its centrality for system configuration is the *personification* of power, that is, the acknowledgement of its manifestation in "individuals, political or religious institutions, social classes or publishers" (Lai 2007), which certainly raises questions on the extent to which social oppression is behind the sponsorship of translation projects, as well as on the nature of such oppression. It is the aim of this thesis to argue that this oppression is patriarchal, and that its multiple ramifications are intra-patriarchal forms of submission in different realms of social life (economic, geopolitical, identitarian, etc.), stemming from its main pattern of subjugation: that of gender relations, which signifies the ultimate opposition between strength and weakness, therefore acting as a metaphor to all other forms of intra-patriarchal injustice. In my view, the path initiated by Manipulation scholars with the notion of "patronage" constitutes the initial point for the change of paradigm brought about by Chesterman's *Translator Studies*, which shall be introduced in the next section. Let us now delve into its symbolic significance and different dimensions:

Patronage basically consists of three elements that can be seen to interact in various combinations. There is an ideological component, which acts as a constraint on the choice and development of both form and subject matter. (...) There is also an economic component: the patron sees to it that writers and rewriters are able to make a living, by giving them a pension or appointing them to some office. (...) Finally, there is also an element of status involved. (Lefevere 1991: 16)

Patronage is, in my view, the specific mechanism through which patriarchal systems work. Besides guiding their oppressive, normative dynamics, the sole image of an apparently selfless benefactor, whose "taste" is nevertheless to rule over the artist's genius seems to constitute one of patriarchy's misleading metaphors. The "patron's" role, as the etymology of the term instantly reveals¹⁸, is to "father" artistic production, providing the necessary financial support and 'status' (an alimony perhaps, an illustrious name), the third element considered in Lefevere's definition, to a feminised, powerless creator, nevertheless responsible for the generation of art. Such is, as several feminist scholars have demonstrated, the unfair paradox neutralising the exclusive reproductive capacity of femininity, even stricter if we consider the amount of effort put by patriarchal discourses into portraying translation as the feminised, powerless byproduct of literary authorship (see Chamberlain 1988). Condescendence and magnanimity are two attributes forever attached to "patrons", as one of the meanings of the verb "patronise" demonstrates: "Treat in a way that is apparently kind or helpful but that betrays a feeling of superiority" (OED). This condescending treatment is at the core of patriarchal system affiliation: having the economic means and a certain social position is the only way to impose systemic constraints, a position of superiority symbolically connected with masculinity, portraying as feminised those agents responsible for the actual production of texts, who should under logical circumstances hold the power within a system. Patronage relationships, then, are what possibilitates this paradoxical, manipulative subordination of (re-)productive agents, leading to the patriarchal hermeneutics of translation previously discussed in this thesis (see 2.1.), and whose concrete effects on the elaboration of translation history shall be considered in a prospective section.

Literary subjugation on the basis of gender-assimilated roles is, in my opinion, the true "ideology" behind patronage systems. In the previous definition, Lefevere seems to contradict himself in admitting the influence of ideological "constraints (...) on the choice and development of both form and subject matter", therefore acknowledging an interrelation

¹⁸ "Patron" comes from the Latin word *pater/patris*, that is, "father".

between "ideology" and "poetics". Nonetheless, he conceives of this influence as limited to the dynamics of particular literary works (form and content), and irrelevant to the structuring of the system they conform. Perhaps because he perceives it as the natural state of things, Lefevère omits any critical remarks on the overarching politics of patronage. In my opinion, stating that systems rely on a specific mechanism such as patronage, which promotes the establishment of unequal power relations, without seeking the reasons behind this, or identifying the faction or group to which this benefits, amounts to showing complicity with patriarchy's particular models, which are by no means the only possible ones. In my descriptive analysis of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies, I intend to explore whether a certain form of patronage may be observed at the background of the Canadian intrasystemic relationships; and especially whether the feminist translation sub-system has been able to overcome this pattern, conceiving of more appropriate ones to illustrate female-centred dynamics. As for the economic dimension of patronage, it underscores a vital aspect of systemic dynamics: translations are commercial products and, as such, they are subject to the employer's approval for the final transaction to be carried out. In Pym's view (2011), economic factors constitute a serious barrier for those translation scholars who, despite a frequent lack of experience in providing paid linguistic services, are willing to theorise on the ethics governing professional translation praxis. In its professional dimension, translation has often been portrayed as a desperate resort for writers in need of financial support, a task distinctively less noble in their view than the literary creation for which they would strive (see, for instance, Pope's comments in Spencer 1985). In women's particular case, as Delisle reminds us (1997: 6-7), women translators' activities were excused mainly on the basis of the economic difficulties alleged in their prologues, where they would often portray themselves as devoted mothers, looking to support their children.

Similarly, another source of justification for their translational efforts, improper for their gender, would be the utmost relevance of the intellectual work of men in their entourage, therefore deserving to be read in other languages. This should lead us to reflect on how the material conditions of a given system affect the ethics behind translation practice, and connect them to the "transaction costs" which translated products often constitute in a system (see Pym 2014: 140). Indeed, this is an essential aspect of the ethical dimension of translation which, as already argued, I intend to further analyse in this thesis: unlike the feminist translators I shall be discussing here, mostly academics, women throughout history have translated for a wide variety of reasons, and rarely for ideological convictions, especially gender-related ones. Therefore, it is important to understand that, albeit prolific, the metaphorical connection

between translation and gender is one of analytical nature, a link constructed by scholars for research purposes, in order to survey the social impact of gender through discourse across time, space, and social strata. Assuming a gender-informed, or a feminist position in our analyses should not imply an immediate assimilation of other women's agencies as equally gender-informed or feminist.

In general, later theoretical discussions on the difference between professional and scholarly translation ethics, like Pym's (2012), emphasise the incidence of economic aspects on translation decision-making as absent from academic realms, which allows scholars to assume stronger ethical positions than paid translators depending on the publisher's views on profitability. Similarly, feminists contend that, in academia, publishing-related decision-making processes are governed by what they call "affective economies" (see Eichhorn and Milne 2016: 189), which acquires special relevance in their case since, as De Lotbinière-Harwood has contended (1991), publishers prioritising profits over ethical considerations shall have a hard time admitting the norm-breaking praxis of feminist translators. Indeed, Harwood's warning that feminist stances are not always available to those making a living out of translation constitutes an exceptionally honest statement, coming from an exceptionally rare case of a non-academic feminist translator. Status, the third element in Lefevère's definition of patronage, has undoubtedly facilitated feminist scholars the implementation of hardly-commercial, feminist agendas through translation, as illustrated by the astonishing majority of academics conforming the Canadian feminist translation movement. Still, is a feminist translation scholar's outright independence over economic interests possible? In my analysis of such movement, I am willing to determine the extent to which Canadian Feminist Translation Studies has indeed remain uncorrupted by economic values, or prioritised "affective economies" in a translating/editing/theorising task which Eichhorn and Milne describe as purely altruistic (2016: 189); but which undeniably responds to economic interests to a certain extent, especially at a time where systems, be they literary or academic (are the frontiers clear enough?) offer social groups no acceptable alternative to supporting feminist principles, at least in appearance, in their agendas.

2.4. Feminist Hermeneutics for Translation History? Feminist Translation Studies as the Culmination of the Power Turn in Our Discipline

(...) Translation from a feminist perspective requires an interdisciplinary approach: hermeneutics and ethics are necessary for the interpretation of the text and the translator's training; the same can be said for textual analysis or semiotics which are central in our understanding of gender representations and language use in visual texts. (Federici 2018:78)

Feminist Translation History constitutes, in my view, a powerful transdiscipline, the fertile ground where feminist efforts from different fields and sensibilities may converge (see Castro 2012). So far, in this first part of my thesis I have surveyed what I consider to be the two disciplinary matrixes with the potential to provide this new area with a solid core: feminist history, on one side, and Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), on the other. On its part, feminist history has found in post-structuralist literary theory the inspiration to deconstruct thus-far unquestionable historical truth as a discursive product, serving the purposes of patriarchal elites. On the grounds of this premise, and in response to the severe critique to which it has been subjected, "gender" emerges in feminist historiography not merely as a sociological construct, but as set of ideological forms of knowledge, informing different patterns of political subjugation across time and space (Scott 1999: 2). Inspired by the working dynamics of social history, feminist historians enlarge the focus of attention from the milestones of patriarchal politics, almost invariably related to warfare and border control, to daily life, private spaces, and secondary textual products (personal diaries, handwritten notes, fragmentary biographical data...) as the realms where gender constructs originally materialise, and female agencies may be more easily traced back. In short, "(...) the writing of women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance, to encompass personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities" (Gordon, Buhle, and Dye 1976: 89). Indeed, a brand-new, gender-informed historical significance, or "importance", as Pym puts it (2014), emerges as the product of discursive negotiation, entailing "some degree of intersubjective disturbance or conflict" (Pym 2014: 22). When gender is taken as the main prism for historical research, confrontation rapidly arises between those events traditionally deemed as relevant by patriarchal societies and the seemingly anecdotal, private realms where female agencies have mainly operated, which nevertheless prove to be the environments where each society's symbols and values are first negotiated. "Importance", then, is a relational concept subject to convention, its deconstruction

being fundamental for the study of female agencies across time and space, as well as of the function of translated products in regimes.

Translated texts, as I have already argued, constitute the "melting pot" of history, forms of metadiscourse with historiographical value, the production of which requires constant intersubjective negotiations determining either collusion with, or opposition to, hegemonic social conventions, traditionally signified through the male/powerful-female/weak dichotomy. Their functioning within what descriptivists know as literary systems, as well as their relationship with other systemic forms of textual production, have constituted the main interest of the first implicitly historical¹⁹ analyses of translation praxis, conducted within the general framework of Descriptive Translation Studies. DTS, indeed, has provided the very first solid attempt at combining sociological approaches with text analysis into the study of time- and space-bound translation production. It has explored a number of chronologically and geographically situated literary spaces, and departed from networks of discursive manifestations in order to infer a series of allegedly agreed-on regulations (norms). Descriptivism, in conclusion, has led the way through the long road to sociocriticism in translation, possibilitating, among other movements, the subsequent, gender-informed critique of translation theory and praxis with which I am concerned in this thesis. As a historical approach to translation, and on correction of its blatant disregard for textual agencies, it may supplement the serious limitations experienced by feminist historians in their also discursive approach to the history of gender. The latter have certainly undertaken an impressive survey of multiple gender constructs through chronologically, geographically, and ideologically diverse "thought communities". However, they have shockingly failed to see in translation a crucial discursive space, where identities are negotiated not only between nations, which still today seems to be the main prism for feminist analysis, but also between regimes and ideological factions. Yet, their groundbreaking dissection of gender through discursive manifestations of neglected female agencies and experiences seems to point at a crucial direction, which general DTS has failed to follow: a subject-centred study of (meta discursive) production, effectively bringing biographical and sociohistorical inputs into the picture, or, more precisely, to the portrait. As already argued in this thesis, as well as by further authors (see, among others, Hermans 1998), traditional descriptivism is yet to provide solid methodologies in order to link a text's (meta-)discursive traits with the subjects responsible for their production. Nor has it

¹⁹ As Pym acknowledges (2014), DTS has never explicitly claimed to have a historical scope, nor historicizing purposes. However, in practice, its analytic outcome does indeed fulfil this function.

offered the slightest insight into the emotional, affective, professional and intellectual dynamics prompting different subjects to assume and coordinate various roles for (meta-)discursive production:

Tracer le portrait d'un traducteur peut être vu comme un mode d'analyse, un mode de lecture: c'est la mise en perspective d'une "oeuvre de traducteur" (comparable à une "oeuvre d'écrivain") afin de la mieux connaître et d'en dissiper les zones d'ombre que l'obscurcissent. Lien vivant entre le texte original et sa traduction, le traducteur n'est pas un courroie de transmission neutre et fantomatique: il laisse sa marque, délibérément ou non, sur le texte qu'il recrée dans une autre langue. (Delisle 1997: 2)

According to Delisle's previous quote, this portrayal of translators subjects, comparable to the ones traditionally devoted to our "literary fathers" (Bloom 1973), constitutes a form of hermeneutics, a "mise en perspective" of discursive production through a careful survey of the subject's discursive networking, both public and private; an exploration of their status as "lien vivant" between source and target text. These translators' portraits are curiously enough a singular contribution of the so-called Canadian Translation Studies (Karpinski 2015). They seem to draw inspiration from classic Roman biographical compilations of notable politicians and emperors, such as Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum* (circa AD 121) where, in effect, a "mise en perspective" is attained through the grounding of the subjects' achievements on their private and intimate spheres. In the particular case of translators, it is precisely the contrast between their sociopolitical instrumentality and their historical relegation what invites to their vindication as a collective:

Despite their increasing public presence, however, we know amazingly little about these generous yet discreet advocates of communication between our francophone and anglophone solitudes. Translation remains an invisible, unfamiliar, even mysterious profession. Who are these translators? How have they learned their craft? What motivated them to become the purveyors of their cultural "other"? What kind of challenges do they face when translating a text? How do they view their role within the Canadian and Québec literary institutions, and more generally, within the Canadian cultural domain? (Whitfield 2007:1)

Pertinent as this new set of interrogations may be for a more efficient Translator (rather than Translation) History, they once again problematise otherness on the basis of categories like nations and their related cultures, not on the grounds of intersubjective affinities or dissent, which entails serious limitations for an actual portrayal of individualities in translation. This is especially blatant if the individualities we intend to survey, like I am about to argue for the case of female agencies, have had no remarkable incidence in the constitution of these categories.

Additionally, the appropriateness of these research questions becomes nevertheless blurred by an apparent lack of methodology for critique. In a short review of Delisle and Woodsworth's 1995 *Translators through History*, perhaps the most ambitious example of this Canadian genre, Pym states this issue quite clearly:

Yet one must ask if this work does not also contain a quiet warning about the temptation of instant humanization. Who is actually writing this history, and according to what critical criteria? Is all this information really needed? Is it enough? To decide, we would have to know what problems the individual chapters are designed to solve. What are the guiding hypotheses? Why mention these translations and not others? How do we recognize a person as a translator (surely through translations, or in terms of a theory)? Do translators make their own decisions (if not, surely many non-translators should be mentioned)? In short, as soon as we leave the relative comfort of past theories and venture into the world of actual translators, methodology becomes a very real problem (...). (Pym 2014: 11)

Indeed, particularly in the case of "lost" female agencies, a certain anxiety for "instant humanization", as this author puts it, is as the root of several methodological issues. Let us paraphrase Pym's own questions: Who is actually writing [feminist] history, and according to what [feminist?] critical criteria? Is all this information [about women's lives] really needed? Is it enough? What are the guiding hypotheses? Why mention these [feminist?] translations and not others? How do we recognize a person as a [feminist?] translator (surely through translations, or in terms of a theory?) Do [feminist] translators make their own decisions (if not, surely many [feminist?] non-translators should be mentioned)? This does nothing but complicate the fact that not many feminist translatoologists have explicitly claimed to undertake a project of feminist translation history. To my knowledge, various examples of female translators' portraits may be spotted, mainly within, but also outside Canadian Translation Studies. A must of this genre is Delisle's *Portraits de traductrices* (2002), mirroring a previous volume on male translators (1999), also coordinated by this well-known scholar. That the former is not a feminist work, or that the translators hereby presented do not share such ideology, is something that Delisle states most clearly in the prologue:

Portraits de traductrices n'est donc pas du tout un ouvrage revendicatif qui se porte à la défense des traductrices. Il s'agit plutôt de mini-biographies de femmes qui ont consacré leur vie ou une partie de leur vie à la traduction et qui méritaient d'être mieux connues. Présenter ces traductrices comme des féministes et des activistes avant l'heure résolues à prendre d'assaut les citadelles masculines aurait donné une vision fautive de l'histoire. (Delisle 2002: 9)

This statement is hard to understand when the author has devoted the previous pages of this introduction to denounce patriarchy's firm belief in "le 'défaut d'être femme'" (Delisle 2002: 2), as well as to claim the need to "modifier le regard déformant des hommes" (Delisle 2002: 6). If Delisle believes in the existence of gender bias, and supports a change of patriarchy's distorting mentality regarding women, why does he launch this series of *Portraits de traductrices* without the slightest combative aim? Still, his is perhaps the sincerest position I have been able to find across the historical work on female translators undertaken so far. In effect, it is my belief that the female condition of the women translators or writers we know to this day does not automatically confirm a subversive aim behind their undoubtedly unusual permission to speak. Be as it may, Delisle's has usually been a compromising position between Canadian Translation Feminist and mainstream Translation Studies. Other approaches may be more illustrative of what constitutes a combative, feminist approach to translation history.

Without providing a solid definition therefor, Agorni's work on women and translation in the 18th century (2005), featured in the next section, is the only piece of research explicitly proposing this kind of study, on the grounds of "collaboration" as a predominant form of discursive production among women, which constitutes a most accurate approach in my view. Additionally, in her seminal 1997 work, Luise von Flotow already underscored its importance for the future of Feminist Translation, regretting how "in translation studies it has been more customary to formulate prescriptive theoretical models than to study existing translations (...)", mainly on the grounds of the "detailed examinations of long and complex texts as well as in depth knowledge of the two cultures and their historical contexts (...)" (Flotow 1997: 89). Little did she know that, almost twenty years later, the situation in the already flourishing field of Feminist Translation Studies would be practically identical. Anyhow, she outlined two interrogations of interest for the descriptive study of feminist translation which rightly prove considerably focused on the female translator's figure than on a mere depiction of their work: "What roles have women played as translators?", and "How have women fared in translation?" (Flotow 1997: 90).

More recently, Emek Ergun has gone as far as to situate history as one of the main purposes of language use in feminist translation, albeit under the somehow outdated, controversial term of *herstory* (see section 2.2.3.): "Language, which is the 'raw material of translators, is used and processed in feminist translation for several goals: (...) (6) to rewrite his /story or write herstory (another pun exemplifying feminist linguistic disruption) by

recovering women writers and translators works 'lost in patriarchy and other intersecting systems of oppression like racism, colonialism, heterosexism, etc.'" (Ergun 2010: 310). Still, I am convinced that a good amount of the work undertaken by feminist translato­logists so far, especially within the Canadian movement, pretty much responds to the *translators' portrait* scheme, and shows the same pseudo-biographical tendency which Pym has criticised in mainstream examples of the genre. Sherry Simon's also groundbreaking, 1996 work *Gender in Translation* is an excellent example, featuring mostly biographical surveys of *female* (not feminist) translators across history: La Malinche, Mary Sidney, Margaret Tyler, Aphra Behn, Madame de Staël, Eleanor Marx, Constance Garnett, Helen Lowe-Porter, etc. Their attitude as translators, she claims, may be regarded as a form of proto-feminism, in that they found in translation a space for self-expression. Chronologically comprehensive as this review may seem, the data provided are mostly biographical and factual. A similar attempt may be found in Luise von Flotow's aforementioned, 1997 work, where she provides a few historical surveys of specific female translators or their periods of proliferation, shockingly coincidental with the ones targeted by Simon a year before: "Subversive in the English Renaissance", "Nineteenth-century women translators", and "La Malinche". Both Simon and Flotow offer rather original pieces of research in these works: Simon reflects on the sexist bias present in Bible translation from its origins (1996: 114ff), and Flotow establishes an important difference between "pre-feminist" and "post-feminist" translations (1997: 57), which may help classify the wide range of objects of study within Feminist Translation Studies. What remains clear after an analysis of these two proposals is that they are tacitly historical, despite the occasional inconsistency of their historiographical rigour and methodological solidness. Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, in short, appears to show a strong interest in historicising, if not feminist translation, which was taking its first steps at the time, perhaps female translation, as a form of proto-feminist subversion in itself. Now, one may question whether this goal is achieved by providing indiscriminate archaeological data, mostly biographical or factual, about female translators, female writers, what French feminists have deemed as *écriture au féminin*, or its translation. Very little descriptive analysis is provided into the regimes, communities or intersubjective relations leading to these forms of metadiscursive production. Similarly, text analysis is also scarce, perhaps non-existent, which constitutes a severe limitation of these highly impressionist approaches.

Today, as I am about to argue in the next section, a new spectrum of enquiry for the objects, and especially, the subjects relevant to Feminist Translation History has emerged with

Feminist Translation Studies (from now on FTS). FTS may be defined as "the interaction between translation politics and gender politics", aimed at surveying "how feminist concepts, theories, knowledges, practices and agendas travel across borders through the contentious and hierarchical routes of the contemporary world" (Castro & Ergun 2017: 1-2). In summary, its supporters believe that "the future of feminisms is in the transnational and the transnational is made through translation" (Castro and Ergun 2017). Even if history is hardly ever mentioned as an explicit aim of such field of research, it is my impression that a good amount of the descriptive work in which its theorists engage is (pseudo-)historical. Additionally, as I am to discuss in subsequent sections, FTS has targeted a crucial problematic of each and every approach adopted within previous feminist translation work, be it historical or not: the (de-)construction of female subjects as the main source of enquiry for feminist translation scholars, which does nothing but underscore the dysfunctional attention devoted to the translator by mainstream Translation Studies during the last decades.

2.4.1. A New Focus on the (Female) Subject

By the early 2000s, DTS entered a stage of dislocation into different strands, inspiring as well as finding inspiration in new interests or problematics of different nature. Such stage, perhaps coincidental with the fourth phase of Crane's "invisible colleges", consisting in the dissemination and emergence of new ideas (Hermans 1998: 6, see section 2.3.), seems to have, as already argued, power, and therefore subjects, as its common denominator. Indeed, this belief is Chesterman's departing point for his proposal *Translator Studies*, who underscores how "a number of recent research tendencies in Translation Studies focus explicitly on the translator in some way, rather than on translations as texts" (2009: 13). In this shift of focus resides the key to overcome the "sociocritical" flaws of DTS, as well as to better understand (and perhaps question) several notions proposed between the mid-80s and the early 90s, aimed at destabilising thus-far existing methods for the historical interpretation of translations. Perhaps, the ultimate shift for translation feminisms, echoed by multiple theorists, is that implied by the "cultural turn" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990), resulting from the impact in translation realms of cultural studies, a destabilising trend hitting most consolidated disciplines in the late 70s, and effectively leading to this fourth phase in Crane's imaginary colleges. In my view, and as I shall argue below, one crucial step is thus made toward *Translator Studies*, which shall be presented shortly, and toward true sociocriticism. Toward Toury's sincere but limited will to reconcile theory and practice (2012: 295). Translation, under this light, is thus

(...) A way of understanding how complex manipulative textual processes take place: how a text is selected for translation, for example, what role the translator plays in that selection, what role an editor, publisher or patron plays, what criteria determine the strategies that will be employed by the translator, how a text might be received in the target system. For a translation always takes place in a continuum, never in a void, and there are all kinds of textual and extratextual constraints on the translator (Bassnett 1998: 123).

These premises, deemed by Gentzler as "a real breakthrough for the field of translation studies" (Gentzler 1998: xi), are nonetheless a relatively expectable culmination of a long, destabilising interdisciplinary movement, originally encouraged by penetration the of the newly-established cultural studies into our field. In Godard's words, "on a beaucoup parlé récemment d'un «virage culturel» en traduction (Bassnett et Lefever 1990: 4) généralisant un paradigme culturaliste provenant de l'ethnologie qui privilégie les études descriptives « épaisses » (Geertz 1973: 6) d'un milieu historique et culturel spécifique" (Godard 2001: 54). As any other divergent trend in our field, including FTS, it has found great support in intellectual projects such as the already discussed post-structuralism and deconstruction (see 2.2.2.), whose remarkable importance has brought about the opposite interdisciplinary effect: the so-called "linguistic turn" (Canning 1994), turning our own object of study, discourse, into a new source of enquiry for a re-definition of other disciplinary agencies (this has been explained in detail in section 2.2.1.). In my view, this shift towards translation as a privileged space for "cultural interaction" (Gentzler 1998: ix) does nothing but underscore the sociocritical value of translation practice, description and theory, thus delving further into the potential of translation as a form of hermeneutics.

Indeed, Steiner's work is often considered a point of departure for "cultural" approaches to our discipline, while the intersection of our discipline with gender studies is rather portrayed as its culmination²⁰, perhaps on the grounds that feminist translation has been explicitly deemed as a form of interpretation. This, indeed, has been David Eshelman's contention (2007). Echoed by Simon (1996), this scholar defends the honesty of feminist translation among the multiple other interpretive frameworks actually adopted by translators, mentioning, in my view, two powerful reasons. In first place, "(...) the translator's mind *had better* contain an interpretive framework like feminist translation. Otherwise, there is the

²⁰ For an illustrative survey of the "cultural turn" and its multiple sub-branches, see the entry "culture & translation" of a specialised encyclopedia compiled by AIETI (Asociación Ibérica de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación): <http://www.aieti.eu/enciclopedia/culture-translation/the-cultural-turn-and-beyond/>.

danger that other interpretive frameworks — unintended, unrecognized, and unamenable to the project of a text — may creep in" (2007: 16). In my opinion, this statement is true of any and all forms of translation hermeneutics, usually self-presented as neutral, regardless of their practical, descriptive, or theoretical nature. Indeed, this negative, dishonest burden of the term "hermeneutics" itself, as Eshelman reminds us (2007: 17), would lead Susan Sontag to propose that "in place of a hermeneutics we need an erotics of art" (1964: 10). Descriptivist theories, as I have argued so far, have mostly constituted a clear example of dishonest hermeneutics, their late, politically-correct acknowledgement of cultural difference, devoid of real methodological self-criticism, proving far too mild for 90s academia. A second, very accurate assertion by Eshelman is that, within feminist translation, "one both interprets and makes one's interpretation known" (Eshelman 2007: 24). This is the ultimate goal of the entire post-structuralist/deconstructionist project: to recognise any act of speech as a form of metadiscourse or critique, performed on the basis of previous discursive units under a specific agenda which, explicit or implicit, is certainly responsible for their strategic re-location within a new context or system.

In contrast, until the arrival of this "cultural turn", manipulation scholars, as well as traditional polysystem theorists, would portray their work as a mere description of literary mechanisms, as if systems were self-explanatory sets of wheels oiled by translation. No ethical reflection on agency was provided, and manipulation was merely spotted, never characterised or weighted on. By the end of the 90s, an already established, mainstream Translation Studies field²¹ devised a strategic alliance with a more combative tag, perhaps a better candidate for the democratisation of translation hermeneutics than "feminism" or "gender", which, as Eshelman asserts, raises "suspicion from translators" (2007: 16): Post-colonial studies. In Bassnett and Trivedi's foundational view (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 2), "today, increasingly, assumptions about the powerful original are being questioned, and a major source of that challenge comes from the domains of the fearsome cannibals, from outside the safety of the hedges and neat brick walls of Europe". Although an excellent chance is missed here of setting up an explicit ethical enquiry²², a much-needed attempt is nonetheless made to breathe new

²¹ The alliance between André Lefevere, responsible for the entire, combative concept of "manipulation" (1991), and Susan Bassnett, architect of the respectable façade of "Translation Studies", in order to explain the "cultural turn" (1990) proves most eloquently how harmful the phase of consolidation referred to by Hermans (1998: 10) may be for academic disruption.

²² From a quantitative perspective, it is interesting to see how very absent "ethics" is in Bassnett and Lefevère's work (1990), where neither the term itself nor any variations thereof appear a single time, or in Bassnett and Trivedi's later

life into systemic methodology. I am willing to grant supporters of this turn the achievement of potential intersections between systemic text analysis, translation critique, and translation politics for the very first time. As a result, case studies timidly start to provide a certain critical connectivity among systems, and to occupy themselves with intersystemic relationships, more than with intrasystemic ones.

Still, higher accuracy, exhaustivity and openness to difference are required of the sociological analyses performed. In my opinion, this would benefit from a strategic alliance between sociocriticism, already described in the previous section, Critical Discourse Analysis, and history. Such alliance, perhaps, may lead to a more honest translation hermeneutics. Concerned as these theorists ultimately seem to be with cultural and geopolitical inequality, particularly after Bassnett and Trivedi's 1999 volume, they nonetheless fail to identify the first and outmost source of difference and oppression across societies and cultures: patriarchal order. Even if the Manipulation School has granted systems a certain "ideology", a concept very ambiguously and aseptically defined by Lefevre (see Leung 2002: 131, see also 2.2.3.), it did never denounce, or even acknowledge, its profoundly patriarchal nature. As Translation Studies theorists start to pin down the power struggles responsible for systemic structures, "difference" is only problematised in terms of unequal nation-state constructs, which leaves patriarchy, the origin of this and other forms of injustice, untouched. I therefore see the "cultural turn" as an analytic category responding to the demands of intra-patriarchal dissent which, as I have argued throughout the previous sections, is strongly based on patriarchally-invented geopolitical differences.

A somehow different, perhaps more enriching approach is that of Berman's "virage éthique" (1984). Its specificity, according to Barbara Godard (2001), great admirer of his work, lies in overcoming a general focus on sociocultural difference to delve into the ethics of its recognition, which implies a series of commitments with the Other through his/her translation:

On aurait pu inscrire la formation des théories de la traduction sous le signe d'un "virage éthique" qui aurait été inauguré en 1984 avec la publication de *L'Épreuve de l'étranger*, car Antoine Berman a privilégié lui aussi les rapports interculturels avec l'autre. Néanmoins, (...) il y a une différence importante dans la position qui prend l'Autre dans les concepts de culture au sens ethnographique et au sens de Bildung (ou formation) entendu par Berman. Il articule "la visée éthique du traduire" en termes de reconnaissance "de

volume (1998), casually in a discussion on translation and gender by Arrojo (Arrojo 1998: 142). Still, only one considerably vague remark appears on a "delusive ethics that seems to underlie most acts of reading and translating".

l' Autre": "l'essence de la traduction est d'être ouverture, dialogue, métissage, décentrement. Elle est mise en rapport, ou elle n'est *rien* (1984, p. 16). (Godard 2001: 55)

Berman constantly refers to a "pure visée de la traduction", a sort of "prime aim of translation", expressed in extremely universal and absolute terms, like any other notion employed in translation hermeneutics. For him, this ultimate aim is an ethical commitment with otherness, its radical novelty lying in the concept of *éthique négative*, or ethnocentric ethics, which directly points at the translating subject, and to a (self-)critique of agency:

L'éthique de la traduction consiste sur le plan théorique à dégager, à affirmer et à défendre la pure visée de la traduction en tant que telle. Elle consiste à définir ce que c'est la "fidélité". (...) Définir plus précisément cette visée éthique, et par là sortir la traduction de son ghetto idéologique, voilà l'une des tâches d'une théorie de la traduction. (...)

Mais cette éthique positive suppose (...) une *éthique négative*, c'est-à-dire une théorie des valeurs idéologiques et littéraires qui tendent à détourner la traduction de sa pure visée. La théorie de la traduction ethnocentrique est aussi une théorie de la traduction ethnocentrique, c'est-à-dire de la mauvaise traduction. (Berman 1984: 17)

This (self-)critique of agency requires an "analysis" of entire "systèmes de déformation", which, in my view, invites to the very revision of descriptivist theories I am undertaking in this thesis, as well as to its supplementation with later, subject-centered developments, and with more accurate systems of discursive scrutiny (FCDA). Perhaps, in this way we could overcome Berman's actual lack of analytic methodology, a very common trait within ethical, subject-centred approaches, including feminisms:

Pour que la pure visée de la traduction soit autre chose qu'un vœux pieux ou un "impératif catégorique", devrait donc s'ajouter à l'éthique de la traduction une analytique. Le traducteur doit "se mettre en analyse", repérer les systèmes de déformation qui menacent sa pratique et opèrent de façon inconsciente au niveau de ses choix linguistiques ou littéraires (Berman 1984: 19).

Although I shall not be reproducing here any of the conclusions previously reached on Berman's *épreuve de l'étranger* (see 2.1.1.), I must nevertheless insist in that his ethical discussion of cultural inequalities, curiously based on a not very ethical movement of translation hermeneutics, fails to acknowledge even deeper, gender-based ones, or to unveil the parallels between different forms of oppression. Be as it may, and despite a very common lack of coherence between theory and practice, Berman is underscoring the need for a (self-

)critique of agency, a (self-)evaluation of experience, in order to translate Others. This crucial encouragement of self-awareness, which I would extend to the descriptive and critical work of translation scholars, holds the potential for the ultimate turn in Translation Studies, one we could name the "subject turn", mainly enacted by Chesterman's *Translator Studies* (2009), which I am to discuss shortly. Berman, in my view, did not go to such lengths in his work, nor did he prove sensitivity towards the feminist movements burgeoning at the time. This demonstrates that post-colonialism always constitutes the safest choice to discuss the terms of human evolution without deconstructing human social relations from scratch, which starts by gender relations as the enabler of human perpetuation. Otherness, as already discussed in a previous section (see 2.1.1.), has been connected with femininity since the early beginnings of post-structuralism, particularly from its psychoanalytic, French branch (Lacan 1969). "Foreignness", on the other hand, and more precisely "polyglossia", in sociolinguistic terms, are employed by feminists in a similar sense as a sort of metaphor, precisely in order to explain women's detachment from the nation-state frameworks and their connected, official languages:

Confronted with a plurality of discourses, the mixture of levels of language within one national culture or heteroglossia, wherein their language is marginal with respect to the dominant discourse, women writers figure this metaphorically in terms of polyglossia or the copresence of several 'foreign' languages. Where the political and social dimensions of the languages are prominent, as in the case of feminism, the confrontational encounter of languages becomes explicit (Godard 1989: 45).

In my view, the previous statement is illustrative enough of why the "politics of location" (Rich 1984) should be handled with care within feminist debates. Still, as I am about to discuss, the latest, self-labelled transnational feminist trends seem to find certain advantages in a mostly uncritical vindication of national provenance. Departing from Berman's enquiry, a final twist of the screw, like in the other works on hermeneutics found at the core of translation proto-ethics (both the "ethical" and the "cultural" turns), would be to detach *étrangeté* from geopolitical borders, and, in a clearest act of deconstruction, to embrace its original sense of "strangeness" or "alienness", absolutely independent from geopolitical differences. Precisely on the grounds of Godard's own convictions, I would have expected to find a critique of this concept in her analysis of Berman's proposal, besides her rightful praise of many aspects discussed by this author. Slowly but soundly, a third switch of focus, from "culture" to "power" (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002), starts questioning cultures as the naturally arisen, systemic constructs with which descriptivists have traditionally worked, which delves into this already inaugurated space for subject-centered analyses:

The key topic that has provided the impetus for the new directions that translation studies have taken since the cultural turn is *power*. In poststructuralist and postcolonial fields, discussions have increasingly focused on the question of agency (...). (...) The "*cultural* turn" in Translation Studies has become the "power turn", with questions of power brought to the fore in discussions of both translation history and strategies for translation" (Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002).

The previous passage succeeds in underscoring both the epistemic background of this movement, post-structuralism and post-colonialism, and its practical academic outcome: "translation history" and "discussions" on "strategies for translation". In short, an incipient hermeneutics of translation practice, similar to the one proposed by this thesis, is being portrayed here. Now, cultural differences and transnational inequalities have thus far been the main focus of interest in the debates leading to the constitution of FTS. Undeniably, they have constituted a primary source of (self-)enquiry for the first feminisms, especially Canadian ones, although this approach, perhaps far too grounded on patriarchally-established differences, has arisen suspicion among feminist theorists since the 80s (see Scott 1999: 25). However, it is truly this "power turn", and not simply Bassnett and Lefevere's "cultural" shift (see Castro and Ergun 2017: 1), what has provided a new space in DTS for feminist translation theory, practice, and critique, focusing on "agency", a term already underscored in this thesis (see pp. 82ff), as the intersection between subject and product most suited for the study of translation politics. It is my belief that a truly sociocritical approach to the historical study of translation(s), intended (but not achieved) by DTS and its related (sub-)fields, may not depart from the reification of the imaginary geopolitical and cultural systems left unquestioned by mainstream descriptivist approaches. A "cultural turn" implies a not-committed-enough, mainly descriptive statement of cultural differences, depending on the ability of such differences to constitute a systemic unit, on the basis of the patriarchally pre-established definition of "nation", a requisite which women, a clear example of nationless imaginary communities, shall never fulfill. Granted: on the influx of post-coloniality, "cultural" approaches succeed in the important task of underscoring the power asymmetries found in transnational circuits of cultural capital exchange. True: within patriarchal systems, there are first- and second-rate, hierarchically stratified nations, a condition clearly reinforced by the unidirectional trend of translational practice so far, from powerful to powerless nations, but not viceversa (Bassnett and Trivedi 1998: 9). However, the "power turn" intends to go further than its "cultural" predecessor in that, for the first time, it problematises subjects' agencies and experiences, and not merely objects of cultural value, placing traditional (and therefore patriarchal) hermeneutic fidelity at the centre of ideological debates on translation:

The idea of hermeneutic fidelity, which was intended to provide the human sciences with an interpretive method that would claim equal authority and validity with the explanatory methods of natural sciences, was deemed to be (...) idealist (...). The valorization of a totalizing conception of meaning inscribed in the idea of historical truthfulness, the assertion of the social and political neutrality of cultural languages, and the prioritization of a universalized tradition of world conceptions, as both the presupposition of and the ultimate end of the hermeneutic process, became the focus of a rigorous critique, predominantly inspired by the work of poststructuralism, Marxism, feminism, and postcolonial theories (Lianeri 2002: 2).

The previous paragraph synthesises quite well some of the main premises of this thesis. If positivism, as Hermans tells us (1998: 10), was the somehow naïve motivation behind initial DTS, its evolution into more combative forms of sociocritical analysis invites to question the neutrality of interpretation, and to indeed cease to discuss interpretation on its own, when any such act needs an interpreter. In effect, "poststructuralist, Marxism, feminism and postcolonial theories" are time and again invoked together as a salvational mantra, as if the absolute revocation of patriarchy and less radical modifications thereof were actually compatible, or even symbiotic. Feminists, on their part, seem to agree with this equation nowadays as much as they used to in the 80s, particularly in terms of postcoloniality and marxism. Today, still in search for the ultimate disciplinary stability, FTS and other forms of feminism seem unable to dispose of these other movements of intra-patriarchal dissent in order to position themselves. The extent to which the bonds between femininity and language, labour, and geopolitical spaces affect women's agency across the globe must doubtlessly be analysed, but I am unsure as to the convenience of arranging feminist dialogues across a series of patriarchally-inherited units, especially that of "nation", profoundly non-egalitarian and controversial as they are, without previously performing an exhaustive critique of them, and come up with a diagnosis of their actual potential. The nation-state unit is still today the prerequisite for dialogue in "transnational" approaches to FTS (notably explained in Castro and Ergun 2017). Even though its theorists claim a will to overcome national borders and achieve "feminist solidarities" (Castro and Ergun 2017: 1), no alternative to the patriarchal, local/global (in/out of a system) dichotomy seems to be offered as one surveys what amounts to a series of very specific case studies, sometimes lacking an explicit descriptive methodology, and failing to overcome Douglas Robinson's much-feared "anecdotalism" (1999).

In an already cited, excellent volume on FTS by Castro and Ergun, focusing on "local and transnational perspectives", several issues nevertheless arise, as its contributors face the need to operate either for or against national boundaries, and to deconstruct them from a gender,

more often than a feminist, perspective. In most instances, a clearer vision is missed of which concept of nation-state may act as an enabler of "transnational" feminism. It is my intuition that, like myself, most of the authors concerned are aware of the fact that our current nation-state divisions belong to a patriarchal order, and that they must be modified in order to allow for feminist operations. However, none of them delves into this crucial issue, which amounts to constructing transnational feminisms on patriarchy-inherited, incompatible foundations. Together with comprehensive papers, truly falling outside the obsessive scope of "nations" (see Santaemilia 2017: 15-28; Tissot 2017: 29-41; Bassi 2017: 235-248, etc.), other contributions offer a gender-centred critique of translation within the literary systems of hegemonic nation-states, or perform comparative exercises up on the basis of nation-state division. Möser's analysis of "gender traveling across France, Germany, and the US", although an interesting piece of research in itself, is a blatant instance thereof (2017: 80-92). Others, perhaps more realistically, stick to, once again, "projecting an image" (in Lefevre's terms, 1993), albeit gender-informed, of their national systems, remaining within their comfort zone; or either they depart from them to make trans-systemic comparisons among a modest number of nations, on very concrete, gender-related aspects of translation praxis. Their outcome is a personal rearrangement of the complex transtextual networks conforming the system(s) concerned, but, given the often basic archaeological work supporting it, they sometimes fail to be representative enough²³.

Among other proposals of this kind, Castro and Ergun's volume include Mainer's analysis of Rote Zora's translation into Spanish (2017: 181-194), Rached's work on Iraqi writer Haifa Zangana (2017: 195-207), or Henry-Tierney's paper on the English translation of *La vie sexuelle de Catherine M.* (2017: 222-234). Some of these papers portray their specificity on the grounds of a peripheral position of particular individuals or discursive projects within consolidated patriarchal systems, or important movements of intra-patriarchal dissent. Rote Zora, for instance, is considered by Mainer a German "anarcha-feminist" activist, widely neglected by the Spanish literary system (Mainer 2017: 181). For this curious term he employs, he obviously sees it fit to provide some definitional or background support. To me, however, it inspires a good dose of questioning: which kind of distinctive political action may "anarcha-feminists" share? How much discursive and epistemic room is there in anarchism, a movement developed by First-World male workers, for translational feminisms to operate? What may it

²³ See, once again, Robinson's critique on anecdotism in translation, 1998.

contribute with? As Mainer indicates, following Íñiguez de Heredia, anarchy-feminism is "ultimately a tautology" (Mainer 2017: 182), since "anarchism seeks the liberation of all human beings from all kinds of oppression and a world without hierarchies, where people freely organise and self-manage all aspects of life and society on the basis of horizontality, equality, solidarity and mutual aid" (Íñiguez de Heredia 2007: 42).

There is, however, no tautology, if, on mentioning the word "people", one is simply not thinking of "women". Strict anarchism, true, is impossible to achieve if gender constructs are left untouched, but, as with Marxism, not much feminist profit has come out of this intra-patriarchal project. Thus, while Zora may "be positioned [by Mainer] as an Other" (Reimóndez 2017: 42) within a powerful discursive structure and a solid discursive system, her legacy, in Reimóndez's very accurate terms, is strongly "mediated by several hegemonic axes of power" (Reimóndez 2017: 42), which leads to two important questions on the relevance of this paper for transnational feminisms. First, as Íñiguez de Heredia rightfully asks, "does anarchy-feminism actually exist?" (2007: 42); or is it only a way of claiming recognition for often neglected, female-anarchist figures? This is an important question which Mainer, who also discusses the ambiguity of these women's positioning within such political movement, does not clarify enough. Feminist Translation History has two equally crucial objects of study: politically and intellectually active women erased from (patriarchal) history, and feminists throughout history. Just because women have always been peripheral in intra-patriarchal movements pursuing all kinds of change, the fact that we may still find them in the margins of their macro-structures does not make them, or the movements which they represent, somehow feminist.

Nor is the transnationality of patriarchal structures or intra-patriarchal dissent initiatives (especially Marxism and anarchism) automatically productive, in my view, for the transnationality of feminisms and its realisation through translation. This leads me to my second question: what may transnational FTS obtain from a critique of the translations into Spanish (a hegemonic, colonial language) of a woman anarchist (a transnational, but intra-patriarchal form of dissent) of German origin (an hegemonic nationality with its own record of imperialism and ethnocentrism)? Let us remember the "ping-pong match" to which I have referred in a previous section, in order to describe the way patriarchy views hermeneutics. At the end of the day, feminisms, translation, and transnationalism all imply a particular form of hermeneutics, of "interpretation" (Eshelman 2007) of the "Others. Unfortunately, the number

of Others contemplated by this and further volumes is neither abundant, nor original enough. To start with, a new, feminist "hermeneutic motion" (in Steiner's terms, 1975) would benefit from increasing honesty regarding the limitations of the scholar's agency and experience. Verbalising such limitations in the way Reimóndez, for instance, does in her contribution to this volume (2017: 42) is already an achievement in itself, but we need to go further: checking our actual analyses against them, and finding analytic tools to overcome a false need to depart from geopolitical differences is a pending task for transnational feminisms.

Leaving Mainer's article aside, another paper inspiring several revealing questions in Castro and Ergun's volume is precisely María Reimóndez's "We need to talk... to Each Other..." (2017: 42-55). Her case study, introduced in wide-ranging terms, nevertheless focuses on a very specific project, carried out by a Galician NGO, *Implicadas no Desenvolvemento*, in several small towns from India. This project, as it seems, crystallised in a series of translations for a documentary, *Cambia de Papel*, based on the activists' "letters discussing positive changes in their lives" (2017: 53), something they were asked to do without being "fed any preconceived notion of what change the film was looking for" (2017: 53). These translations were prepared by Reimóndez herself, who, unacquainted as she was with the source language, asked some of the Indian activists to self-translate into English, their colonial language, so that she could depart from this intermediate version (2017: 53). Curiously, the author herself argues that "for non-hegemonic languages, avoiding hegemonic mediators is even more urgent as it has further epistemological implications" (Reimóndez 2017: 53).

She even cites a text by Tamil author Ambai (C.S. Lakshimi) to support this point: "The translator who translates into English an Indian language always feels that it is an act of favor where the Indian language writer is being raised to a different level. The Indian language writer also feels this act of translation to be some kind of "promotion" (...) (Lakshimi in Reimóndez, 2017: 50). This phenomenon, as I shall argue in subsequent sections of this thesis, has had a great impact on the dynamics of Canadian translation practice, and constitutes a clear form of patronage, which, contrary to descriptivist perceptions, is not merely an intra-systemic process, but may also take place across systems. Apparently, exceptions to the rule are always possible: "we may conceive of hegemonic languages as intermediary languages", transforming them "from a disabler to an enabler of multi-directional communication" (Reimóndez 2017: 53). Perhaps, this is a convenient statement on this scholar's part, since the task of translating Tamil activists perhaps deserves a longer-lasting, more profound form of "closeslaboration" (Jill-

Levine 1991). The length of this NGO's project is unknown. So is the preparation undergone by this feminist translator to get acquainted with these women's and their characteristic (meta-)discursive forms before actually deciding that she was the most suitable candidate for the translations. It certainly would have been enriching to find this information in the paper. Nevertheless, there might be other feminist translators with non-hegemonic mother tongues willing to arrange a stay within these communities long enough to least acquire a certain competence of their language, and therefore explore their production more accurately. Relying on those community members fluent in English, probably on the grounds of a better socio-economic position, in order to get by for the seemingly brief period taken up by this project might not be the best approach to Reimóndez's ultimate goal. Perhaps, we could ask this scholar whether she would accept to translate her own poetry and fiction into Spanish, for instance, as a prerequisite to be translated into other languages. She might refuse this "promotion", and request a translator truly committed to learning her mother tongue.

Similar reservations arise in regard with the goal of this project. In Reimóndez's words, the NGO's mission was to "foster critical discussions and actions in Galicia about poverty and the interactions between capitalism and patriarchy at the global level" (2017: 43, my emphasis). To start with, someone could rightly question whether these Galician women, involving "local activists" from India in "discussions and actions in Galicia", are not indeed colonising their interests, or, at least, becoming "implicadas no desenvolvemento" in a considerably biased way. On the other hand, the critique of capitalism originally constitutes an intra-patriarchal form of dissent, oppressing many social groups besides women. To my best knowledge, socialist causes have never relinquished many of the political traits which make patriarchal capitalist nation-states unequal and forceful for women. Even worse: they have shamelessly gobbled up feminist efforts in their own interest from the very beginnings of these movements in the Global North (see the example of Québec in Lamoureux 2001). On which grounds, then, has this issue been (unilaterally) prioritised? What is more, why should the parameters of this transnational dialogue be established by the hegemonic nation in the dialogue? Can the subaltern speak about what matters to her, or does she have to discuss Marxist feminism in Galicia? One last aspect about the previous quote deserves further reflection: are not Galicia and Galician a patriarchal invention, resulting from patriarchy's fierce will of geopolitical differentiation? Is this paper not relying too much on "the Galician patriarchal nation-building project", as Raimóndez herself puts it (2017: 48)? Why should nationalities be prioritised as a bond among women, and not, for instance, their personal affinities, their capacity of fruitfully

working together, or their common projects for social development, hopefully unrelated to national "promotion"?

Already within patriarchal national systems, problems have often arisen on a fierce implementation of "nation" as the main category in the identification of speakers, with unequivocally limiting consequences, as we know, for our task and our discipline. In fact, as I have argued in the previous section, the very origin of systemic theories lies precisely in the will of various nations, some of them nationless (Israel) or uncomfortable within their national borders (Flanders), to compare their own features with those of other national systems. As history tells us, there is no guaranty that a society whose national status has been denied for centuries respects similar aspirations of other peoples if, as in Israel's case, these imply compromises regarding their own, newly-acknowledged territorial power. I fear that an extreme "politics of location" (Rich 1984) may lead to nothing but the same of what patriarchy has to offer. That feminist agendas sit well within preexisting, intra-patriarchal movements like nationalism, anarchism, or marxism is often taken for granted without the slightest reflection, although the peripherality of feminist initiatives within these strongly hierarchical structures is constant. They have often been employed, as I expect to demonstrate in my analysis of Québec feminisms, in order to catapult these movements' own ambitions, and the very best improvement most authors seem to suggest is a re-positioning of feminisms within these movements and systems into less peripheral locations.

Therefore, my conclusion after a survey of this volume, applicable to similar ones (Scarsi 2010; Flotow 2011; Yu 2015; Flotow and Farahzad 2016), and certain reviews of the movement in different encyclopedic works of mainstream DTS (Chamberlain in Baker and Malmkjaer 1998: 93-97; Flotow in Baker and Saldanha 2009: 122: 126), is that feminisms in translation constitute an excellent opportunity for overcoming the very same geopolitical borders causing malaise both within and outside patriarchal systems. Today, the impact of nation- and language-bound asymmetries on non-hegemonic groups, in this case feminisms, has been analysed and criticised in considerable depth. Although this line of research has by no means been exhausted, we now find ourselves in a position to start proposing further points of articulation, notional and methodological alternatives to the (trans-)national/(g)local dichotomies. As long as we continue to draw on these concepts, we shall be alluding to (patriarchal) descriptivist literary systems, a concept which we hold as artificial and imposing enough in order to leave it unquestioned. No discovery lies in stating that the current nation-

state order is unable to explain how "communities of faith", in Anderson's terms (1983), like post-diaspora Jewish people have been able to maintain cross-cultural, cross-linguistic, and trans-geographic networks throughout the centuries, strong enough to hold them together despite their lack of a common language, a shared literature or a limited territory since almost their inception as a people.

Similarly, it does not explain, as I have already argued (see 2.4.1.), how women, alienated though they might (have) be(en), still share cross-cultural, cross-linguistic, and trans-geographic networks of their own, again, despite their nation-state-bound differences and diverse experiences. If the nation-state division of patriarchy, like in the case of the Jewish diaspora, has failed to erase feelings of community different from those artificially promoted by nations, we may safely conclude that this is not the essential organisational or operational unit of human society from which to perform any kind of discursive, literary analysis. In this sense, the concept of "system" is coupled with that of "nation", its premises so deeply embedded in it, that the objects of study it produces may only conform to this concept. Some stateless nations, both within and outside the West, have fairly underscored the injustice of intersystemic relations, by promoting knowledge of their own, non-hegemonic structures and networks. However, they have never attempted to propose definitional tools outside the concept of "nation". In what follows, I would like to depart from three different organisational and operational concepts, already formulated by other authors, but still minoritarian within the (Feminist) Translation Studies/History literature.

The first is the already mentioned notion of "regimes" (see section 2.3.2.), a concept of organisational nature proposed by Pym in his 1998, ground-breaking work *Method in Translation History*, where he, nevertheless, does not delve into its potential for non-hegemonic groups. In essence, Pym has understood that, when translational exchanges are thoroughly analysed, geopolitical borders fail to explain their emergence and features. In fact, he gives several illustrative examples of how these borders may overtly contradict the actual flows of translation exchange (see, for instance, Pym 2014: 130ff). This leads him to replace the concept of system, for which he offers a considerable dose of critique (see Pym 2014: 119ff; 144ff), with that of regime. In order to define it, this author draws on its original conception, in the field of political science, by John Ruggie (1975: 170): "a set of mutual expectations, rules and regulations, plans, organizational and financial commitments, which have been accepted by a group of states" (Pym 2014: 125). Ruggie's view, as one may expect, does not break up

with the nation-state landscape, but succeeds in underscoring that some willful commitments, and their resulting discursive networks, may override, or even challenge, nation-state formations. For this reason, I think that any analysis of women's discursive networks may respond to this concept better than it does to nation-state boundaries, which is the traditional approach of feminisms, still majoritarian today.

This mostly definitional, organisational concept has an operational counterpart, "thought communities", also briefly mentioned in the previous section. For Marlene Stein, its author, who only mentions this notion very briefly, "we are participants in thought communities that prompt us to carve up reality" on the grounds of "conceptual distinctions between things we perceive as different", thus "group[ing] together things we consider similar" (2003: 254). As already argued in this thesis, I would like to supplement the absence of a proper definition for this notion with my own understanding of the term. To me, "thought communities" are multifold discursive regimes marked by collaborative strategies, where personal, professional, and intellectual affinities among equal agents have an impact. To this basic description, already provided in the previous section (see 2.3.), I would like to add a series of more specific traits defining the type of metadiscursive networking generated:

1. Non-stop dialogues with conservatism;
2. The targeting of various sources and genres;
3. Interspersed forms of editing, writing, and mediating, which lead to the constitution of hybrid roles within communities;
4. The agents' intellectual background often encourages cross-disciplinary goals;
5. Public and private projections of the political become entangled;
6. Hierarchies become more flexible;
7. All degrees of commitment and social profiles are progressively incorporated.

As one may see, the kind of methodology I am suggesting here to define organisational structures is strongly based on metadiscursive mechanisms, in forms of address and reply. Understandably, women's current discursive identities are mediated by the nation-bound

systems in which they are born. However, a radically new set of dialogues among women, and a radically new methodology to study their discursive productions throughout time and space should prioritise attention to their own initiatives as "discourse communities". For Swales, who originally coined this term (1990: 9), "discourse communities" are constituted by "groups that have goals or purposes, and use communication to achieve these goals" (Borg 2003: 398). This concept, as the author argues, implies the "reaccentuation", in Bakhtinian terms (1986), of pre-existing generic and discursive forms, successfully bridging identity and group formation with metadiscursivity:

(...) We see what we can learn when, in Bakhtin's terminology, genres are "reaccentuated", when we offer versions of our generic repertoire for parody, humor, irony, and verbal play. Within any discourse community there is, I suspect more of this going on than is admitted in our linguistic and discursal accounts or is brought to light in our pedagogic materials. (...) Parodies and caricatures reveal the concerns, conventions, and obsessions of discourse communities in ways that are useful for experts and novices alike. By making fun of our texts we see what they are (Swales 1992: 318).

Since I consider that the ultimate aim of "discourse communities" is to establish common epistemologies, I think that this notion should be integrated within the concept of "thought communities" as a powerful analytic tool. Crucial as it is to remember that discursive differentiation is at the core of social grouping, my preference is for a term covering a broader sociocritical spectrum, comprehensive enough to include emotional and intellectual affinities as the culmination of discursive bonding. I nevertheless have chosen this point of departure to reinforce the need to connect several aforementioned structuralist notions of discourse analysis with the sociological and sociolinguistic approaches brought up so far by Translator Studies, and feminist linguistics respectively. Additionally, on the basis of Godard's conception of "the translator as ventriloquist" (Godard 1982), the notion of "parody" needs to be reassessed as a crucial form of politics through transtextual work: "As neutral ethos, parody becomes a definition for all mimesis, that is for any form of redoubling. In light of this re-writing, the concept of translation is enlarged to include imitation, adaptation, quotation, pastiche, parody- all different modes of re-writing: in short, all forms of interpenetration of works and discourses". (Godard 1989: 50). For Genette, whose classification of "transtextual" forms has been discussed in a previous section (see 2.1.2.), "parody", in its "most rigorous form", entails "taking up a familiar text literally and giving it a new meaning, while playing, if possible and as needed, on the words (...)" (Genette 1984: 16). On the other hand, this recurrence to the "play on words" is especially relevant for feminist translation according to Godard, as it

"effect[s] a transformation in the material signifier like the reverberations and mimicry of the echo" (Godard 1989: 46).

In short, "thought communities" and their metadiscursive cohesion supplement the one of "regimes" in that it underscores individual affinities and agencies in the constitution of discursive networks, portraying difference as an individual, intimate feeling of belonging, overriding any geopolitical attachments. In particular, if we consider gender (Scott 1999), sex (Stein 2003), and feminisms (Alcoff and Potter 1993) as forms of (self-)knowledge, constituting epistemologies of great political value, then we may find that intellectual, emotional, and ideological affinities are at the core of women-centred regimes, inspiring their constitutive networks. "The personal", as has often been said, "is political". I would further add that it is the personal which actually precedes the political, something which, obvious as it may seem, is seldom taken into consideration. To explain the political, in my view, we need to dwell more on the intimate, on the most natural and immediate forms of human contact.

Therefore, the third concept I would like to mention here is very simple, but complex and powerful: "collaboration". This term has been underscored by various feminist translation theorists and practitioners, including Lori Chamberlain (1988), and Suzanne Jill-Levine (1991), among others, in the means of defining the subversive activity of rewriting source texts, mostly, but not only, by patriarchal writers, but also by feminist ones, which implies the feminist translator's self-positioning in equal terms with respect to the author:

(...) What is required for a feminist theory of translation is a practice governed by what Derrida calls the double bind-not the double standard. Such a theory might rely, not on the family model of oedipal struggle, but on the double-edged razor of translation as collaboration, where author and translator are seen as working together, both in the cooperative and the subversive sense (Chamberlain 1988: 470).

The reason why, among all definitions available, I have chosen to reproduce Chamberlain's depiction of the term is that it suggests, perhaps more clearly than others, a series of crucial paradoxes of "collaboration" as conceived of by Anglo-American feminist translators. She claims that "author and translator are seen as working together, both in the cooperative and the subversive sense". This wording is ambiguous enough to grant, without providing any conclusive statement in this sense, that differences among forms of feminist translation often reside in the original author's (self-)positioning regarding women's condition. Understandably, an enormous task of "sub-versive scribing", in Levine's terms (1991), of

critical (re-)translation of patriarchal literature, still lies ahead. These efforts, as well as the archaeological will to unearth lost women authors, constitute the clearest instance in which a combination of feminist hermeneutics, translation sociocriticism and revisited translation history methodologies are required. Additional ambiguity comes from this "double bind" (Chamberlain 1988: 470) of "closelaboration", a neologism created by Infante, one of the main authors translated by Levine. Once it takes place, "It is not at all certain who is ultimately betrayed (...) by the pingpong of subjectivities which is collaborative translation" (Simon 1996: 77).

Indeed, various feminist translators have narrated their relationship with patriarchal authors as traumatic and forceful, which has led most of them to prioritise working with feminist writers for the rest of their generally brief career. A clear example thereof is found in *Re-Belle et Infidèle: The Body Bi-Lingual* (1991: 15-17), where De Lotbinière-Harwood portrays her translation of Québécois songwriter Francoeur's poems as the first and last of her "collaborations" with patriarchal authors, which, as I am to argue in subsequent sections of this thesis, was strongly motivated, like in other cases, by shared nationalist convictions: Thus, the initial affiliation felt for the rebellious Québec spirit of Independence expressed through the language of rock can be seen to move towards the context of feminist awareness of gender-related language and to be consequently invested in "the spirit of sisterhood". (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1995: 64). As I shall explain in the contextualisation of the Feminist movement in Québec, this translation was prepared at a time of great prosperity for pro-independence movements: the months prior to the first independence referendum (1980). Hence, statements like the previous one were often made by feminist writers and translators at the time (see, for instance, Lamy 1979). Leaving this aside, a fundamental question regarding "collaboration" is addressed:

Une femme peut-elle se mettre dans la peau d'un poète et traduire du même point de vue? Ré-écrire d'où il a écrit? Bien sûr. (...) Les colonisé-e-s utilisent souvent le code d'une manière plus rigoureuse que les colonisateurs (masculine pluriel non neutre) dans le but d'obtenir l'acceptation, la reconnaissance. Un hasard signifiant a voulu qu'on m'accorde le prix de traduction John-Glassco 1981 pour *Neons in the Night*.

Mais une femme peut-elle traduire *Angel Iceberg* sans se blesser? Bien sûr que non. Consciemment ou non. (...) Je devais à mon tour--déformation professionnelle oblige--occuper *son* poste d'observation et regarder cet femme-ange avec ses yeux à lui (...) (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991: 16-17).

For this author, then, at least according to this passage (other parts of this same book seem to point at other directions), professional translators must look at the subjects portrayed in the texts they translate with the original author's eyes. There is no possibility of "womanhandling" (Godard 1989: 50), of "hijacking" (Flotow 1991) an alien discursive product according to a feminist agenda, professional requirements prompting her to a "willful collusion and cooperation between text, author, and translator", in Simon's words (1996: 16). This same author, however, presents overtly contradictory alternatives to this portrayal of feminist collaboration in this same passage, perhaps more in tune with the unauthorised interventions on many patriarchal texts. Let us not forget that, even in Jill-Levine's analyses, the patriarchal author she cooperates with, Guillermo Cabrera Infante, has willingly participated in what he himself terms as "closelaboration" (Jill-Levine 1991). Thus, even if he grants women a downgrading treatment in his work, Cabrera Infante may see Jill-Levine's very interventionist, feminist translation of his books as a sort of amusing "experiment". However, most patriarchal authors (and, importantly, editors) do not share his amusement, a fact despite of which the experiences of rejection faced by feminist translators are rarely reported, perhaps because the number of practitioners actually demonstrating this inclination in daily work is low.

This may be due to the fact that, together with Linda Gaboriau, De Lotbinière-Harwood is possibly the only feminist translator of the Canadian-feminist movement with a non-academic approach, which encourages her to provide very honest and realistic advice regarding the limited implementation of feminist agencies in professional realms (1991). Moreover, her remarks on the Canadian polysystem's response to her "androcentric" work (1991: 16) also seem to confirm the patriarchal character of the book industry, as well as the patronage of various Canadian literary institutions, both Anglophone and Francophone, to which feminist translation scholars may have been exposed to a lesser degree. In practice, this gap between academic and non-academic feminist "translator ethics", already underscored by Pym in mainstream translation contexts (2011), indicates the existence of a wide range of interpretations for "collaboration".

A more frequent space for feminist author-translator cooperation, and yet more neglected by feminist translation theorists, is precisely the translation of works by other feminists, which, as already suggested, has been majoritarian among Canadian feminist translation. Understandably, selecting feminist or porto-feminist works for these projects, and releasing them either with an academic publisher, not necessarily guided by profit, or an overtly

feminist one, generally decreases the difficulties experienced in the process. And still, "collaboration" has been anything but smooth among participants. Barbara Godard, for instance, had an almost decade-long cooperation both with Frank Davey, a colleague from York University and well-known editor, and Coach House Press, a feminist publisher, for the translation of Québec feminist novels. As Kathy Mezei indicates, hers and Davey's works as editors ended somehow abruptly on the grounds of several disagreements with the publishing house (Mezei 2006: 206). De Lotbinière-Harwood, on her part, has featured in various controversial projects. One of them is a highlight of the entire Canadian Feminist movement: her translation of Lise Gauvin's *Lettres d'une Autre* (1986). This work was apparently very ambitious. In her preface, she made a considerably bold statement:

"Just a few words to let you know that this translation is a rewriting in the feminine of what I originally read in French. I don't mean content. Lise Gauvin is a feminist, and so am I. But I am not her. She wrote in the generic masculine. My translation practice is a political activity aimed at making language speak for women. So my signature on a translation means: this translation has used every possible feminist translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language. Because making the feminine visible in language means making women seen and heard in the real world. Which is what feminism is all about" (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1989: 9).

This is a clear example of the ambiguity of feminist "collaboration" when two women, and especially two feminist women, one a translator and the other a writer, are concerned. According to the previous paragraph, Lise Gauvin is a feminist. While the content of her book supports this premise, form seems to demand "a rewriting in the feminine". This implies an underlying "right to change what [De Lotbinière-Harwood] cannot approve of", in Flotow's words (1997: 29), one of the many theorists who has echoed this preface. Thus, the issue with this feminist book lies in the lack of women's visibility in language. It is nonetheless debatable whether De Lotbinière-Harwood's promise to "us[e] every possible feminist translation strategy to make the feminine visible in language", albeit praised by various commentators (Flotow among them, 1997: 29) is fulfilled. As Brufau Alvira indicates (2010), most of the manipulative strategies used are aimed at explaining cultural differences, and the techniques of linguistic innovation followed focus only on the neutralisation of the generic masculine.

A second instance, perhaps more interesting, is Harwood's translation process of Gail Scott's novel *Heroin* (1987). This was, by the way, one of the very few cases in which a Québécois publisher got engaged into translating a (feminist) Anglophone Canadian writer. To

my best knowledge, it also constitutes the only translation undertaken by De Lotbinière-Harwood, despite her bilingualism, from English into French, and not vice-versa. This, once again, seems to point at personal affinities, either with the author or the editor, as the motive behind this project. The fact is that, according to her account, an unheard form of "willful collusion" took place on such occasion, not only "between text, author and translator" (Simon 1996: 16), but also with the direct intervention of the editor in the creative process. These three women, as it seems, sat down together on numerous occasions to go through the main difficulties posed by the translation, which often led to major alterations on the translator's initial proposal. Be as it may, "collaboration" seems to be a privileged, natural form of discursive productivity, building up networks among women, who typically feel displaced within spaces conforming patriarchal identity, especially nations and languages. Thus, as Agorni demonstrates, taking this form of bonding as an alternative to systemic relationships constitutes a most appropriate approach to a feminist praxis of translation history:

It is my contention that the specificity of women's contribution to literary production may prove to be a remarkably fruitful ground for historical analyses of translation practices. A focus on gender enables critics to question the very definition of translation as a distinctive, unified category, by effectively bringing a set of collateral textual and social practices to the fore (such as proof-reading, giving directions on translating strategies, advice on publication, etc.), practices which ultimately explode the myth of translators as the sole directive agents in textual formation (Agorni 2005: 819).

I believe, nonetheless, that the feminist concept of "collaboration" in translation, as well as those of "regime" and "thought communities", should be supplemented with the different dimensions of social, intellectual, and emotional affinities underscored by Chesterman's recent approach of *Translator Studies*. Hence, the following section shall be devoted to establishing connection between an analysis of potential synergies between this current and feminist descriptive translation work.

2.4.2. Feminist Translator Studies?

As I have indicated in the previous section, a debate has taken place for decades in most feminist currents about the productivity of departing from mainly unquestioned, patriarchally-established differences in order to classify different female experiences:

What influences people to act as members of groups? Are processes of group identification common or variable? How do those marked by multiple differences (black women, or women workers, middle-class lesbians, or black lesbian workers) determine the salience of one or another of these identities? Can these differences, which together constitute the meanings of individual and collective identities, be conceived of historically? How could we realize in the writing of Teresa de Lauretis's suggestion that differences among women are better understood as "differences within women?" (Scott 1999: 25).

Gender, as already contended in this thesis, has been the primary basis for discrimination within political and intellectual structures throughout history, dislocating with their territorial obsession any initiatives aimed at female cooperation. After this identity-erosive work by patriarchal elites, as old as history itself, the extent of women's alienation is such that feminists have often wondered what "being a woman" actually meant (see, for instance, Moi 1999), or even denied any connection with "womanhood" as a patriarchally-imposed category (see 2.2.4.). "What influences women to act as members of groups"? How does "gender" affect their sense of belonging within different "thought communities" throughout time and space? These are the main questions we should try to answer in order to determine the notion(s) around which we are to explore "differences within women", as De Lauretis puts it in the previous passage. It is my contention that gender politics travel from intimate, small-scale forms of coexistence and productive units to public organisations and structures through (meta-)discursive praxis, which implies a renewed, feminist focus on translating subjects, as well as on other literary agents, as the "lien vivant" between textual manifestations and the gender-related conventions held by the communities sustaining them. In this sense, I believe that Translator Studies may provide extremely helpful analytic categories and methodologies.

With his *Translator Studies* proposal, Chesterman seems to reinforce Hermans' idea of a natural life cycle of disciplines (Hermans 1998), where dissemination is followed by decline, eventually resulting in the emergence of new trends, and a slow consolidation of disciplines. Translator studies, in his perhaps slightly conservative view, would not imply the transformation of DTS into more subject-bound forms of analysis, a metamorphosis which even Hermans has acknowledged (1998: 10), but simply the development of a new "sub-field" within it. The reason, as it seems, behind this subordination of subject-centred approaches to general DTS is that "not all translation research takes these people as the primary and explicit focus, the starting point, the central concept of the research question" (2009: 14). To my understanding, nevertheless, the groundbreaking contention that "there are indeed translators

behind the translations, people behind the texts" (2009: 14) implies an entire restructuring process of DTS as we know it, focused as it has been on texts and systems, without the slightest attention to the productive networks of individuals which actually make them possible. I shall agree with this author in that the researcher's interest might be particularly placed on the critical analysis of one or more translations, in short, on the translation "product", or even on the "process" by which they are produced, and not only on the intervening "agents", who, by the way, are by no means limited to translation practitioners.

However, to me, the most productive way to implement the Translator Studies proposal is one which Chesterman himself rightfully grants in his paper: "Opinions will vary on whether or not the research trends I am referring to actually constitute a distinct subfield rather than merely a kind of broad perspective on aspects of Translation Studies in general. Perhaps my sketch shows no more than an ongoing shift of emphasis within translation research as a whole." (Chesterman 2009: 14). In my view, a "shift of emphasis within translation research as a whole" is by no means a minor issue. True change may not come exclusively from creating a separate branch for translator-focused analyses, and thus continuing to perform function-, product-, and process- ones without the input of discursive agencies. Translator Studies should constitute a new, overarching approach, not only to the neglected translator's figure in itself, but also to the very same objects of interest with which traditional DTS has been concerned. In this sense, the concepts of agency and experience, underscored by feminist historians, as well as all forms of networking and affinities are necessary to define translation regimes, as well as the type of "thought communities" who engage in them, and the forms of "collaboration" through which they do it.

Granted: somehow, Chesterman is timidly suggesting a prototypical form of sociocriticism by proposing that the functionalist concept of *skopos* be replaced with that of *telos*, concerned not with the mechanic aim of a text, but with the social, emotional and intellectual purposes of translators as they produce their reported discourse, the discernment of which certainly requires a good dose of translation hermeneutics. In this sense, three sub-branches of a more general, DTS approach are deemed as relevant for this new focus on translation subjectivity: the cultural, cognitive, and sociological dimensions. The cultural dimension includes aspects like ideologies, ethics and history, all of which are public projections of inner convictions and experiences. The cognitive dimension, on its part, comprises mental process, emotions, and working attitude. Finally, the sociological dimension

focuses on aspects like networking and institutions, workplace conditions and the fight for translator recognition. For Chesterman, the "sociological" focus intended by classical descriptivism has traditionally been unidimensional, targeting only what he labels as the sociology of translations (Chesterman 2009: 16). In Chesterman's view, the reality of translation production should now be observed from two new, agent-focused perspectives: that of translators, emphasising the human, social-networking aspect of translation praxis, and that of translating, which reflects on its procedural dimension.

As for the so-called *sociology of translators*, a wide array of aspects are mentioned, ranging from purely professional to financial, emotional, and identitarian matters:

The *sociology of translators* covers such issues as the status of (different kinds of) translators in different cultures, rates of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator's habitus, professional organizations, accreditation systems, translators' networks, copyright, and so on. Questions of a different kind under this heading are those relating to gender and sexual orientation, and to power relations, and how these factors affect a translator's work and attitudes. The sociology of translators also covers the public discourse of translation, (...) translators' attitudes to their work (...) .[:] (...) translators' ideologies and translation ethics (...) (Chesterman 2009: 16).

Here, I have the impression that Chesterman would do well in telling the aspects conforming "translation regimes" (1998) apart from those configuring the "thought communities" I have discussed above. While the former constitute the broader sociological landscape in which discursive negotiations take place, the latter are a sort of colonies for discourse production, resulting from processes of interpersonal bonding based on perceptions of shared professional, ideological, intellectual or emotional (i.e. *identitarian*) affinities. Since they often define their praxis *against* the mainstream norms of their matrix regimes, I judge this differentiation as crucial for the description of translational feminisms. Hence, on the grounds of their negotiable nature, regimes could be said to encompass "the status of (...) translators (...), rates of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator's habitus, professional organizations, accreditation systems, translators' networks, copyright, and so on". All these are aspects either explicitly or implicitly considered both by original and more recent DTS theorists in their depiction of systems and their forms of patronage (Lefevere 1993). The translator's *habitus*, a notion taken from Bourdieu's work (1977), has for instance been explored by a second wave of Dutch descriptivists, especially Reine Meylaerts (2006; 2008; 2010), as a reconciling space between systemic norms and individual agencies. On the other hand, "thought communities"

would include "gender and sexual orientation", of obvious importance in this thesis; "power relations, and how these factors affect a translator's work and attitudes", as well as the "translators' attitudes to their work" in themselves. Nonetheless, three elements in the previous quote stand out as common ground to "translation regimes" and "thought communities": "the public discourse of translation", "translators' ideologies and translation ethics". As I am to develop in the following section, I believe that a certain self-awareness of patriarchal elites throughout history, and therefore a coercive "will to system", in Pym's words (2014: 119), have led them to create "images" (Lefevere 1993) not only of pre-existent works through translation, but also of translation itself, carefully characterising its product, process, and function to suit the dominant sociopolitical standards of each particular period.

Since translative praxis has always been crucial for the exchange of cultural capital, and against the first descriptivists' belief (see Holmes 1972, quoted in the next section), both official and subversive translation *metadiscourses*, that is, discourses alluding either to sanctioned or transgressive translation praxis, have been uttered in multiple forms and through multiple outlets, more or less explicitly, throughout history. Indeed, as Chesterman states and I have indicated in previous sections (2.1.1.), "essays, interviews, translators' prefaces and notes, etc", traditionally neglected as secondary sources, have nevertheless proven to be relevant forms of translation metadiscourse, containing important manifestations of agencies, either colluding with or challenging prevailing ethics. This contrast between different agencies is crucial, since hegemonic subjectivities have unfairly constituted the sole basis for most descriptivist "archaeology" to this date, the counter-discourses and disruptive practices developed in small "thought communities" being overtly ignored, a trend which no doubt affects women's production dramatically. Only on the grounds of a new hermeneutics may we analyse the archaeological findings of both official and marginalised translation practice and their related metadiscourses with the aim of inferring the underlying *translator ethics*, or lack thereof. In line with the shift implied by *Translator Studies* in itself, as well as by the progressive displacement from falsely objective to overtly subjective translation analysis, a most logical move in my view would be to seek for a *translator ethics* (Pym 2011). This ethics, I believe, must be absolutely contingent, departing from the "thought communities" which authors and translators, but also editors, literary agents, journalists and other relevant subjects participating in regimes willfully join on the basis of shared affinities.

On its part, the *sociology of translating* is defined as a dimension of *Translator Studies* concerned with the translation process, as well as with the wide range of stages and working dynamics it may entail: " (...) Translation practices and working procedures, quality control procedures and the revision process, co-operation in team translation, multiple drafting, relations with other agents including the client, and the like." (Chesterman 2009: 17). In my opinion, this aspect constitutes Chesterman's main contribution to the improvement of descriptivist methodology: an explicit connection between the subjectivities of social bonding and (meta-)discursive praxis. One should not, as descriptivists do, treat social structures as a natural given, or deal with systems "as if [they] really existed" (Lefevere 1983: 193-94), disregarding the interested portrayal of discursive reality and social relationships to which patriarchal conventions lead. Instead, as I have proposed above, a *sociology of translating* should focus on the individual will of different agents to turn shared affinities into discursive cooperation. This is where the essence of feminist discursive dynamics lies. It is in this light that the *sociologies of feminist translating* should be based on forms of female-specific *collaboration*, a term already defined below. From a notional a methodological perspective, such enterprise requires a brand-new approach, seeking a broader picture of discursive agencies and experiences: the so-called "New Textualism" (Hurley and Goodblatt 2009). This proposal definitely helps understand the translation dynamics of "thought communities" in its depiction of authorship as a "fragmented" process, where different discursive agents, including translators, but also editors, scholars and commentators of all kinds, set up a dialogue on equal terms with writers. In this new space of productive affinities one must reconsider the descriptivist notion of "translation norms", and especially that of "laws", as the forms of censorship they have constituted so far in our discipline (once again, see Tymoczko 2009), and discern whether their formulation in feminist translation circles like the Canadian one has brought about the same or different consequences for female subjects.

2.4.3. Deconstructing Historical Relevance: The Dynamics of Female Subjects' Historical 'Presentation' through Translation

"After centuries of incidental and desultory attention from a scattering of authors, philologists, and literary scholars, plus here and there a theologian or an idiosyncratic linguist, the subject of translation has enjoyed a marked and constant increase in interest on the part of scholars in recent years, with the Second World War as a kind of turning point." (Holmes 1972: 67-68)

The arrival of the 70s, a decade of considerable intellectual and social agitation, had a notable impact on the study of linguistics, literary theory, and, of course, translation, a traditionally low-key, although constantly evolving interest within the previously mentioned and other scholarly areas, soon to start striving for an autonomous status (see Holmes' seminal paper on the new discipline of 'translation studies', 1972). This fact, however, as indicated in the opening quote, does not entail the absolute absence of any previous theoretical or practical reflections on translation. The tone of such quote, however, is somehow misleading, perhaps just naïve. Indeed, the centrality of translation for the exertion of cross-cultural power throughout History has generated a series of necessarily prescriptive discourses, traditionally constituting our basis for (patriarchal) translation history. Treacherously disguised as subsidiary to other fields, their main goal has been the protection of the two symbiotic patriarchal institutions benefiting from translational activity: religion and the state.

In my view, various implications immediately arise from such premise. It cannot be assumed that translation-related global discourses and mass communication interests first emerged in the 20th century, with the consolidation of communication technologies and the institution of international forums, as the first descriptivist theorists seemed to believe (again, cf. Holmes 1972: 67-68). On the contrary, practical uses of translation by both church and state appear to have been mass-communication oriented from their origins, seeking to attain global power and mass control through discourse. Although rarely channeled by translation theorists, both of the distant and the recent past, various assertions from diverse fields of knowledge have historically reported the acknowledgement of subject empowerment through translation, defining it as the general process of reported speech or quote²⁴, the basic procedure of '(re-)expression', or re-circulation of previous linguistic and conceptual material under each individual's potentially novel standpoint. In the following excerpt, surveying the concept of translation throughout different periods, one can see how low-key, but still anti-prescriptive approaches to translation have silently coexisted with the prevailing *traduttore-tradittore* discourses of fear. In this light, neither the polysystem/manipulation approaches discussed in

²⁴ This 'hermeneutic' understanding of the translation process seems to outreach the limits of traditional interlinguistic renderings by underscoring its praxis as the intersubjective versioning of any previous piece of speech (see Ortega y Gasset 1931), which perfectly holds up to Jakobson's threefold conception of translation as an interlinguistic, intralinguistic and intersemiotic exchange (1957). As shall be contended throughout this thesis, these last two modalities have been of special interest to Feminist translation scholars and any other groups willing to unveil the ideological stances necessarily implied by translation praxis.

previous sections (2.1ff), nor Steiner's hermeneutics of translation (1975, see 2.1.1.), seem as groundbreaking as we may have thought:

As [John Dryden] later remarks, 'imitation of an author is the most advantageous way for a translator to show himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead'. (...) But here as elsewhere, Dryden was only popularizing [*censoring?*] a sense of the word that had been well-established [*and apparently accepted!*] in tradition. The first writer to use imitation was Cicero, who not only extended classical imitation from intralingual to interlingual modelling, but linked it to the verb *exprimere*. Cicero (...) finds that imitating Latin orators binds his verbal imagination, and so tries to imitate Greek orators in Latin (Robinson 1998: 111-112).

As many seem to have understood (and often, as John Dryden, feared to the extent of fierce condemnation), translation is the fundamental means for a controlled transnational exchange of cultural, ethical, and identitarian conventions, of obvious interest for (patriarchal) religion and politics since the dawn of humanity. Hence, a constant obsession with monopolizing the definition of 'equivalence' and 'fidelity' may be observed in the discourses of patriarchal commentators, and especially Bible translators, whose 'miraculous unanimity' (Simon 1987: 429) when versioning the holy scriptures has been at the core of the first critiques to translation prescriptivism. Indeed, in Barbara Godard's terms, "la théorie dominante de la traduction comme équivalence entre deux textes est fondée sur une poétique de la transparence du langage" (Godard 1989: 42). In the view of such 'théorie dominante', stability of meaning, whose impossibility cannot go unnoticed to anyone vaguely acquainted with translation, seems to be guaranteed by the ultimate, steadfast source of sense (God), creating a double standard by which hermeneutics, inherent to the translation process, has nevertheless remained a purely scholastic prerogative till recently. As stated by Tymoczko, "(...) Transposing meaning in translation is possible (even assured?) because of [the Bible translators'] belief that God acts as the ultimate guarantor for the fidelity of meaning in translations undertaken in the service of faith" (Tymoczko 2009: 34).

The hypocrisy of those imposing on others a translation fidelity betrayed by their very actions further unveils when one thinks of the number of councils celebrated by the Roman Church on the grounds of translation discrepancies, or, in the first decades of the Modern age, to a strong opposition toward any Bible translations into the vernaculars, resulting in multiple schisms and heresies as a response to these hermeneutic impositions. Besides the apparent concerns this would trigger over a potential lack of intra-patriarchal consensus, serious

repercussions for the perpetuation of patriarchally-productive gender roles were equally, albeit implicitly, at stake. According to De Lotbinière-Harwood, for instance, the Septuagint omitted the matriarchal nature of some Jewish communities mentioned in the Old Testament (1991: 27). Similarly, as Church exegetes openly discuss in some sources, several heretic translators of the holy scriptures, like Greek philosopher Origen (184 d. C -253 d. C), granted the Holy Spirit a female gender identity as "Jesus' mother", since the original Hebrew word for 'spirit', *Ruah*, was feminine (De Santos Otero 1963: 38), and the narratological style of the sources, prone to personification, may have justified such interpretation.

Indeed, just a superficial survey of the history of Bible translation may suffice to see that an array of manipulative strategies, as well as a considerable amount of ideological editing, were put into practice at the two main stages of Bible *transediting* (Stteting 1989), that is, of censorial assembling through translation: the establishment of the Septuagint (200 BCE-50 CE), and that of the Vulgate (4th century). The sort of strategies consolidated by this more than empowered practice would lay the foundations for the crucial politics of intercultural transmission practised by ecclesiastical elites in the Middle Ages, classified by Delisle under the following categories: source-text appropriation; the search for legitimacy; schematic and didactic prefacing; linguistic innovation; and translator visibility (Delisle 1993: 205). Although none of them has ever acknowledged or further explored this line of research, Delisle consistently argues that feminist translators have deployed those very same manipulative strategies in their fight against patriarchal discourse. Indeed, following Flotow's classification (1991), source-text appropriation would go under the name of *hijacking*; schematic and didactic prefaces would become overtly feminist ones; and linguistic innovation should here be understood not as a mere form of vernacular evolution, but as pure *langagement*, a term adopted by Québécois feminists (Gauvin 2000) from the province's nationalist writers (see Major 1975). Both the search for legitimacy and translator visibility, on their part, would hold up with feminist author-translator *collaboration*, depicted by Jill Levine as the attitude of a "subversive scribe" (1991), which perfectly synthesises the role of clergymen in the transmission of culture throughout the Middle Ages.

Be as it may, aware of the crucial fact contended by this section, namely, that 'the translation of key texts is an important aspect of any movement of ideas' (Simon 1996: 39), female subjects have often adopted an ambiguous positioning regarding mainstream discourses of power via translation, operating both within and against them (Capperdoni 2007). This fact

has been granted special relevance in the archaeological work of Canadian feminist translators, especially in its connection with Biblical and other pious translations. In *Gender and Translation* (1996), for instance, Simon surveys the incidence of gender in such sort of metadiscourses from different standpoints: translation controversies surrounding crucial conceptions of gender within the Torah; affluent Early Modern women's exclusively religious translation praxis; the Suffragettes' undertaking of Bible (re-)translations during the second half of the 19th century; and several gender-inclusive attempts of Bible revisionism in the second half of the 20th century. Here, against the more than apparent warning signs of historiographical work, she also defends a positivist view on women's self-realisation through translational praxis:

What shall be considered in this chapter is the way in which women have used translation to open new axes of communication, to create new subject positions and to contribute to the intellectual and political life of their times.

An opposite tack could just as well have been pursued. It could be argued and certainly demonstrated that the persistent historical association between women and translation has also meant that women have been confined to a subordinate writing role, that they were "only" translators when they might have been enjoying the privileges of full authorship, "bearers of the word" (Homans 1986). This tension (...) need not imply that the link between the social role of women and the literary position led only to negative results; nor should it obscure the potentially dynamic and interventionist dimensions of translation (Simon 1996: 39).

While further attention shall be devoted in subsequent sections to the implicit attempts of Canadian Feminist translators at creating a (Western-)Feminist History of translation, the previous passage motivates serious questioning: if one is to contend, as I intend to do, that translation has been patriarchy's essential tool for cross-cultural power, why were men interested in *certain* female-produced translative efforts? For which purposes and in which particular domains? Are there differences across (patriarchal) nations and cultures regarding such interests? Bible translation into the vernaculars has been an essential claim of protestant nations since their inception, as well as a crucial move toward the creation of the first non-catholic nation-states, where the pastors' wives held a prominent position as female role models, therefore perpetuating patriarchally productive female ideals and, simultaneously, the new protestant social structures.

In one of the examples provided in her book, Simon describes Mary Sidney's (1561-1621) translation of De Mornay's *Discours et meditations chrestiennes* (1605) as containing "gestures in favour of protestantism", and, given Sidney's contempt with her "confine[ment] in translation" as 'the province of a learned woman', she claims it was "regarded with approbation" (1996: 48). However, the fact that this scholar does not reproduce the whole title of the source text (she refers to it as 'Mornay's *Discours*') prevents the reader from understanding that a religious work coming from a Catholic country, France, eternal rival of England, was to be versioned in nationalist and protestant terms, which proves how patriarchy has often given women intriguing roles as "transgressors" of the source culture in order to perpetuate the structures of the target one, unequivocally under intra-patriarchal interests. In this sense, it would have been fundamental for Simon to clarify in which particular cases 'the spiritual life of the times' would become 'a site from which dominant norms could be challenged and resisted' (1996: 49) *for the benefit of women's emancipation*, and not for that of another intra-patriarchal collective. This dilemma, which promises to be crucial in my portrayal of Canadian-feminist translation activities, may only be solved through profound a consistent archaeological and critical methodology, as present in such theorists' predicaments as absent in their own praxis.

Despite a brief mention, Simon also seems to fail in duly emphasising how this was only a modest part of the translation enterprise endeavoured by Mary Sidney's brother, poet Philip Sidney, probably the only reason for her historical 'presentation to us through the thick apparatus of ideological translation lecturing for women. On the grounds of this alleged 'tolerance toward women's translation, limited to pious and moralistic texts, Simon states that "[p]aradoxically, religion (which reinforces female subservience) emerges as an area through which some women were able to contribute to the cultural activities of their age" (1996: 46). In my view, this is by no means 'paradoxical', but a controlled gesture of magnanimity in the best interest of patriarchal elites, who have conceived of a very fruitful metaphor between women's and translation's reproductive and perpetuating capacities (see Chamberlain 1988). Controlled translation praxis of spiritual texts thus had a role-shaping function for women, far from the brutal operations of textual reconfiguration leading to the establishment of those texts crucial to patriarchy. As a consequence, an exclusiveness of censorial power over any deviating translation practices has been held by convergent church and state platforms till our days. As recently as in the mid-60s, Eugene Nida, founder of the American Bible Society, challenged

the traditionally 'universal' and static concept of equivalence, perhaps, for the sake of a greater good. In a decade of strong commitment with social justice and civil rights, but also of profound cold war, the need of convergence between religious and institutional propaganda, well-known to patriarchal structures, emerged once again:

It may seem strange to link Nida's functionalist theory of translation developed for Bible translation to the production of propaganda before and during World War II and to the burgeoning of advertising after the war, but all these activities have commonalities, not the least being an acute understanding of the effectiveness of controlled and manipulated textual processing for achieving specific social goals (Tymoczko 2006: 34).

'Propaganda' seems indeed the word which best suits patriarchal efforts into perpetuation, patriarchy being the ultimate propaganda apparatus underlying most of the traditional (and even some of the challenging) historical discourses we now rely on. That patriarchal institutions have willingly given in superficial gains in order to protect their *status quo* through translation is something even prominent Canadian feminists have failed to see. For instance, Simon's surprise regarding Nida's relevance in what she calls 'modern' (patriarchal-modern, perhaps) translatology despite his belonging to the ecclesiastical world (1984: 429) seems somehow naïve. With the application of "dynamic equivalence" (1964) for Bible re-translation, the necessary changes were made, so that the essential would remain unaltered. Understandably enough, then, a classical first move of all politically and socially repressive regimes, often relying on a solid church-state alliance, has been the institution of complex apparatuses of translation censorship, isolating their citizenship from the 'liberal' lifestyles and ideologies flourishing abroad. Here, the importance attached by such regimes to the perpetuation of traditional gender roles has been thoroughly explored by many feminist translatalogists. Spain is indeed an excellent example thereof, the Francoist dictatorship constituting still today a promising field of research for the intersection of gender, translation, and history, with prominent research groups such as TRACE and GELTHIC.

Be as it may, repressive or democratic, Patriarchal nation-states, the basic units of patriarchal systems, are obsessed with geographical dominance and border division, usually associating the possession of land with that of its women for the perpetuation of their particular intra-patriarchal identities. All intra-patriarchal conflict has consequently led to the so-called *coloniality of gender* (Lugones 2010), frequently placing women as the 'transgressive' mediators between intra-patriarchal cultures in almost sacrificial ways (cfr. Bassnett and

Trivedi 1998: 4). Thus, when those intendedly female mediators of intra-patriarchal conflicts are portrayed by feminist historical discourses as victorious, seeing such treacherous, patriarchy-appointed roles as emancipatory, a feeling of discomfort invades the author of this thesis. One clear example is the constant reference to la Malinche, one of the first interpreters of modern history and Cortés' 'lover', a carefully chosen word, suggesting her alleged sexual availability for the coloniser, which appears to justify the hatred and despise of both intra-patriarchal parties in the aforementioned colonial process. Here, one crucial patriarchal parallel between women and translation emerges: female mediation in intra-patriarchal conflicts and prostitution have often been connected both explicitly and implicitly in multiple discourses till our days²⁵. At the time of La Malinche, according to Simon, she was considered a traitress²⁶, just like translation itself, in many of the feminized discourses to which our discipline has been subjected: "Whether described as the Eve-like traitress who helped deliver the great Aztec empire into the hands of the Spaniards, or reclaimed as a part of the Mexican heritage, la Malinche has the signal honour of being one of the few women who is remembered for her work as a cultural intermediary, a translator" (Simon 1996: 40). In my opinion, such 'honour' is certainly debatable, and by no means 'signal', given the potentially huge amounts of women who could have ended up in a similar position, both in that colonial process and in others. Indeed, she may have been one of the few female cultural intermediaries "presented" by patriarchal historical discourses, but definitely not the only one "participat[ing] in the negotiations leading to the European conquest of Latin America" (Simon 1996: 40).

"Negotiation" is indeed an accurate word for the kind of deals made between intra-patriarchal societies, openly contradictory to La Malinche's portrayal as a "convenient victim on whom [*patriarchal*] Mexican historians, and other chroniclers of the Conquest, could vent their anger" (Simon 1996: 40). If she participated in a purely intra-patriarchal process facilitating mutual comprehension, we must assume that it was for the benefit of, and not against, such process, where the faction sacrificing her and many other women was militarily inferior. Indeed, this and other unequal intra-patriarchal "negotiations" have often forced the

²⁵ Still today, patriarchy conveys images of national treason through sexually-available females (sexually available for the enemy, therefore double traitors) acting as linguistic aids (triple traitors, that is). A clear example of this Quentin Tarantino's film *Inglorious Bastards* (2009), in a scene of which a German official's female interpreter is noticed by American soldiers, which suddenly triggers an image of explicit sex between her and her client, where she adopts a passive position.

²⁶ Curiously enough, "traitress" or "traitoress", just like "translatress" or, later, in the 19th century, "editress", are rare exceptions of feminizable attitudes and professions, casually bearing either negative connotations, in the first case, or subordinate ones, in the second.

women of the disadvantaged sides to adopt roles between linguistic/cultural mediation and prostitution. The following excerpt discusses a passage of Sidney Spencer Broomfield's autobiography, *Kachalola or the Mighty Hunter* (1931), quoted by Milner-Thornton in order to explain the convenience found by colonizers in the so-called 'feather bed dictionaries':

Although Broomfield expresses great interest in African sexual conduct, he implies his interest was of practical nature: 'I got into the habit of asking things and wrote the English and native into a notebook'. He also declares it was objective, he felt no sexual desire for African women: 'I had no fancy for the black velvet when I first started'. Contradictorily he admits that, a number of years later when he arrived in Central Africa (present-day Zambia), he abandoned his initial sexual inhibition: 'It was a mistake on my part. I found out later that owning a feather bed dictionary was the easiest and quickest and most pleasant way of learning the language and customs of the native' (Milner-Thornton 2007: 1112).

Such sexual 'availability' on the part of the native women, according to the same author, was by no means sanctioned, but mostly encouraged by the men to be colonized, whose geographically and politically subjected position would not prevent them from being as patriarchal as their colonizers (cf. Lugones 2010). This, again, is often denied by multiple feminist critics, as well as distorted, and even celebrated as a victory. The figure of freed slave Lucy Terry Prince (c. 1730-1821) is an excellent example thereof. In her paper on black feminist literary studies (2006), Anne Ducille praises her uncommon achievement to defend her family's property rights before the governor of Vermont in the late 1700s, on behalf of her husband, Abijah Prince, also a freed slave:

What persuaded the governor and his lieutenant and councilors to side with a black woman over a powerful white statesman or even to hear the black woman's case? The former slave's lack of standing within the category "woman" (...) may have afforded Mrs. Prince access to the public sphere, including the right to speak for her husband, which most white women would not have been allowed to claim. It is also true that, although by no means egalitarian, the colonial frontier was in some ways less gender and racially stratified in the eighteenth century than more "civil society" would become in the nineteenth (Ducille 2006: 31).

Indisputably, the question raised by this author is more than interesting. Lucy Terry, an African American female, was not considered a human being, and therefore did not fall into the "woman" category. Did this actually allow her to speak in official settings to which white women usually had no access? My personal impression is that, given her husband's illiteracy, the only member of the couple actually able to engage in legal procedures with the administration was her, an exceptional contingency due to Abijah Prince's ownership of a small

piece of land. Terry's private life becomes equally mediated by Ducille's will to grant feminist black literary studies with very ancient foundations. Apparently, Abjiah Prince was in his late forties when he was freed by his owner, perhaps on the grounds of his decreasing productivity, and decided to spend the modest amount of money received in exchange for a life of hard work in "purchasing [Lucy's] freedom", as Ducille puts it (2006: 31). A legitimate question, however, is whether a mature freed slave who purchased and married a female slave around twenty years her junior was actually buying her freedom, and not subjecting her to a new, perhaps less physically demanding, form of slavery. Undoubtedly, Abijah Prince had other alternatives in order to spend his money, or may have chosen a woman his age, freeing her of equally long years of shattering work. Instead, he decided to follow patriarchal tradition by exchanging money for a young and defenseless woman, who, despite all, probably felt grateful for this twist of fate. Still, Ducille is convinced that "the colonial frontier was in some ways less gender and racially stratified" (2006: 31), following a long list of feminists who equally deny the patriarchal nature of man-led, race- or nation-informed fights.

The point of this section, in short, is to underscore the importance of historical significance when the study of female and feminist agencies are concerned, a term widely discussed, as previously argued, by feminist and gender historians (see pp. 61*ff*). Further, I intend to advocate here for higher doses of self-critique when applying it to FTH. It is not my will to argue that Mary Sidney, La Malinche, or Lucy Terry are irrelevant figures for the purpose of historicising female agents throughout history. All three have contributed with significant amounts of courage to particular patriarchal regimes where changes of different nature were to be proposed. However, it is hardly ever by chance that these and not other names surface in the dark waters of patriarchal history. As much as we wish to grant instant historical relevance for FTH to the few female protagonists whose identity we have been lucky enough to trace back, we must not forget that many others never reached patriarchal archives. As soon as some research is made into the regimes in which they were engaged, as I have tried to illustrate here, the reasons justifying their exceptional "presentation" as female subjects through translation or other discursive projects quickly arises, questioning our own concept of feminist historical relevance.

Thus far, in ways surprisingly similar to the constitution of DTS and other patriarchal fields, FTH and FTS are immersed in a wave of positivism (cf. Hermans 1998). In the current context, thus, indiscriminate forms of archaeology, and the lack of criticism for long-

established indicators of human difference such as nation and race are leading to distorted views of what feminist research stands for. In my opinion, feminist research may pursue various kinds of aims. It may survey the evolution and impact of gender constructs across cultures and epochs. Instead, it may focus on the critical analysis of time- and space-bound female agencies through their (meta-)discursive manifestations, and assess their impact (*or lack thereof*) on the evolution of female subjects' self-awareness of oppression. It may also research the influence of the aforementioned, patriarchally-established identity traits on these agencies and their (meta-)discursive production, understandably bearing in mind the impossibility for such traits to establish differences within women. Finally, and among other purposes, it may devote to the descriptive study of much more recent forms of self-awareness regarding gender oppression, and maintain a critical stance before their self-created image of feminism. All of these aims, as well as multiple others with which feminist research may occupy itself require special attention to translation as the comparative, intersubjective discursive space par excellence, where collaboration or dissent, dialogue or censorship, take place in regimes. In my view, a deconstruction not only of patriarchal historical relevance, but also of that held by most feminist researchers to date, shall prove to bear fruit both in FTH and FTS in the years to come. It is my intention to illustrate this premise throughout the following sections of this thesis.

2.5. Critical Discourse Methodologies for Feminist Translator History: Feminist Translation as a Form of FCDA

This section intends to supplement the analytical framework suggested throughout this chapter with a necessary input of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA), adapted for translation criticism. It relies on the idea that the Feminist Translation criticism to be conducted in this thesis is a form of ideological, historiographic metadiscourse, consistent with the main features of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and open to the innovative methodological proposals of its key contributors, from Lazar (2005), to Wodak (2008) or Kendall and Tannen (2015). The goal of this search for cross-disciplinary synergies between both disciplines is to provide a more solid theoretical and methodological framework to the thus-far mild attempts at dealing with Feminist Translation from a discursive perspective. Only by paying due attention to discourse as the space where social conventions are (re-) negotiated may a truly sociocritical approach to Feminist Translation Studies may be achieved. Consequently, a tailor-made FCDA methodology for feminist translated texts shall

be proposed at the end of this section. While (C)FSTS's lack of attention to discourse and to analytical systemicity has been discussed throughout this thesis, Barbara Godard's theoretical interest in feminist translation as a form of feminist discourse provides a solid conceptual basis for more practical developments. Departing from Lazar's notional outline of FCDA (2005) and a previous, gender-driven critique of mainstream CDA by Walsh (2001), this understanding of Feminist Translation as *discursive* re-interpretation (cfr. Eshelman 2007) shall be further illustrated.

In her pioneering work *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis* (2005), Michelle Lazar lays the basis for a strong and defined discipline of critical attention to discourse driven by a feminist optics. In particular, she discusses the overall goal of this discipline as naturally derived from the general concerns of its matrix discipline, CDA: "A critical perspective on unequal social arrangements sustained by language use, with the goals of social transformation and emancipation, constitutes the cornerstone of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (...) (Lazar 2005: 1). FCDA, on its part, is defined as "(...) a political perspective on gender, concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power and ideology in discourse (...)" (Lazar 2005: 5). While many relevant contributions to a feminist Critical Discourse Analysis have not been presented under the specific label of FCDA, Lazar finds it "(...) necessary to establish a distinctly 'feminist politics of articulation' (...), to theorize and analyse from a critical feminist perspective the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices" (Lazar 2005: 3).

This fundamental step of claiming a feminist discipline out of its patriarchal matrix, questioning patriarchal scholarship's neutrality, is also seen in Godard's displacement from mainstream Canadian Criticism and Translation Studies under the "traduction au féminin" label. It implies assuming what Lazar (2005: 6) identifies, inspired by Van Dijk (1991), as "feminist analytical resistance", that is, "[a]nalysis of discourse which shows up the workings of power that sustain oppressive social structures/relations". Is not feminist translation a metadiscourse showing up the workings of patriarchal dominant discourse? In Barbara Godard's own words (1989: 45), "[t]ranslation, in its figurative meanings of transcoding and transformation, is a topos in feminist discourse used by women writers to evoke the difficulty of breaking out of silence in order to communicate new insights into women's experiences and their relation to language", As "[a] critical praxis-oriented research", neither FCDA nor Feminist Translation can "(...) pretend to adopt a neutral stance" (Lazar *ibid*: 6). What is more,

their essence lies in metadiscursive criticism. As Godard puts it, feminist discourse understands any text as a "transformation critique": [L]e discours féministe travaille le discours dominant dans un mouvement complexe et ambigu entre discours" (Godard 1989: 42).

Marked by the notional limitations of the 80s, Godard nevertheless understands as much as Lazar that gender is a fundamental prism to analyse women's discursive oppression: "[b]oth theoreticians of women's discourse and of feminist translation ground their reflection in issues of identity and difference, otherness being framed linguistically in terms of gender as well as of nationality. And yet, she does not delve into the definition of this construct, nor on the implications of its use for the purposes of FCDA. Lazar defines gender as a set of ideological representations and practices aimed at perpetuating unequal power relations (2005: 6ff), based on two contrastive axes: on the one hand, those determining the difference between male and female; and secondly, those allowing a particular male or female to single other males or females out on the basis of their gender-informed ideology or practices. This analytical attention to gender, central as it is to this thesis, is very much absent in Godard's work, grounded on French philosophical and literary theory which, as argued throughout this chapter, distrusts the notion of gender and relies instead on sex as central to psychoanalysis.

Both Lazar's and Godard's approaches opt for an overtly feminist stance, discarding other analytical notions like womanhood, as already discussed above (see section 2). On the other hand, understanding gender only as an analytical tool at the service of their political agenda allows Lazar to problematise academic agencies as much as any other form of discursive performance "(...) a feminist perspective ", she concludes, "means that one has a critical distance on gender and *on oneself*" (Lazar 2005: 6, my emphasis). Thus, contrary to the assumptions of those who understand feminism as a subjective, and therefore non-scholarly approach (see, as already indicated, Steiner 1975), FCDA and Feminist Translation constitute two *explicit* interpretive frameworks, forcing the scholar who employs them to inspect his or her own agency and act consequentially. In contrast, as Eshelman claims (2007), the greatest danger lies in ideologies which, like patriarchy, distort all interpretive results in increasingly subtle ways (Lazar 2005), often without the researcher's awareness. In effect, the hegemony of patriarchal gender ideology lies precisely in that "(...) it often does not appear as domination at all: instead it seems largely consensual and acceptable to most in a community" (Lazar *ibid*: 7).

As a result of the theoretical survey undertaken in this chapter, however, several other notions must be discussed in connection with this feminist critical approach to discourse. One such notion is that of intertextuality. For Walsh (2001), this phenomenon is at the core of the shifts in gender conventions observed in discourse:

"(...) [I]ntertextual analysis can help to foreground traces of the type of hybridization that occurs when new and old gendered paradigms coexist in tension with one another. Indeed, I will suggest that women's public identities are discursively produced by this clash of competing norms and expectations. However, with Threadgold (1997), I will argue that such a dynamic view of discourse does not preclude the existence of an underlying stability in public discourse which serves to (re)produce gender inequality" (Walsh 2001: 29).

As already argued, *transtextuality*, rather than simply intertextuality, would be the overarching phenomenon by which all kinds of feminist discourse subvert dominant discursive conventions. Such is the very goal of translation under a feminist lens: "the concept of translation is enlarged to include imitation, adaptation, quotation, pastiche, parody-(...) all forms of interpenetration of works and discourses" (Godard 1989: 50). Interestingly, for Walsh, transtextual operations, which "(...) tend to be gendered in stereotypical ways", are also "sanctioned by a long intertextual history" (Walsh 2001: 32). She therefore advocates for an analysis of generic forms targeting the discursive (re-)negotiation of their traditional traits by individual agencies, and particularly feminist ones. As shall be discussed throughout this thesis, the vindication of secondary genres, and especially those perceived as female, has been key in most feminist movements. Québécois feminist literature is not an exception, as it has operated a subversive re-establishment of traditional genres through transtextual operations (see 2.1.2.).

The last concept I would like to discuss is Welsh's notion of "texture", which somehow amounts to a form of restricted intertextuality (Voldeng 1987), operating within a single textual unit, by which different parts of it are interrelated. In particular, "texture" implies the multi-modal interaction of its different elements, from cover illustrations to audiovisual material, and even public reading events of the texts. In itself, feminist translation plays with the five senses as much as its highly experimental originals. It translates a multiplicity of verbal and non-verbal codes:

Ce je(u) d'entre est figure dans le discours féministe par le topoi de la traduction (traduction intralinguale ou intersémiotique, selon Jakobson) en tant que transcodage et transformation. C'est une traduction en deux sens: en tant que la notation du gesturale et de la parole des femmes inédits et en tant que répétition et de / placement du discours dominant par l'effet de l'étranger. Des exemples de ce discours sont tirés des oeuvres de Nicole Brossard, Madeleine Gagnon, Suzanne Lamy, Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, etc. (Godard 1989: 42).

Once these essential concepts have been discussed, a rationalisation of the different methodological frameworks available for FCDA analysis is required. The following table offers an outline of various methodologies devised in order to survey the interaction between gender ideology and discourse:

Feminist Rhetorical Criticism (Foss 2004)	Feminist Stylistics (Mills 1995)	Feminist Discourse Analysis (Walsh 2001)	Feminist Discourse Analysis (Wodak 2008)
1. Selecting an artifact	1. Context and theoretical model	1. Micro-level	1. Defining the problem
2. Analysis of gender as a construction in the artifact	2. Gender and Writing	1.1. Interpersonal	1. 2. Sociopolitical analysis
2.1. What the artifact presents as standard, normal, etc.	3. Gender and reading	1.2. Relational	2. Macro-analysis: Genre and topics
2.2. Implications of the construction of gender in the artifact	4. Gender and individual lexical items	1.3. Ideational	3. Micro-analysis
3. Formulating a research question	5. Gender and clause level/sentence level	2. Macro-textual level	3.1. Discursive strategies of self- and other-presentation
4. Writing the essay	6. Gender and discourse level	2.1. Sociostructural constraints behind discourse	3.2. Argumentation/metaphors
			3.3. Grammatical categories/transitivity.

TABLE 1: AN OUTLINE OF DIFFERENT FCDA(-RELATED) METHODOLOGIES.

As Lazar indicates (2005), many of the initiatives tackling the intersection between

discourse and gender have not been produced under the FCDA tag. Such is the case of Sara Mills' "Feminist Stylistics" (1995). For Mills, this concept refers to:

(...) an analysis which identifies itself as feminist and which uses linguistic or language analysis to examine texts. Feminist analysis aims to draw attention to and change the way that gender is represented, since it is clear that a great many of these representational practices are not in the interests of either women or men. Thus, feminist stylistic analysis is concerned not only to describe sexism in a text, but also to analyse the way that point of view, agency, metaphor, or transitivity are unexpectedly closely related to matters of gender, to discover whether women's writing practices can be described, and so on (Mills 1995: 1).

Sonja Foss' approach (2004), on the other hand, targets another disciplinary intersection, "(...) incorporating feminist perspectives into rhetorical studies (...)": "Feminist criticism is the analysis of rhetoric to discover how the rhetorical construction of gender is used as a means for domination and how that process can be challenged so that all people understand that they have the capacity to claim agency and act in the world as they choose". While rhetoric, like stylistics, is a particular aspect of discursive interfaces, the clarity of Foss' proposal and the thoroughness of Mill's methodology shall be quite useful for my own framework, which shall be explained further below. As for Wodak's perspective (2008), it constitutes a classical, easily understandable and replicable top-down model. Walsh's bottom-up methodology, on its part, rightly insists on the analysis of each voice's ideological articulation through discourse, paying due attention to pragmatics at a micro-textual level, as well as, at a macro-textual one, to the relevant institutional apparatuses behind discourse production. Given the importance attached here to the existence of certain patriarchal institutions encouraging particular gender ideologies through discourse praxis (see section X), her suggestion of a macro-textual criticism tackling the role of the institutions in (non-)normative discourse praxis.

Nevertheless, a feminist-translation approach to FCDA is yet to be defined. For Castro (2009), FCDA has featured prominently in third-wave feminism, which suggests that "third-wave feminist translation", in her own terms, should also assess the potential of this notional and methodological framework for its own purposes. A first step, understandably, is to address the intersection of gender and discourse in the original text, in accordance to the aforementioned taxonomical and methodological particulars, after which follows an assessment of the re-establishment of those variables in the translation: "(...) considering what

translational problems that representation raises, bearing in mind the (linguistic and cultural) (im)possibilities of representing these same referents in the target language. In other words, we are talking about examining the translational problems taken in their discursive dimension, although they may appear in words or phrases" (Castro 2009: 13). In my view, this entails addressing critical attention to the already-existing methodologies of translation analysis, as well as to the classifications of feminist translation strategies proposed mainly by Flotow (1991), but also Massardier-Kenney (1997), among others (for an outline, see Yu 2016). Flotow's already discussed taxonomy, including prefacing, footnoting, supplementations, and hijacking, has been inspired by the feminist translation current dealt with in this thesis. Therefore, it shall be employed here to account for a feminist translation's macro-textual features. In micro-textual terms, I shall concentrate on the very detailed lexical and clause-/sentence-level dimensions comprised by Mills' "Feminist Stylistics" (1995). Feminist-translation micro-textual solutions rarely respond to traditional definitions of micro-textual techniques (Vinay y Dalbernet 1959; Taber and Nida 1974, etc.). However, since it may be illustrative in some cases, a revised taxonomy of translation techniques by Molina and Hurtado Albir (2006) shall be employed when necessary.

The final layout of the FCDA methodology employed in this thesis to assess feminist translations is summarised in the following table:

Socio-political Analysis	Macro-textual Analysis	Micro-textual Analysis
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender constructs and other ideologies portrayed in the text 2. Author's/translator's attitude toward them 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender-relevant elements of the co(n)text and their re-establishment in translation 2. Relevant institutions concerned in source and target texts 3. Interactions between gender and genre in source and target texts 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lexical elements 2. Clause-/Sentence-level analysis

TABLE 2: AN OUTLINE OF THE REVISED FCDA METHODOLOGY APPLIED IN THIS THESIS.

As previously indicated throughout this chapter, my sociocritical analysis of Barbara

Godard's feminist translator agency shall rely on a selection of excerpts from her most significant translations, illustrating the evolution of her feminist activism and her main metadiscursive strategies as a "reader at work" (Godard 2008: 200) of the original texts. A first step is therefore the sociopolitical characterisation of the original. This implies, in line with Foss' very clear analytical system (2004: 158), an "(...) analysis of the construction of gender (...), and exploration of what the artifact suggests about how the ideology of domination is constructed and maintained, or how it can be challenged and transformed". Importantly, this implies that, while the original text in itself may portray a traditional, see a patriarchally productive view of gender, the author's critical stance on such view may be clearly perceived through metadiscursive operations of normative discourse frameworks. Similarly, it shall be discussed whether the translation has re-produced the self-same gender conventions present in the original, and whether the translator's voice aligns with that of the original author. This stage is also enriched by Walsh's ideational metafunction (2001: 56ff), accounting both for the "ideas, knowledge and beliefs" advanced by the text as much as for their critical "evaluation" in it.

The macro-textual dimension, on the other hand, relies here on two important notions defined in particularly interesting ways by Walsh (2001), and already presented above: "texture" and "genre". "Texture" is fundamental, as we are about to see, in feminist creative writing given its highly experimental, and frequently multimodal discursive interface. Special attention shall be placed on co-textual (covers, illustrations, etc.) as much as in contextual factors (the institutions and collectivities involved) configuring the final textual layout. In assessing the translation, I shall account for the re-establishment of those co-textual and contextual aspects, particularly by surveying Flotow's already mentioned feminist translation strategies, of clearly macro-textual nature: prefaces, footnotes, supplementations, and, in extreme cases, an absolute *hijacking* of the original. It is here, in my view, where a feminist translator's subversion or re-production of the original co- and con-textual elements may be observed. As for the notion of "genre", it has been a frequent concern among feminist literary critics (again, see Eagleton 1998). However, as already explained, Walsh's understanding of generic conventions as the result of intertextual operations is consistent with my own views on "transgenres" (Monzó 2002) as the generic re-workings generated by translation. Since feminisms have questioned the discredit of traditionally female, and therefore secondary genres, as much as any traditional, i.e. patriarchal discursive conventions, the treatment of patriarchal generic conventions by the original and their adaptation in the translation are of

interest. Here, some of the more particular interrogations raised by Mills (1995: 158-159) under the rubrics "gender and writing" and "gender and reading" are quite helpful in defining the gendered premises on which the different voices operate in the source and target texts. Similarly, the rubric "gender and discourse level" also problematises "the narrative pathways which seem to be gender-specific" in any given piece of discourse, which has a direct impact on the subversion of traditional genres.

Finally, the micro-textual dimension is essentially based on Mills' categories "Gender and Individual Lexical Items" and "Gender and Clause Level/Sentence Level" (Mills 1995: 159-160). The first category surveys from grammatical aspects to naming practices, and the second focuses on phrases, metaphors, *doubles entendres*, and the use of humour, among a variety of aspects commonly targeted by feminist writers. Walsh's methodology also includes most of these elements under different tags. However, her constant switch from a micro- to macro-textual perspective, and from pragmatic to grammatical devices entails an extraordinary degree of complexity. After a proper sociocritical analysis of both the source and target literary spaces concerned in this thesis, Québec and Canada, the historiographic study of Barbara Godard's agency shall be supplemented with a direct observation of her discursive voice.

3. A Feminist Translator's Study: Mapping Out the Historical Context of Barbara Godard's Career

As explained in the introduction, this chapter shall undertake the complex task of describing the two polysystems between which Barbara Godard's ever evolving agency interacted. As we approach the most decisive moments in her career, her presence and function as an analytical prism of the realities in which she operated shall become increasingly apparent. The first sections dealing with each of the two polysystems, however, delve into a sociocritical study of the national identities and women's role within their respective nation-making projects, carefully connected with a historical survey of literary endeavours. It is my intention, as already argued, to apply Hermans' notion of "invisible colleges" (1998) to the systemic analyses which follow. However, it has also been indicated that these and other analytical tools shall be repurposed *ad-hoc* in the means of avoiding the systemic tyranny characterising most mainstream attempts in this line so far. Similarly, the already discussed methodological tension generated by the patriarchal institutionalisation of women's writing does indeed invite to consider Québécois women's literature and its different phases from a hybrid perspective, considering both Hermans' "invisible colleges" and my own proposal for female-centred operations: thought communities. Given the complexity of the tasks to be undertaken here, this chapter must be considered a tentative layout, a preliminary mapping of a very vast field, suggesting future lines of research and problematics to be tackled in future works.

3.1. From Ontario to Québec, from Québec to France, and Back: Godard's Academic Quest for Canada

The late 60s in Canada provided a bittersweet landscape for commemoration. Despite marking the 100th anniversary of the Canadian Confederation, welcomed by the Anglophone regions as a milestone in intra-national coexistence, they constituted "a turbulent and creative decade", as later reflections have accurately claimed (see Palaelogu 2009). Besides witnessing the rise of the first combative student syndicalism, which in Godard's accounts set a path for cooperation with Québec's nationalist student associations and their goals (see Godard 2009), those years forced a young national union into a self-interrogation period, touching a raw nerve

on its equally young academia, especially among linguists and literature scholars. Perhaps it was no coincidence that a white, middle-class, anti-imperialist Anglophone nationalism coexisted with an outstanding growth of Québec's discomfort within the national landscape. Nor was the coetaneous surge of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), a Marxist unrelated, pro-independence terrorist group, hastening the end of a decade of false nation dreaming with the tragic events of October, 1970.

Far from Godard's or Frank Davey's enthusiasm with intra-national difference, driving their efforts towards building literary bridges with Québec, most cultural and intellectual actors would search for a missing "Canadianness" while postponing an ineludible debate: that of a conflicted Québécois identity. Despite the centrality of Québec's identitarian quest in most narratives targeting such period, today, works like Igartua's (2011) see in 60s and 70s Anglophone Canada a process of identitarian revolution and structural social change in its own right, comparable to that undergone by Québec in the same period. One which, in academic and literary realms, would be deemed as "postcolonialist" (Davey 2016). Whether this constitutes an overstatement, especially in decades when global civil rights turmoil was quickly spreading across the West, It nevertheless seems fair to explore the outcome of the social changes implemented in Canada at the time, and more specifically their impact on language, literature, and academia, as well as their real implications for the development of feminist intellectual communities across the country.

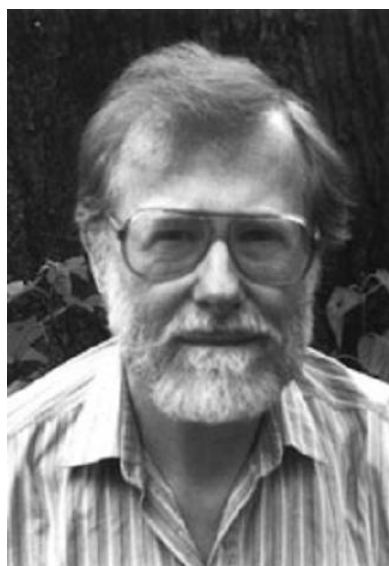


FIGURE 1: FRANK DAVEY, A SINGULAR FIGURE IN CANADIAN LITERATURE.

3.1.1. The Institutionalisation of “Canadian” Literature: Fabricating the Male, Anglophone Dream

(...) One of the reasons the Canadian literatures are looked on with a kind of benign diffidence by those unacquainted with them derives from our failure of imagination as critics. We have not been bold enough in spirit to find ways of establishing, so to speak, the context that would make them significant to imaginations formed on European cultures. (Blodgett 1984: 63).

The aim of the current section is to explore the grounds on which a strongly European methodology like systemic analysis, based on the specific evolution of national identities in the Old Continent, may be reworked from the perspective of a white settler nation like Canada (see Baldwin, Cameron, and Cobayashi 2011; Dua 2007). This, indeed, is no minor issue, as the notions on which history, and literary history in particular lie are still considerably eurocentric, and the role of such disciplines in the consolidation of national identities across the globe has been crucial. Today, as a result, these pseudo-European societies still operate on a superficial questioning of their metropolises’ forms of nationalism, tacitly mirroring them as they otherwise claim their belonging to the Postcolonial Studies field. Nation states constitute only one of the many political structures available, and have historically shown sharp disregard for equality. As Castles points out, democratic nationalism has led to “(...) a period of devastating wars based on the total mobilization of populations of warrior-citizens”, as well as, importantly, to “justify the colonization of the rest of the world”, establishing dangerous connections between democracy and racism (Castles 2005: 689). After independence, postcolonial peoples have tended to build up national experiences analogous to the very repressive systems having ruled their colonial past. What is more, some of them now live in a sort of neocolonial state, only partially independent from their former metropolises. Indeed, in Brydon and Corneiller’s view, “mainstream postcolonial theory has been criticized as the production of diasporic intellectuals who have carved a space for themselves within the academic institutions of the First World” (Brydon and Corneiller 2016: 757), crucial as such institutions are for Western nation-state hegemony.

As has been already argued, both mainstream and feminist Translation Studies are still in process of deconstructing nation states as the hierarchical and unequal analytic units they are, even within the latest postcolonial and transnational trends (see 2.4.). Their theoretical production, however, has pointed at fruitful directions for further (self-)inquiry. In the case of general DTS, the applicability of systemic thinking to postcolonial analysis has been often

problematised. In Torresi's view, instead of promoting a static picture of national literature, "the literary polysystem could (...) be reconceptualized as an imaginary landscape that is ruled by the ever-shifting power relations on which postcolonial studies focuses so much" (Torresi 2013: 219). This claim is based on the belief that several first-row critics like Hermans (1998) have systematically misinterpreted the original principles of DTS: "in Even-Zohar's formulation, (...) the laws governing texts are ever-changing and do not come out of binary oppositions, but are the expression of the constant dynamic flow ['flusso'] of change in the polysystem" (Torresi *ibid*: 219). The issue one may find with this approach is a disregard for metadiscourse as the ultimate phenomenon by which polysystems are defined. As abstract entities, they ideally stem from constantly-evolving sociocultural dynamics. However, their approval as accurate representations of a given literary community depends on its hegemonic voices at a certain point in time, and as such is often addressed by other systemic members in equally metadiscursive operations. Systemic thinking is by definition an excluding product, which shall eternally trigger dissent from underrepresented groups. Thus, even when polysystem analysis is made from postcolonial positions, the standardisation of difference by principle leaves many forms of disagreement outside its scope of representation.

That being said, the sources from which Torresi's general view stems are tacitly indebted to the Feminist Translation realm, where postcolonial and gender concerns often crisscross. In particular, she finds support in Godayol's concept of "border" within the gender/translation intersection. For this author, the "state of constant flux" reflected by the notion of "polysystem" makes it a valid point of departure for postcolonial thinking, understanding translation as "una altra manera d'incorporar subversivament--o no--noves formes i estratègies textuais al cànon dominant del moment" (Godayol 2000: 76). A similar re-interpretation of polysystem theories within a postcolonial, or rather a neocolonial framework (Simon and St-Pierre 2000), is employed by Juliana de Zavalía in the means of assessing the effect of translated Spanish-American literature on U.S. Latino Literature:

Even-Zohar's theory puts all the individual systems within a polysystem on an equal footing so that there is no hierarchical organization; rather, all the systems are organized around the notions of centre and periphery. This tenet allows for full consideration of the heterogeneous and multiple literatures of the U.S., which are sometimes abandoned in the peripheries of the stronger Anglo-American literary system. (De Zavalía 2000: 25)

De Zavalia's work is crucial in that, as argued in a previous section, it underscores *inter-*, rather than *intrasystemic* relationships in the study of postcolonial translation. The previous passage may be found in a volume on postcolonialism and translation by Sherry Simon and Paul St-Pierre (2000), praised by other Canadian theorists for its interdisciplinary applicability (see Brydon and Corneiller 2016: 758). Here, a definition of the postcolonial in Translation Studies is given:

"In the context of translation studies, the term "postcolonialism" remains useful in suggesting two essential ideas. The first is the global dimension of research in translation studies; the second is the necessary attention to the framework through which we understand power relations and relations of alterity. (...) To enter into the postcolonial world is to see cultural relations at a global level, to understand the complexities of the histories and power relations which operate across continents. For translation studies and literary study in general, adopting a postcolonial frame means enlarging the map which has traditionally bound literary and cultural studies." (Simon 2000: 13).

In the previous excerpt, Simon rightly claims that the intersection of power, ideology, and translation has been enriched with the latest developments in feminism and poststructuralism. However, the text does not delve into their specific contributions to this field, or into the cross-disciplinary relevance of postcolonial concerns in translation. Cross-disciplinarity is often present in other analyses of postcolonial translation. Indeed, much-needed attempts have been made by DTS at rationalising the general outcome of postcoloniality as a profoundly relevant approach on translation (for a notional discussion, see section 2.4.1.). In particular, Robinson's analysis of the symbiosis between translation and empire (1997) stems from a necessary critique of the postcolonial in cross-disciplinary terms, which proves helpful in order to situate Canada within the translation/postcolonialism intersection. For this author, postcolonial critics have operated from three different approaches: 'Post-independence' studies, concerned with "the study of Europe's former colonies since independence" (Robinson 1997: 14-15); 'Post-European colonization' studies, dealing with "the study of Europe's former colonies since they were colonized" (Robinson 1997: 15); and 'power-relations' studies, related to "the study of all cultures/societies/countries/nations in terms of their power relations with other cultures, etc. (Robinson 1997: 15).

Perhaps more suited to take a power-relations standpoint, but struggling to be perceived as post-independence settings, Canadian and Québec postcolonialisms have contributed in complex but productive ways to general postcolonial theory. This contribution is lately being

underscored over the applicability of mainstream postcolonialism to these spaces (Brydon and Corneiller 2016: 757). Indeed, serious difficulties may be found in considering the Canadian national experience as postcolonial under generally accepted standards, especially given an increasing (self-)awareness of the country's genocidal past (Brydon and Corneiller *ibid*: 757), often disguised as "the after-effects of European colonialism on Canada's Indigenous people" (Sugars 2016: 461). Still, this is generally acknowledged as an issue which "before the mid-1960s had been largely ignored in official Canadian national constructions (Sugars *ibid*: 461). Together with other Commonwealth countries like Australia (see Veracini 2011), Canada has consequently been quite prolific in developing so-called Settler Colonial Studies (Snelgrove, Dhamoon *et al.*, 2014; Day 2015; Woolford and Benvenuto 2015; Mackey 2016, etc.), aimed at making settler colonialism a "reading strategy" (see Watts 2010), a valid interpretive framework within Postcolonial studies. A central concern regarding this field is the role of white settler nationalism as a distinct, post-European form of exclusion. White settler nationalism is the patriarchal project of "constructing a white settler nation" (Dua 2007: 446) in a colonised area, by developing specular traits with its metropole. This involves "marginalizing indigenous people from the emerging nation-state, and continuing to recruit white settlers to occupy the lands appropriated from indigenous peoples (...)", as well as establishing "(...) a set of legal and social practices (...) marginaliz[ing] from the nation-state those who were racialized as 'not white'" (Dua 2007: 447).

Today, Canada is questioning its invisibility within global narratives of identity search. To several authors' disappointment (see Jacoby 2014), various theorists, and literary experts in particular (see Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989; Robinson 1997: 16, etc.) now point at its complex postcolonial identity, thus joining other white settler nations like the United States, which Canadians have nevertheless often blamed for the very Anglophone imperialism which renders them invisible (see Lee 1973/2004). In effect, these states currently "claim to be no longer settler colonial", despite "references to a postcolonial condition appear[ing] hollow as soon as indigenous disadvantage is taken into account" (Veracini 2011: 3). From a literary perspective, then, the impact of the English language as the Commonwealth's (and later the world's) *lingua franca*, Britain's imperialist tool, seems to have played a key role in Canada's postcolonial quest. As Premier John MacDonald contended in his 1867 Confederation speech, Canada's young identity as "a white man's country" was an achievement of the British civilising enterprise, among all European nations: "Canada was in essence a white settler society, and the nationalism of the majority of its population was a British nationalism. This

Canada was, if the term is taken in its fullest cultural sense, a grand experiment in ‘whiteness’, an imagined community founded on the British occupation of the Northern section of America” (McKay 2008: 350). By the mid-20th century, as Canadian literature was beginning a self-definition process, the extreme prestige of British culture and British literary English started to become a burden, blurring Canadian artistic achievement.

On this basis, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin argue that “[t]he experience of colonization and the challenges of a post-colonial world have produced an explosion of new writing in English” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989: i). As a result, “a specific practice of post-colonial writing in cultures as various as India, Australia, the West Indies and Canada, and has challenged both the traditional canon and dominant ideas of literature and culture” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin *ibid*: i). This statement, however, does not reflect a crucial factor when dealing with non-British literary agencies in English. Sometimes, “the writer brings an alien language – English – to his own social and cultural inheritance” (Maxwell 1965: 82). Such is the case of nation states like India. In Canada and other settler colonies, in contrast, “the writer brings his own language – English – to an alien environment and a fresh set of experiences (...)” (*Ibid*: 83). It is in this context that the existence of a “New World Myth” (Vautier 1998) has enabled white settler nationalisms in North-America to build specific identitarian traits reworking and contesting their British/European heritage, while suggesting a noble view of their colonial status. According to its proponent, Québécois author Marie Vautier (1998: X), New World nations believe to be “in a perpetual state of coming-into-being”, where “European-based worldviews no longer entirely suffice (...)”. Their search for identity, then, lies in the “need to assert [themselves] by flaunting [their] opposition to the European-inspired versions of [their] past(s) (...)” (*Ibid*: X).

This concept of “New World Myth” has lately come to summarise multiple attempts by Canadian theorists at breaking with their European metropolises’ degrading literary misconceptions. A long struggle has thus been fought in the means of leaving the periphery of the British polysystem to create Canada’s own systemic apparatus, which requires validating the Canadian experience of the New World as “literary”. Until roughly the second half of the 20th century, (Anglophone) Canadian literature had been conceived of as little more than a mere collection of colonial chronicles. In the confederation’s approximately 150-year-old history, prominent writers and intellectuals, especially in the Anglophone provinces, have disputed the belief that Canadian writing constitutes no more than a colonial form of verbal

mapping. Similarly, the question of whether its literary production is abundant enough to justify the identification of a system in its own right has also been addressed. Discussing Barbara Godard's academic contribution to the acknowledgement of a Canadian polysystem, Louise Forsyth (2013: 994) claims that, throughout her career, "the spirit of colonization, intimately woven into the collective psyche, still continued to oppress and repress creative energy in Québec and Canada. (...)"

Indeed, first-row Anglophone Canadian critics and scholars like Northrop Frye have verbalised their own reservations regarding (Anglophone) Canadian literary activity in the most eloquent manner: "[t]he literary, in Canada, is often only an incidental quality of writings which, like those of many of the early explorers, are as innocent of literary intention as a mating loon" (Frye 1965: 822, in Sugars 2016: 1). As of today, this statement appears to be completely disallowed, and still, one struggles through the numerous anthologies available today in order to find a single one not quoting it from the very first page. Be as it may, later in the same text, but perhaps in a more cautious tone, Frye would try to develop a more academic line of argumentation for the same problematic: "Even when it is literature in its orthodox genres of poetry and fiction, it is more significantly studied as a part of Canadian life than as a part of an autonomous world of literature" (Frye 1965: 822). In conclusion, "in studying Canadian literature, one was not investigating something "purely" literary (...)" (Davey 2016: 21), but rather the sincere wanderings of a newly-founded people. "Canadian literature", under such light, was indeed "essential to the formation of the 'Canadian imagination' and to Canada as a nation" (Weir 1999/2016: 200). It is thanks to arguments like the previous that this "New World Myth" may be appreciated as an enabler of national identity in white settler societies, blurring the boundaries between literature and historiography and suggesting new literary relationships in post-european polysystems. The aim of these whole apparatuses is, in summary, the acknowledgement of the white settler colonial experience as strong enough to be institutionalised. Ground-breaking as such experience may be regarding the classical substratum of European polysystems, the underlying motives do not seem as radically different as the ones we already know:

Whether it is considered an integral part of the Canadian nation formation, an autonomous body of works, a literature belonging somewhere between nation and literariness, or a part of "world literature," CanLit has been subject to a relentless process of institutionalization. Sometimes subtly, sometimes crudely, it has always been employed as an instrument—cultural, intellectual, political, federalist, and capitalist—to advance causes and interests that now complement, now resist, each other. (Kamboureli 2007: vii)

In my view, Kamboureli's critique is consistent with the previously argued, falsely homogenising function of polysystem thinking (see 2.3.1.ff), overtly favouring repressive nation-state conceptions, which makes their emergence by no means a natural process. Despite the youngness of Canadian society, it would nevertheless rely, like other recently consolidated nations, on "the idea that a nation's literature somehow expresses the national character, or as we are more likely to say today, the national identity" (Carter 2016: 41), even if such national identity relies on the sort of colonial experiences typically disregarded as peripheral by European literatures. Today, literary commentators in Anglophone Canada generally understand the principles of systemic obsession as obsolete: "(...) [L]iterary nationalism is something that your grandparents did, like macramé...Canadian literature, in the sense of a literature shaped by the Canadian nation and shaping the nation, is over" (Marche in Dean 2016: 30). For writer and critic Stephen Marche, the literary in Canada is not "the monolith that many Canadian writers, readers, and critics have often hoped, or feared, or wondered it might be" (Davey 2016: 18), but a body of Canadian *writing*, which would ideally encompass more easily the ethnic, political, religious and, importantly, gender multiplicity of Canadian society. The image of a "mosaic", then, allows Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin to explain the Canadian literary paradox more accurately:

In Canada, where the model of the 'mosaic' has been an important cultural determinant, Canadian literary theory has, in breaking away from European domination, generally retained a nationalist stance, arguing for the mosaic as characteristically Canadian (...). But the internal perception of a mosaic has not generated corresponding theories of literary hybridity to replace the nationalist approach. Canadian literature, perceived internally as a mosaic, remains generally monolithic in its assertion of Canadian difference from the canonical British or the more recently threatening neo-colonialism of American culture. (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1989: 35)

In this light, "Canadian literature" has mostly been "a discourse engaged in by writers" (Dean 2013: 30) who, in Barry and Nixon's opinion (1977: n/p), would end up "conserving their creative energies to form unions, be public figures, attend conferences, review each others' treatises, and join with publishers to develop ingenious financial proposals". It stems from the compilation of an official (Anglophone) Canadian corpus, often based on a common colonial theme, which critic Northrop Frye identified as the "Garrison mentality" (1965):

(...) The beginning of Canadian national culture could be traced to a string of garrisons and forts, "[s]mall and isolated communities" that represented a tenuous bulwark against an unfathomably vast swath of nature (225). (...) [A] didactic streak, hostile to the imaginative impulse, defined the initial conditions of

Canadian literature and arts (225). For Frye, accordingly, the blossoming of Canadian culture has hinged on its progress out of the psychologically blinkered space of the garrison and toward something like rapprochement with nature through the process of indigenization (...) (Malisch 2014: 177).

Unsurprisingly, by constituting a polysystem through a classical, European methodology, that is, by assuming that the population targeted identifies with the set of literary experiences selected, has generated a feeling of alienness among national readers:

(...) The gulf between [the native readers'] perception of the works and that projected as acceptable through public reporting and literary commentary could make them feel very remote indeed -- aliens in their own cultural community. More likely, of course, and more disastrous for Canadian literature, is the probability that untrained readers will find exactly what they have been conditioned to expect, and only that. Thus, Canadian criticism generally fails in its primary task, to mediate between writer and reader, betraying both author and audience with a critical scope too restricted to capture the complex vision and achievement of our literature. (Barry and Nixon 1977: n/p)

Without ever engaging in systemic theories, the Canadian literary counter-culture has succeeded in exposing their main flaw, in line with later “manipulation” standpoints (Lefevere and Hermans 1985; Lefevere 1993, etc.): they often entail the creation of self-sufficient, artificial mechanisms imposing a form of national representation, encouraged by the calculated generosity of motionless motors, institutions like the Canada Council for the Arts, born in 1957. Its involvement in Canadian culture since the early 70s, as we shall see throughout this thesis, has been key in the creation of a Canadian literary polysystem. Nationalist economic principles also play a role in these processes. Presumably, a consolidated polysystem was supposed to “give Canadians their rights to jobs” (Mathews 1976 in Dean 2016: 31), a xenophobic position in itself, but shamelessly pointed out as one of the advantages of granting national literature an infrastructure. Indeed, activists like Robin Mathews protested the majoritary presence of foreign Anglophone lecturers, many of them British, in English departments across the country, in their view unable to, or showing no interest in, teaching about distinctively Canadian writing (Dean 2016). In these hegemonic voices’ view, foreign Anglophone faculty was contributing to a colonial disallowance of the Canadian literary experience. This, as the next section intends to prove, would nevertheless make the English language the main contending subject for the definition of “Canadianness” in literature, hampering any chances at attaining a bilingual/bicultural coexistence.

3.1.2. “Where is *here*?” (Frye 1965)

"Literature," says Leslie Fiedler, "is effectively what we teach in departments of English; or conversely, what we teach in departments of English is literature" (73). What we teach in Canadian literature is largely determined by what appears in our anthologies (...). (Gerson 1990: 56)

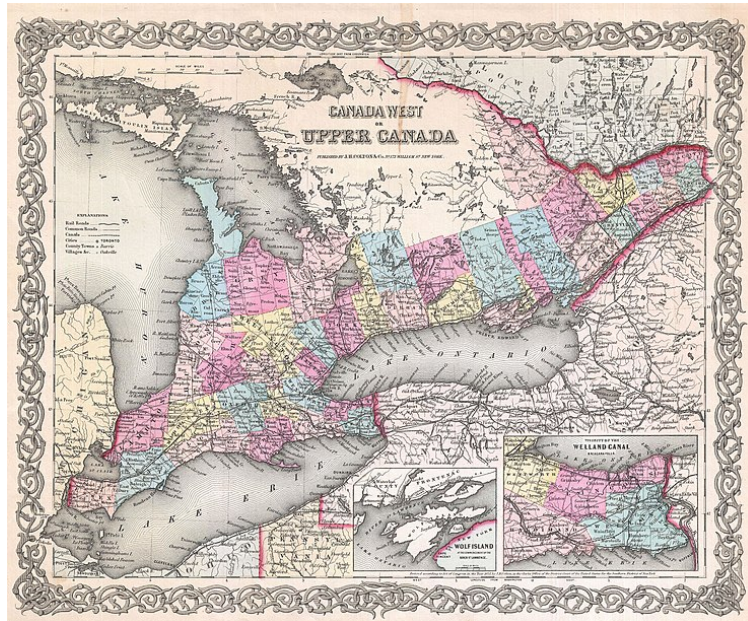


FIGURE 2: A MAP OF UPPER CANADA, CA. 1855.

It has previously been argued that the constitution of the (Anglophone) Canadian polysystem aimed at a process of differentiation from its ancient metropole, Britain. It struggled to conceive of the “New World” as eligible for decolonial literary achievement through innovative literary uses of a colonial language. However, Europe’s old antagonistic nationalisms were far from gone in this process of literary (re-)definition, despite stemming from an experience of national constitution allegedly unparalleled by Europe, and explicitly wishing to challenge its views. Since its foundation and till very recently, Canada, a nation issued from the dominion’s late British rule, has not granted enough relevance to the limited engagement of Québécois citizens with the federal project. Despite empirically falling into the ‘white’ category in MacDonald’s foundational, “white man’s country” speech (1867), Francophone nationals, originally majoritarian, witnessed how the Canadian nation-state was built *against* their specificity, by institutionally deteriorating their language and culture, as well as strategically marginalising their population.

The relationship between race and national identity, then, is perhaps more complex in Canada than in other white settler nations, where the descendants of the colonisers currently have a predominantly British background. Aliennness, under the light of the British civilising enterprise, was originally projected on the First Nations, which has doubtlessly contributed to blurring the colonised status demanded by Québec in international settings. Indeed, already in the 60s, the need to ‘racialise’ the Québécois conflict in order to ensure (inter-)national awareness would take pro-independence activist Pierre Vallières to write his controversial essay *Nègres blancs d’Amérique* (*White Niggers of America*, 1968). The race chosen for comparison, nevertheless, was the African race, at a time when the African-Americans’ fight for civil rights had enormous visibility. Any reference to Canada's indigenous population, on the other hand, would have forced Vallières to summon settler peoples’ common dark past, and perhaps damage his own grounds for protest. Similarly, linguistic difference has often been granted racial connotations in Canada. Exasperated at being addressed in French by the Québécois, many Anglophone Canadians would harshly ask them to “speak white”, that is, to speak English, the language of civilisation. Such would indeed be the refrain in a famous verse by Québécois modernist poet Michèle Lalonde:

(...)

ah! speak white

big deal

mais pour vous dire

l’éternité d’un jour de grève

pour raconter

l’histoire de peuple-concierge (...)

(Lalonde 1970)²⁷

²⁷ Published in Lalonde, Michèle. *Défense et illustration de la langue québécoise: suivie de prose & poèmes*. Vol. 38. Editions Seghers Laffont, tirage de 1979, 1979.

Despite a certain cultural and religious openness towards Francophone inhabitants, Canada was conceived as a British country, Francophone Canadians becoming, as Lalonde states, a people-concierge (“a race of janitors”, my translation). If French-Canadian catholicism was at all tolerated in the Confederation, an absolute surrender to the Empire was expected in exchange (McKay Ibid: 350), starting with the French language being banned from institutional settings. The 1841 Union Act of Upper (Anglophone) and Lower (Francophone) Canada would include a specific article (Art. 40) forbidding French in the country’s legislative activity, which overtly contradicted a previous, 1774 act allowing French Canadians to keep abiding to French Civil Law (Bouchard 1998: 56). Under such circumstances, Francophone settlers often engaged in insurrectional events like the Lower Canada Rebellion (1837-1838)²⁸. Although French would be officially welcomed back in Canadian institutions by 1848, a fierce project of linguistic conquest across the country was already in place. The original colonisers, so far known as *canadiens*, were progressively swept away from the dominion’s most fertile regions, and squeezed into the area currently comprising the province of Québec, characterised by one of Canada’s harshest climates (cited). This area, however, was by no means left untouched. By the mid-eighteen hundreds bilingualism had already taken Québec’s major cities, with 55% of the Montreal population having English as their mother tongue (Bouchard 1998: 62).

The Canadian national project, in short, has originally been Anglophone, and served the nationalist interests of Britain’s colonial supremacy till the country’s ultimate cultural segregation from its metropole, culminated by the spirit of the Centennial (1967). Encouraged by the nation’s anniversary, Canada’s project of national cohesion nevertheless encountered a “New World” much different from the Anglosaxon myth. A multicultural melting pot, enriched by immigration of various backgrounds, whose commitment to the “national identity” cause would perhaps distort Canada’s immediate plans for recognition within the Anglosaxon world. To the country’s Anglophone elites, mainly composed by British and U.S. nationals, the only visible source of intra-national difference at the time was the picturesque, apparently harmless Québécois rebellion, which is indicative of how much Canada was still “a white man’s country”. This being so, the international landscape, gripped by the unrest of decolonisation in the southern hemisphere, had barely any room for the poscolonial Canada which scholars and

²⁸ Here, it is worth noting how historical tagging operates for or against official national narratives through translation. What is known as the “Lower Canada Rebellion” in English, reinforcing the conflictive subdivision of Canada under British rule, has “*rébellion des patriotes*” as its French (non-)equivalent.

intellectuals would long for. Still, with their protest against Anglophone imperialism, so fashionably criticised at the time, they expected to enter the debate initiated by orthodox ex-colonies. From a literary standpoint, writer Dennis Lee would explain this very eloquently:

(...) I am struck by the subtle connections people here have drawn between words and their own problematic public space.

These take different forms in different nations. To compare them is not simply to compare degrees of political repression, of course. If one does wish to make such comparisons, the repressions borne by a Jew, a Pole, a Rumanian, or - on a lesser scale - a Québecker have all been vastly more painful than a Canadian's. But it is with dislocation in our total civil space that I am concerned here; political repression is one crucial element in that, but it is still only one (Lee 1974: 154).

In effect, what most critiques have failed to articulate is that Anglophone Canada, standing for the whole nation in the previous excerpt, may not rely on the “political repression” wildcard to argue its postcolonial nature. Although reluctantly, Québeckers are granted this prerogative, and recognised among an exclusively European list of “more painful[ly]” postcolonial peoples. It is perhaps through these comparisons, and not through analogies with racialised ex-colonies, that settler nations like Canada and Québec may develop their particular postcolonial positionings. The battle for Canada’s postcolonial status must then acquire a more “subtle”, intellectual stance, so that it may be tracked down in post-European uses of colonial languages:

For a Canadian, our form of civil alienation is not manifested that dramatically in language. The prime fact about my country as a public space is that in the last 25 years it has become an American colony. But we speak the same tongue as our new masters; we are the same colour, the same stock. We know their history better than our own. Thus while our civil inauthenticity has many tangible monuments, (...) the way it undercuts our writing is less easy to discern - precisely because there are so few symptomatic literary battlegrounds (comparable to the anglicized French of Québec) in which the takeover is immediately visible (Lee *ibid.*: 155).

“Civil alienation”, then, offers an accurate description of Anglophone Canada’s relationship with its British-inherited language and culture, placing it with other Western nations on the “power-relations” side of the postcolonial arena (again, see Robinson 1997). As a result, if in the 60s Québec was going through what has been known as the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966), a period of great cultural and political awakening (see section 4.3.), Igartua points at a parallel revolution in the Anglophone provinces, experienced between 1945 and 1971.

During this period, the Anglophone provinces “shed [their] definition of [themselves] as British and adopted a new stance as a civic nation” (Igartua 2011: xiii), which, according to this theorist, entailed the annihilation of any “ethnic particularities (...)” dividing Canadian citizenship. The fact that Igartua emphasises this trait points, in my view, at recent reconstructions of Canada’s social and literary history, much more than at the actual foundations of those years’ national project. Today, Canada intends to be regarded as a socially advanced country, deeply respectful of multiculturalism. Consequently, it has struggled to delete the racist connotations of this “civility” so often emphasised by British ex-colonies in their constitution as independent nation states. The term, showered with political correctness in most recent works of Canadian postcolonialism, has hardly lost any of its ethnic and cultural elitism. British colonialism has always been a *civilising* enterprise, leaving its footprints in the literature of the resulting white settler nations. To different extents, a certain ‘white civility’ lies beneath normative standards in (Anglophone) Canadian literature, from its most ancient to its most recent manifestations:

(...) [W]hat has come to be known as English Canada is and has been (...) a project of literary, among other forms of cultural, endeavour and (...) the central organizing problematic of this endeavour has been the formulation and elaboration of a specific form of whiteness based on a British model of civility. By means of this conflation of whiteness with civility, whiteness has been naturalized as the norm for English Canadian cultural identity. (Coleman 2006: 3)

It is Coleman’s contention that Canadian Literature has been a “project” of white civility. Till very recently, the only source of intra-national dissent acting as a contrasting pole for its definition has been Québec, theoretically another “white” and “civilised” nation. In this thesis, I am assuming that both the Anglophone Canadian and the Québécois literary systems have been worked out by their patriarchal elites on the basis of Europe’s classical antagonistic nationalisms, in this case, the British/French axis of cultural difference. Indeed, the difficulties found in early attempts at building the Canadian nation have often been expressed in Europe’s old terms of national identity opposition. Thus, when Lord Durham (1839, cited in Mezei 1985: 201) stated that he “(...) expected to find a contest between a government and two people” in a new-born Canada, but instead “(...) found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state”, he was not referring to the nascent Anglophone and Francophone Canadian nations, but to Britain and France.

The resulting communities have ever since defined their traits through reciprocal contrast operations. However, the classical European notion of nation-state is categorical in the establishment of one-to-one relationships between states and nations, encouraging hegemonic forms of culture to subjugate others in the means of representing the nation, plurinational states showing serious complexities wherever they have been implemented. Post-European nations, and particularly white settler ones have failed to deconstruct the very time- and space-bound, nation-state models inherited from their metropolises. As a result, they have come to embrace, as their former masters, “a literature shaped by the (...) nation and shaping the nation” (Marche in Dean 2016: 30). Such forceful self-construction, in my opinion, has prevented the initiative of several Anglophone intellectuals to build up one common polysystem with Québécois literature, based on equitable relationships. What is more, the Anglophone Canadian system has not attained an often desired, overarching systemic function, therefore integrating Québécois literature as a dependent sub-system, a national sub-culture. As shall be discussed in the next chapter, the CanLit project has ambiguously fluctuated between these two positionings.

3.1.3. (Anglophone) Nation Dreaming

The awakening of nationalist concerns in the Anglophone Canadian literary realm led, in effect, to a project conducted by a brand-new clique of poets, scholars, editors, and translators, operating from newly-founded departments and faculties in Canada’s young university network. From George Woodcock to George Bowering, Fred Wah, David Dawson, or Frank Davey, Barbara Godard’s generation of literary critics built up a complex infrastructure through their personal and professional liaisons; their editing tasks in journals and publishing houses; their teaching and program-designing at English departments; and, of course, their own writing, both creative and academic. Such were, in the literary field, the protagonists of a wider process of sociocultural articulation, driven from the country’s emerging academic institutions, which, as has been argued in the previous section, are of utmost importance for the establishment of national identities. This process has been known as “Canadianization”, that is, an attempt at defining the identity of the Canadian state as culturally and linguistically Anglophone.

According to Cormier (2005), the main supporters of the Canadianization movement emerged from a very particular historical, social, and political context. From an economic

standpoint, since the end of World War II Canada had been taking distance from the United Kingdom, and becoming increasingly dependent on the United States, both culturally and financially. However, the mid-20th century brought about discomfort regarding the U.S.' latest political moves, especially on the grounds of the Vietnam war (1955-1975). It is through a permanent contrast with the States, then, that many aspects of (Anglophone) Canada's current self-image have been articulated. For Paul Rutherford (1993), this process of self-definition against what is generally considered as mainstream American culture has had three main results: Canada's reputation as a peaceful and civilised country, or, as Sugar puts it (2016: 461), "Trudeau's myth of Canada as a 'just society' (...)" ; its mostly unspoiled nature, in comparison with the US' advanced industrialisation; and a self-believed "victim" status, on the grounds of a US-led Anglosaxon imperialism. Both the self-image of peacefulness and the "victim" status are crucial to sustain the country's recent identity updates, either because they portray it as a "very un-American or other-American" country, that is, "a country that is less aggressive and more humane than its American neighbor" (Rutherford 1993: 278-279); or by justifying its exceptional postcolonial status among Anglosaxon white settler nations. This, according to Gilbert (2006: 87), has encouraged a series of comparative, Canada-US metaphors. Firstly, the raw-cooked metaphor, nurturing Canadian literature's aforementioned "garrison mentality" (see 3.1.2.) on the basis of its wild and unspoiled nature. In second place, the postmodern-modern trope, pointing at the existence of the "Canadian Postmodern" (Hutcheon 1988) as a particular view on Postmodernity, challenging, as we shall see shortly, its traditionally accepted European layout. Finally, the female-male analogies emerged between both countries are of special interest to this thesis, especially on the basis of the gender metaphors configuring the relational identities of conflicted nations. In Canada's particular case, it has been of great importance for the self-portrayal of its literature. According to early 20th century writer Archivald MacMechan,

"When Canadians figure their country to themselves, they call up no cypher of population, no symbol of territory, no statistic of trade, but the image of a woman, young and fair, with the flush of sunrise on her face. When they apply for admission to the great family of nations, they do not present as credentials their wealth, their cities, their harvests of a thousand million Imshels, but a few printed books, some songs, a tale or two. They say to the world in effect: 'We are a people ... because we have a voice'" (MacMechan 1924 in Henderson 2016: 3).

This representational narrative, in Henderson's view, connects "femininity with youthful vigour and authenticity of expression, and presents these as aspects of the true

measure of nationhood - the quality of the nation's human resources rather than its quantities of trade or raw materials.” Art, as happens in the previous quote, is often represented through a feminine lens, especially on the basis of the Ancient-Greece “muse” trope. Here, nevertheless, one has the impression that it is the *land*, typically portrayed as wild and difficult to conquer, but certainly passive and objectified, what is being feminised by the descendants of the brave male Anglosaxon colonisers. Once again, nationalism’s powerful gender metaphors stages the act of foreign land exploitation as the “fertile soil” in which to “plant” the settler’s “seed” through constant body/land and penetration/conquest imagery (see Milner-Thornton 2011: 45). This theme has considerable relevance in the 19th-century novels of most white settler societies, including, as we shall see, Québec’s *roman de la terre* (Smart 2003), reinforcing rather than undermining the masculinity of nation states. It is therefore the feminised portrayal of a country’s national institutions what truly suggests weakness. In subsequent, the importance of these tropes for the evolution of Québec nationalism (Lamoureux 2001) shall be discussed. In the case of Anglophone Canada, its “victim” status regarding Anglophone imperialism implies that, “as long as Canadians measure their culture against foreign (and especially U.S.) norms, they shall continue to see themselves as “lacking”- in the female sense of the word (...)” (Gilbert 2006: 87).

Be as it may, and as a consequence of this emergent (self-)conception of Canada’s “white civility”, between the late 50s and early 60s flocks of U.S. nationals would move into Canadian lands as a response, appreciating the more progressive mindset of the country’s institutions and citizenship. By this, however, they were inevitably joining an already consolidated U.S. financial and cultural elite, which was perceived by intellectuals like Dennis Lee as a mere shift in Canada’s colonial master, from the old to the new English-speaking empire. In the meantime, a generation of baby boomers were knocking on the doors of Canada’s underdeveloped network of higher-education institutions, insufficient in number to host them. A structural reform and expansion of academia, both student- and personnel-oriented, was therefore undertaken. Since the country was still unable to produce the workforce needed for the newly-founded universities, departments, and programs, an obvious move was to hire English-speaking lecturers from the old and new “empires”:

The federal government tried to attract foreign faculty by giving them an income tax holiday; recent PhDs from British and US universities were lured to the new institutions with the promise that they wouldn’t have to do research, but only teach — as much and as fast as they could. Newly hired faculty members

phoned home to offer their friends and classmates jobs: many positions were filled without being advertised, and many more were hired at the MLA conference, without consideration of Canadian applications (Dean 2016: 39).

As already mentioned, the aspect of this process usually problematised in later historical reflections is the invisibility of a nascent, Anglophone Canadian identity attempting to join modern English Studies academia. Even among Canadian scholars, the idea that Canadian literature, which was yet to become a scholarly subject, had the consistency needed to join the international, English literature canon seemed almost radical, and students would normally graduate in English without taking a single course in Canadian writing. Similarly, PhD candidates working in such field were often made aware of how little prestige their line of research had. Literature lecturers omitted Canadian authors in their reading lists but, when confronted in person, they often showed a deep concern and extended knowledge about the matter, providing future Canadianists with extracurricular bibliographies (Godard in Kamboureli 2008: 20). This, in Godard's view, seems to point at "a split" at the initial operations of a new thought community, pushing the limits of a pre-existent field in order to constitute a new *invisible college*:

"They talked about this research [research on Canadian Literature] outside of class and the books were all around in their offices. This split was characteristic of the discourse on Canadian literature in the period. The universities taught "the best that has been thought or written", that is, British literature, while the professors worked actively in the production of Canadian literature." (Godard in Kamboureli 2008: 20)

In effect, as we are about to discuss, Godard's previous account may illustrate the passage between the "differentiation" and "infection" stages of a new invisible college in its original setting: higher-education institutions. A period of self-awareness for Canada's sense of literary achievement, one which debunked British literature as the sole standard for Anglophone literary quality, as well as an exclusively US-informed definition of "American culture". The evolution of this invisible college, according to Frank Davey's periodisation for CanLit (2016: 20), may be identified between the mid-50s and the second half of the 70s, a timeframe quite similar to Igartua's "Other Quiet Revolution" (1945-1971). The essential difference, perhaps, lies in Igartua's exclusively Anglophone standpoint, in contrast with Davey's regard for the influence of Québec's own evolution in this Anglophone nationalist

project. The former takes a post-war landscape to portray Canada's shifting alliances, from the decadent British empire, slowly losing its colonies, to the new worldwide leader, the neighbouring United States, closing down his study precisely at the origins of Québécois nationalism, a movement of which most Anglophone periodisations, both historical and literary, tend to dispose in their analyses. In his literary account, Davey, on the other hand, focuses on the milestones in both communities' historical coexistence as much as he does on Anglophone Canada's fight to be distinguished from the English-speaking empires. He describes the establishment of Anglophone higher-education institutions, and their English departments in particular, as a contrasting operation with the sense of *Québécoisité* simultaneously emerging in *la belle province* at the time. From Klinck and Frye's initial 1956 alliance, resulting in Klinck's monumental, ongoing *Literary History of Canada* (1965), to the foundation of the *Canadian Literature* journal (1959), the starting point for Davey may well be Anglophone Canada's initiative to build up an academic discipline out of their literature. However, his periodisation goes beyond the early 70s, the golden years of Anglophone nationalism, to consider the mid-70s rise of Québécois identity, and ends with the victory of the pro-independent Parti Québécois in 1975.

Davey's periodisation thus seems to provide a much more sensible landscape to analyse Anglophone Canada's identity issues than its plain, Anglophone-visibility demands. Taken separately, both the Anglophone provinces' differentiation and their attempts at intra-national coexistence respond to classical notions of European nationalism, but the determining effect of bicultural/bilingual coexistence is shockingly avoided in most narratives of recent (Anglophone) Canadian history. Indeed, this "1955-1975 momentum of unachieved English-French biculturalism" (Davey 2016: 20), terminated by the inception of the Parti Québécois era, speaks more eloquently about the real issues of instituting a Canadian nation-state than a romantic differentiation from the benchmarks of Anglosaxon culture. After discussing the accuracy and appropriateness of these basic timeframes, it is my intention to fine-tune them on the basis of Herman's five-stage proposal for the chronology of invisible colleges (1998). This seems a most adequate framework to illustrate the transitioning path between the academic and mostly private nature of thought communities and their institutionalisation within polysystems. The resulting periodisation shall be broken down into decades for a clearer layout of the different phases undergone by CanLit, successfully institutionalised throughout the second half of the 20th century:

<i>Period</i>	Littérature Québécoise (Invisible college)
40s	Differentiation
50s	Differentiation
60s	Infection
70s	Establishment Divergence
80s	Divergence
90s	Decline

TABLE 3: THE EVOLUTION OF THE CANLIT INVISIBLE COLLEGE.

3.1.4. “Differentiation” and “Contagion”

As may be seen in the previous table, the classical, invisible-college stages identified by Crane (1972) and later revisited by Hermans (1998) have been reconsidered after the archaeological work undertaken on the Canadian polysystem for this thesis. A decade-detailed timeframe has been employed for that purpose. In accordance, Herman’s “differentiation” phase, where “seminal ideas are first tried out in a small circle” (1999: 10), i.e. a thought community, may be identified between the mid-40s and the mid-50s. This period, which provides some context for the inception of what has been previously discussed as “Canadianization” (see Cormier 2006), seems to require extending the starting point in Davey’s literary chronology (2016), the mid-50s, to the one identified by Igartua in his more historiographic proposal (2015: 1945).

In this way, one may assess the impact of the post-war, decolonisation landscape on Canada’s cultural and literary emancipation from its former metropole, as well as the U.S.’ rise as the leader of the capitalist block in the thus-emerging Cold War period. The mid-50s must be regarded as the turning point in Anglophone Canada’s awareness of the very preliminary condition of its literature. Already in 1949, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, also known as the Massey Commission, concluded in its final report that further funding and more consistent efforts were needed for the consolidation of a National literature. Throughout the 50s, this brought about a series of cultural projects structuring an emergent

national book market: public initiatives like the National Library (1952) as well as private ones, but publicly-funded, like major publisher McClelland and Stewart's New Canadian Library series (1958). Although heavily based on chief editors Jack McClelland and Malcolm Ross' discretion, the NCL granted the general public access to affordable paperback versions of long-forgotten, out-of-print Canadian classics. Several academic undertakings were also of special relevance, proving how the frontiers between the new literary market and scholarly production were deeply intertwined from the beginnings of CanLit: among multiple other initiatives, Carl F. Klink's *Literary History of Canada* (1965); The University of British Columbia's *Canadian Literature* journal (1959), founded by writer, academic, and publisher George Woodcock; and The University of Western Ontario's *Open Letter* (1965), one of the first forums in which Barbara Godard would publish, founded by Frank Davey, by then a celebrated poet and scholar.

Beyond this, a crucial milestone of that period is the creation of the aforementioned Canada Council for the Arts, in 1957. This institution was crucial in those years' early reception of an equally emerging Québécois identity, which is perhaps why Davey, who has tried to challenge the Anglophone approach of most chronologies, has chosen it as a point of departure. Indeed, the Council's activity was critical to redress the original anglophilia of the Governor General's Awards/Prix du Gouverneur Général, that is, Canada's top national recognition to literary achievement. Established in 1936 by Lord Tweedsmuir and the Canadian Authors Association, the Governor General's Awards/Prix du Gouverneur Général started to be sponsored by the Canada Council for the Arts in 1959. As we are about to see, this seems to confirm its function as a "motionless motor" within the emergence of a national polysystem, as well as the late 50s as a turning point in Anglophone Canada's institutional recognition of the country's bicultural nature, one which needed to be coped with in order to shape the country's official narrative. Prior to this shift in their sponsorship, the awards had been an exclusively Anglophone initiative, which implied that only Canadian books in English could be shortlisted. This, however, did not prevent the English translation of two Québécois novels from winning, interestingly authored by two women. The first was Gabrielle Roy's *The Tin Flute* (*Bonheur d'occasion*) in 1947, whose "magnetic relationship" with Jack McClelland (Sugars 2016: 341) would ensure immediate publication of her translated works, proving how indebted canons are, also when woman writers are concerned, to personal affinities. The second was Germaine de Guèvremont's *The Outlander* (*Le survenant*), in 1950. In 1960, as a symbol of the newly-established, bilingual initiative, the French section of the awards was inaugurated

by Anne Hébert's *Poèmes*. Again, another woman writer seemed to have caught the eye of the young Canadian literary institutions.

Nevertheless, reading too much into facts like this from a gender perspective, given Roy's (1909-1983), Guèvremont's (1893-1968), and Hébert's (1916-2000) establishment at the time as first-row members of the Québécois canon, may perhaps have a distorting effect. As Scott has pointed out (1999), feminist historians' obsession with identifying the first woman in every field not only leads to an outright disregard for her contemporary female agents, but also falls in one of patriarchy's crucial historical traps: the interested presentation of certain women subjects, reinforcing its political and cultural projects at a given time period (see section 2.2.1.). Even in recent times, most identifications of "the first woman" in every field depend on patriarchy's surviving records, posing serious limitations to feminism's archaeological task. Thus, the question to be asked in a prospective chapter (4.1.1.*ff*) is what made Roy, Guèvremont, Hébert or, for that purpose, Nicole Brossard, who is central to this thesis, more tolerable (and even desirable) than other contemporary women writers, both for the Québécois canon and the CanLit national translation project. Anyhow, the operations of the Canada Council at the time, whose central position in the CanLit polysystem shall be discussed shortly, reinforce the idea that any account of Canada's literary evolution from a bicultural/bilingual perspective must regard the 50s, and even the early 60s, as the period in which fundamental conceptions were put into place.

Then, between the mid-50s and the late 60s, a "contagion" period started, with "early enthusiasts then infect[ing] others, which le[d] to an exponential growth in the production of research (...)" (Hermans 1998: 10). Shortly before the turn of the 70s, Barbara Godard completed her undergraduate studies. Unlike most Canadian literature and translation scholars, including feminist ones like Luise von Flotow and Sherry Simon, who would both pursue a significant part of their studies in the United States, Godard would sport an unprecedented attraction for the European (mainly French) cornerstones of literary theory (psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, marxism, etc.), at a time when Canadian "students who wished to be bilingual English-French scholars were mostly left to invent their own paths" (Davey 2016: 19). After completing her Bachelor with Honors in English and History at the University of Toronto, she would head to Québec for a Masters' degree in Literature at the Université de Montréal. Through a second masters at Paris VIII (Vincennes), she would continue her exploration of the analytic approaches to literary criticism sorely overwatched by Anglophone-

Canadian academia, waiting in vain for a comparative literature programme to be established in Montreal (see Fuller 2013). A complex mixture of predisposition and circumstance channeled Godard's general sensitivity to difference into a desire to learn French and to acquire a better understanding of Québec's distinct culture. For many, such a passage was mediated by France. Certainly, it was there where, teaching alongside H el ene Cixous, she would confront mainstream "Canadian criticism", still in the making, with the revolutionary theories circulated by French feminism and avant-garde criticism in Europe.

At this stage, and particularly during the 60s, a distinctly national writing was being produced at a regular pace. While Canadian scholars were teaching "l'accent de Milton et Byron et Shelley et Keats" (Lalonde 1970), literary novelty was seeking for, and already producing, an explicitly "Canadian" accent. According to Cynthia Sugars 2016: 457), "[a] move toward experimentation (in both style and content) is evident in much of the writing of this period (...), a prequel to what would become Canada's most characteristic literary product: the 70s and early 80s Canadian Postmodern. Anyhow, these first deliberately "Canadian" manifestations generally fall into one of three main categories. A certain group displays traits consistent with what Graeme Gibson (1972) identified as the Southern Ontario Gothic novel, a current analogous to the U.S. gothic production of southern-based authors like William Faulkner or Carson McCullers. This genre is said to convey a harsh critique of the Protestant, small-town lifestyle of the Southern-Ontario region, resisting the modern impulses of the 60s regarding race, gender, and religion. A whole generation of writers, from Timothy Findley (1930-2002) to Robertson Davies (1913-2005), made a name with the Canadian Gothic. Some of them, like Alice Munro (1931-) or Margaret Atwood (1939-), with a fairly long and complex trajectory, would nevertheless only cultivate it in their early years. Munro's collection of short stories *Dance of the Happy Shades* (1968), which won her her first Governor General's Award, is an excellent example thereof, where the gloomy atmosphere of these small villages provides the perfect setting in order to challenge traditional gender roles ("Boys and Girls"), or portray the misery of domestic life ("The Peace of Utrecht"). The second category includes novels showing a preliminary concern with Canada's postcoloniality, often metaphorised in the protagonists' unsuccessful search for their missing identity in England. Curiously, this same quest for meaning in England has also been present in the authors' biographies. Such is the case of Mordecai Richler (1931-2001), one of the various Anglophone, Montreal-based writers, of Jewish descent like Leonard Cohen (1934-2016), who experienced success at the time. After residing in Paris, following the steps of many Lost-Generation U.S. intellectuals, Richler, like

his Jewish protagonist in *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (1968), would move to London in 1954. After returning to Montreal, in the heyday of Québec nationalism (1972), he would write various essays critical of Québec's pro-independence movement.

This leads us to the third category of novels observed in this period: Québec's growing discomfort within the Canadian federation, a topic vastly ignored at the time by most Anglophone authors, but of which English-speaking Montrealers like Richler or Leonard Cohen had first-hand experience from an early date. Certainly, works like the aforementioned *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, or Cohen's renowned masterpiece *Beautiful Losers* (1966), which in retrospective has been considered one of the first Canadian postmodern novels (Hutcheon 1988: 26), are narrated from a pseudo-autobiographical standpoint. They therefore stem from the experience of Montreal's powerful Jewish community, in control of many



FIGURE 3: A YOUNG ALICE MUNRO (1931-).

Anglophone corporations targeted by the first Nationalist-Marxist outbreaks in the late-60s. This, however, does not prevent them from portraying a reality already quite visible in the city, a prelude to a difficult decade for the coexistence of Canada's two main cultures. A remarkably early literary discussion of this conflict may be found in Hugh McLennan's 1945 novel *Two Solitudes*, which again won him the Governor General's award, and whose title has come to embody Canada's cultural conflict beyond its original Montreal scope. Together with the previously mentioned novels, *Two Solitudes* was considerably responsible at the time for the very limited perception which Anglophone Canadians had of Québec's nationalism. Born in Nova Scotia, but educated in Oxford and Princeton, McLennan (1907-1990) was one of many Anglophone Canadians who would entrust his education to the old and new Anglophone empires, and end up both writing and teaching, in this case at Montreal's Lower Canada College.

This literature, meanwhile, was already being consumed by students like Godard. This generation of future Canadianists (Godard 2008: 20) had second thoughts about the English programs' disregard for the autochthonous, a concerning academic diglossia. Such disregard was even more blatant if one considers that an explicitly Canadian literary corpus was already being put together through new critical and compilatory work by these same multi-role agents, both responsible for writing and teaching the growingly contested notion of "English literature" in Canada. By then, they had already established small literary societies around certain Anglophone faculties. Thus, while these authors/editors/educators were building up interpersonal bonds in their private thought communities, based on emotional and ideological affinities, their pupils would lay the ground for the next decade's public, institutional projection of such bonds: the 70s "establishment" of the CanLit project. What this new generation could by no means neglect was the rise of Québec's identitarian quest during the 60s' Quiet Revolution. As a result, the emerging Québécois literature, which shall be discussed in the next chapter, became an inescapable experience for the 70s "construction" (Davey 2016) of a nation-wide polysystem.

3.1.5. "Establishment"

The 70s in Canada are an essential decade for the analysis undertaken in this thesis. As the golden age of "Canadianization", they bore its ultimate fruit: nationalism. Without surveying the institutionalisation process undergone by Anglophone Canada's national literature in those years, the powerful translation movement orchestrated by those same institutions may not be properly understood. Since the stage corresponding to this decade was experienced by Anglophone Canada as one of plenitude and consolidation, without ultimately disposing of it, I have decided to suggest an alternative to "stagnation", the negative term employed by Hermans (1998): that of "establishment". By this, however, I do not intend to discard Hermans' perspective as inaccurate. In many senses, institutionalisation may be connected, in effect, with fossilised structures and a lack of dynamism, something that several Canadian critics were already suggesting at the time in regard with their literature's definition process. For Barry and Nixon, the cause for this "stagnation", or, as they would put it, lack of "matureness" (1977, n/p), was not literary production in itself, but a series of reviews, critiques, and surveys (and especially a group of writers working) under the title of "Canadian literary criticism", a tradition started by critic Northrop Frye (for more details, see Gorjup 2009).



FIGURE 4: LITERARY CRITIC NORTHROP FRYE.

Canadian literary criticism stems from a series of metadiscursive operations on the preachings of European critics, especially British ones, aimed at making a case for Canada's "growing postcolonial conscience" in those decades (Sugars 2016: 453). It does not discuss the specificity of the Canadian literary experience by itself, but it actually reads it as the subversive "translation" of a previous heritage, where transtextual operations generate what Barbara Godard (2008: 127) has identified as "the dialogic of a double-voiced discourse", one which, like Canadian feminist criticism would shortly after do, would "wor[k] within and against the confines" of standing European critique (Capperdoni 2007: 245). Indeed, according to Davey, who draws on Godard's first work as a mainstream Canadian critic, this phenomenon seems to be true of most stages in Canadian literary criticism:

(...) Both Canadian literary theory and the academic study of Canadian literature had incorporated a somehow carnivalesque misreading of the history of the last century of critical theory in Europe. In Europe, [Godard] argues, structuralism had been a criticism of phenomenology; in Canada, phenomenology had underpinned an attack on structuralism and on structuralism and on the partial structuralism of Frye. In Europe, deconstruction challenged the metaphysics of presence in structuralism; in Canada, deconstruction was a successor of phenomenology (...) (Davey 2016: 25).

As the previous excerpt shows, Godard's background as a CanLit literary theorist was exceptionally rich. Albeit nurtured by the latest trends in French criticism, to which other Canadian comparatists were fairly reluctant (see Davey 2016), Godard did not desert a steady, perhaps too optimistic interest for comparative studies of Canada's two literary traditions, which she had embraced as a Master's degree student in Montreal. There, in 1967, she completed a thesis on "The City of Montreal in the English and French Canadian Novel, 1945-

1965”, supervised by celebrated translator and lecturer Philip Stratford (1927-1999). Such early work would assuredly lead the way to her PhD dissertation, under Robert Scarpit’s supervision: “God’s Country: L’Homme et la terre dans le roman des deux Canada” (1971), which was granted a Canada Council Doctoral Award (1967-1969). It is perhaps this understanding of Canadian comparative literature as necessarily bilingual and bicultural which demanded of her an intense, geographically complex periplum through the Anglophone and Francophone regions of literary academia, which makes Barbara Godard a very singular, perhaps unique member of her generation. The ultimate contributor, in Davey’s view, to a true academic interculturalism on the edge of Canada’s “two solitudes”, curiously through an immense translation project of the kind of production which both of Canada’s polysystems in the making were systematically discarding from their canons: feminist literature (see Davey 2016: 20).

As we shall see in detail shortly, thanks to Godard’s early work, as well as to Davey himself, D. G. Jones and other comparative literature experts, Canadian criticism would slowly broaden its scope to include comparative studies with Québec literature. Unsurprisingly, these were also the first Canada-Council funded translators and editors of Québécois literature since the inception of its translation grants programme (1971), having tirelessly lobbied for its creation. By the mid-70s, translation had been instituted to the extent that renowned Anglophone writers like Joyce Marshall (1913-2005) or John Glassco (1909-1981), who had already started a casual but pioneering translation activity, encouraged the foundation, in 1975, of the Association des traducteurs littéraires du Canada/Literary Translators Association of Canada (from now on LTAC). It is surely not by chance that the association is based at Concordia University, one of Montreal’s Anglophone universities. Indeed, both Joyce Marshall, whom Jane Everett (2006: 53) calls an “Accidental translator”, and Glassco, a modernist poet of the Anglophone “Montreal Group”, were born in this city, where further awareness existed of the need for institutional translation. A subsequent chapter (see 5.1.2.) shall depart from the impact of this association, which counts on various translators of feminist Québec novels, in order to introduce Barbara Godard’s feminist translation agenda. Even if Godard would carefully avoid direct association with both the Translation Grants Programme and the LTAC, the impact of such two organisations in her pioneering, feminist translation activity was outstanding, especially in her years as a translator for the Coach House Press Translation series, funded by the Canada Council. Of similar importance, as shall also be discussed shortly, were the operations of the Association of Canadian and Québec Literatures (ACQL), purely academic, but definitely far-reaching within the polysystem’s networks. Still,

it is my contention that the matrix discipline for both (Anglophone) Canadian comparative literature and translation, creating a sense of urgency to protect and reinforce a literary heritage previously neglected, was Canadian Literary Criticism.

By the early 70s this was already a powerful institution, developed in a rush, simultaneously to, and sometimes faster than, the autochthonous literature to be surveyed, often by the same writers producing it. As Davey suggests, the resulting anthologies, much needed to satisfy the teaching demands of academics, illustrate, without ultimately solving, this progressive awareness of the system's one-sidedness, on the "bicultural impossibility implied by 'Canadian literature'". As Robert Lecker has argued in his systematic study of Canadian literary anthologies (2017), these academic products were especially devised to convey specific images of a nation in the forging, the historical wanderings of which had a serious impact in their inclusions as much as in their omissions. Considering that around seven hundred works of this kind were published between the Centennial celebrations (1967) and the aftermath of the first Independence referendum (circa 1982), this political function of Canadian criticism seems more than plausible. A thus-far unknown dilemma faced by Godard's generation of critics was the urge to manage the shameless "synecdoche" in the "Canadian literature" label (Frye 1976). Its constant occurrence, according to Northrop Frye's self-reassuring "Conclusion", always implied "a parallel or contrasting statement about French Canadian literature" (Frye 1976: 823-824). Such was, despite the exhaustive analyses of Godard and very few other critics (Forsyth 2013: 994), a majoritarian, "inexpensive solution, inexpensive both intellectually and materially" (Davey 2016: 18), to Canada's multicultural reality, certainly composed by many more than the "two solitudes" (MacLennan 1945) which most Anglophone (and Québécois) authors have been able to identify.

Now, whether such an environment actually constituted an *isolation* of a minority by a majority, rather than two parallel *solitudes*, there would be solid ground for inquiry. A widespread (and comfortable) position when anthologising the "Canadian" literary field, traditionally addressed by those who actually believed in and controlled it (Anglophone Canadian academia), consisted in blatantly bypassing Québec literature, or either surveying a few selected authors without articulating it in the system. Hence, the very first attempts in this line were overtly exclusive, dealing with "Canadian" literature "as if it were a self-evident,

uncontested entity”, despite reflecting “an evidence of bicultural impossibility” (Davey 2016: 18). In the early 70s, anthologies like comparatist and translator D.G. Jones’ *Butterfly on Rock* (1970), or Mary Jane Edwards’ *The Evolution of Canadian Literature in English* (1973) led the path to a more tactful, nuanced appropriation of “Canadian” cultural capital by adding the specifier “in English”. Some others, like Margaret Atwood’s *Survival* (1972) or Clara Thomas’ *Our Nature--Our Voices* (1972). Still, most works in this line would take the Anglophone condition of “Canadianness” for granted, without explaining exactly who or what may qualify for it, or why. In sight of the very superficial remarks on Québécois literature occasionally included, its definition was inconclusive. More importantly, however, the precarious ways in which Québec literature was discussed, by the very few so-called Canadianists able to analyse Francophone novels, seemed to imply that it was also problematic.



FIGURE 5: POET D.G. JONES AT A PUBLIC LECTURE.

The strategy behind the non-systematic survey of a few contemporaneous Québec writers was illustrative of several authorities’ frustrated attempt at portraying a bicultural polysystem, seriously debilitated by the vast majority who would continue to act as if “Canadian” unquestionably stood for “Anglophone”, leaving to the Québécois the articulation of their own literature. This cultural “isolation” did not seem to pose a problem to Québec, which would often appear to self-isolate for the sake of its specificity. However, it is probably no coincidence that, according to the previous dates of publication, the first works reinforcing an Anglophone (mis-)conception of “Canadian” literature would appear precisely in the heyday of Québec’s separatist movement, in the early 70s. Regardless of whether they would create a self-interested “image” of the province (Lefevre 1993), or simply ignore it, the timing of these anthologies

is by no means irrelevant. Attaching significance to Anglophone Canada's apparently one-sided operations without considering theirs as a contrastive project is therefore unproductive. One of the main reasons to regard Canadian literary criticism in this contrastive fashion is the threat implied by the rise of Québec's nationalism at a time when the Anglophone regions were attempting a reinforcement of national identity. It is perhaps for this reason that, even if many of these anthologies would ignore Québécois literature, an effort to put their own cultural heritage together may be perceived there, partially urged by their dream of unity falling apart in Québec. Another relevant factor in order to explain the sudden emergence of multiple compilatory works is the writers' own attempt at institutionalising a modern and productive literary environment in Canada. The fact that Canadian authors would often anthologise their own generation of writers as it was developing points to an enormous influence on the Canadian readers' perception of their production (see Barry and Nixon 1976), as well as, as a result, to the type of colluding forces between roles and agencies which polysystemic theories have failed to address.

In contrast with the more content-focused innovation of the 60s, in the 70s and part of the 80s, authors were invested in giving an already-emerging postmodernism the "Canadian" twist. The Canadian postmodern, as Linda Hutcheon has contended (1988: 2), constitutes the "(...) urge to trouble, to question, to make both problematic and provisional any such desire for order or truth through the powers of human imagination. (...) The postmodern novel is neither self-sufficiently art nor a simple mirror to or window onto the world." Its basic means for operation, textual play and self-reference, allowed writers to discuss burning issues of Canadian society at the time through a form of metafiction, of fictional metadiscourse. The Canadian postmodern has been portrayed as the framework of the best Canadian novels, including Leonard Cohen's *Favorite Game* (1963) and *Beautiful Losers* (1966); Alice Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971); Margaret Atwood's *Surfacing* (1972) and *Lady Oracle* (1976); Michael Ondaatje's *The Collected Works of Billy the Kid* (1970); or Robert Kroetsch's *Badlands* (1975). It has been considered by Canadian critics as the country's major literary contribution to international canons. Perhaps for this reason, Hutcheon (1988) has challenged several critics' claim that this genre was an elaborate response to pre-existent forms of metafiction in the U.S, just as the Southern-Ontario Gothic was indebted to the Southern-U.S. gothic. This perception of "Canada as a backwater" of U.S. cultural achievement, in her view, stems from a "particular and polemical focus on the core of books always taught and read, that

is, on the received ‘canon’ of Can.Lit.” (Hutcheon *op.cit.*: 2). A reasonable question to pose here would be, nevertheless, which pre-existent ‘canon’ may have influenced critical perceptions simultaneous to the literary production addressed, especially when any general sense of canonicity in Canadian literature was in the making at the time.

Unsurprisingly, Canadianists dealing with this period, including Hutcheon, constantly quote writer Graeme Gibson’s (1934-2019) *Eleven Canadian Novelists* (1972) in a way which suggests this almost as a standing ‘canon’ for the Canadian postmodern. Second thoughts may arise on this fact after considering the title of the book itself, which announces a sharp focus on Canadian literary production: Margaret Atwood, Austin Clarke (1934-2016), Matt Cohen (1942-1999), Marian Engel (1933-1985), Timothy Findley (1930-2002), Dave Godfrey (1938-2015), Margaret Laurence (1926-1987), Jack Ludwig (1922-2018), Alice Munro (1931), Mordecai Richler (1931-2001), and Scott Symons (1933-2009). Considering the title of this and other anthologies of this period, such ultra-selective, personalist scope was much in fashion among Canadian critics at the time:

“15 Canadian Poets; Eleven Canadian Novelists; Five Modern Canadian Poets ; Eight More Canadian Poets ; Sixty Poets of Canada (and Québec); 40 Women Poets of Canada; 21 x 3; Fifteen Winds; Four Perspectives ; Ninety Seasons; One Hundred Poems of Modern Québec; Thirty-One Newfoundland Poets; A Second Hundred Poems of Modern Québec; 39 Below; Fourteen Stories High; Sixteen by Twelve; Twelve Prairie Poets” (Lecker 2013: 219).

Additionally, Gibson’s is a chiefly informal compilation of interviews, conducted by someone well known in the milieu and to the authors themselves, the conclusions of which may not be taken as academic. A member of the postmodern clique with novels such as *Five Legs* (1969), Gibson was Margaret Atwood’s companion from 1973 to his death, in 2019, proving how little the CanLit world actually is, and that emotional affinities may by no means be ruled out of the systemic equation: while D.G. Jones and Sheila Fischman would translate together, Florence Richler would edit her husband Mordecai Richler’s novels; Linda and Frank Davey would work together at Coach House Press; and Jim Polk, Atwood’s husband till 1973, worked at Anansi, her publisher throughout those years.



FIGURE 6: A YOUNG MARGARET ATWOOD (1939-), CA. 1979.

As has been previously suggested, a constant collusion was taking place at the time, both between emotionally attached agents and between the agents themselves and the market's perceptions on their literature. The Canadian polysystem was staged through these authors' metadiscourse, which both fulfilled critique-related functions and supplemented their own production. In general terms, a limited, theme-oriented response was produced to the question "What's Canadian about Canadian literature" (Atwood 1972: 6), traditionally assumed to revolve mainly around Canada's (post-)colonial experience. Margaret Atwood herself, who was of the opinion that no one could be more suited to join the Canadian literary criticism club than writers themselves (Atwood *ibid*: 4), shared a preference for this theme-informed approach as the best portrayal of a nation's literature in her aforementioned anthology *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*:

(...) If my book does not survey, evaluate, provide histories or biographies or offer original and brilliant insights, what does it do? (...) It (...) will help you distinguish this species from all others, Canadian literature from the other literatures with which it is often compared or confused. Each key pattern must occur often enough in Canadian literature as a whole to make it significant. These key patterns, taken together, constitute the shape of Canadian literature insofar as it is *Canadian* literature, and that shape is also a reflection of a national habit of mind (Atwood 1972: 4-5).

As we may see, Atwood, who has often made it to the Nobel Prize poll and enjoys a consolidated position in the Canadian national canon, has always belonged to the privileged clique of intellectuals deciding "what's Canadian about Canadian literature". Disruptive as her highly critical, feminist voice may have been regarded for decades, it is a well-established force

of mainstream Canadianness, among the anonymous loads of women writers populating the country since its inception (Andersen 1988). The Canadian postmodern, as Hutcheon proves with her specific attention to women writers (1988), has been productively connected with a sudden emergence of female writing, as the 60s and 70s notion of white civility started to value the input of feminism within national identity. It is by virtue of its productiveness that a form of Canadian-Feminist literary criticism, and its resulting projects of feminist translation, would bring bridges between both national cultures, especially in the late 70s and the 80s. Be as it may, these female-authored postmodern novels would exploit metafiction, and particularly intertextuality and parody, in order to denounce gender bias.

Together with Atwood and Munro, other, less central female voices of CanLit were also featured at the time in several of these anthologies, gaining rapid recognition: Audrey Thomas (1935-) (see Godard 1989), Susan Swan (1945-), Daphne Marlatt (1942-), and Gail Scott (1945-). While many of these authors have been promoted by Godard herself, Scott, who co-published with her and Marlatt in *Tessera* regarding feminist writing (see Godard *et al.* 1986) has been, to my knowledge, the only Anglophone writer translated into French in that period, by bilingual Montrealer Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (see de Lotbinière-Harwood 1991). And still, Atwood is usually separated from this deliberately long list in order to be discussed in more depth (see Hutcheon 1988). Her proximity, if not centrality, to this Canadian canon in the making is difficult to question. It is perhaps by virtue of her alignment with the CanLit project that she has gained both national and international projection as a representative of Canadian identity, and not exclusively as a feminist. In the previous text, her belief that the “key patterns” observed stand as a perfectly objective manifestation of “a national habit of mind”, on which no further clarification is offered, is certainly intriguing, especially regarding the low variety of literary profiles portrayed in her anthology (1972), most of them, needless to say, Anglophone, male, and white. Unsurprisingly, these limitations are also mentioned in critical discussions of her *New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*:

Disappointing, therefore, is Margaret Atwood's *New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*. While Atwood justifies her inclusion of early poets on the grounds of historical significance, she has stopped short of extending her "excavationism" (xxx) to her own sex. "In the nineteenth century," she jests, "a woman Canadian poet was the equivalent, say, of a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant Inuit shaman" (xxix), and then proves her point by including only two (Crawford and Johnson) in her selection of nineteen early writers. (McMillan 1988: 64)

Be as it may, the “key patterns” or literary themes discussed in *Survival* constitute a typical approach of most 70s national(ist) anthologies (see Davey 2016; Barry and Nixon 1977), trying to account for this New World Myth (Vautier 1998). As Henderson puts it, “in this criticism, myth was theme and theme reflected a national mentality” (2001: 791). This, in Barry and Nixon’s view (1977), sadly reinforces Frye’s two-decade-old belief that Canadian literature would do little more than folkloric storytelling about the Canadian colonial experience, and particularly the “garrison mentality” motif (Frye 1965). Accordingly, how could Canadian writing overcome its merely testimonial nature and be assessed on the basis of literary achievement? How could it be separated from its context, read as universal, and penetrate the “autonomous world of literature”, where “the world’s major authors” reside (Frye *ibid*: 821-822)? This immature form of criticism was based, then, on the intuitions of a critic who, on the other hand, had no way to predict the great explosion of postmodern, high-quality writing about to emerge in Canada: “Margaret Atwood, Robertson Davies, Hugh Hood, Margaret Laurence, Alice Munro, and Al Purdy, to name only a few” (Barry and Nixon 1977). Corpus-related difficulties were also responsible for the shortsightedness of thematic criticism. Already in the 70s, critics and university professors still did not have at their disposal edited versions of many salient Canadian works. This would make it really difficult to put together comprehensive research projects on Canadian writing. As Barbara Godard recalls:

And there was a lack of books to teach with. Getting those books was a challenge. It was at that time that a group project to write a history of Canadian poetry and publish a series of volumes by Canadian poets had been turned down by the Canada Council. The grant applicants could not identify in advance which poets they would choose to republish because knowledge of the corpus of Canadian poetry was limited. Research was needed to find the poets’ books (Godard 2008: 32).

Needless to say, the first, late-60s Canada-Council commissions reflected quite well the European composition of Canada’s English and French literature departments: experts in British and French literature. This, which posed an issue for Anglophone Canadian scholars as much as for Québécois ones, may explain why proposals like the *Records of Early English Drama* or an edition of Émile Zola’s correspondence were considered more suitable recipients for the Canadian institutions’ funds (Godard 2008: 32). Interestingly enough, for Davey (2016: 19), the “mini-imperialisms” of faculty departments during the 50s and 60s, each of them structured on the basis of their alliance to European languages and cultures, posed a major obstacle for devising the bilingual and bicultural Canadian literature that he and a few other relevant actors would envision later, during the 70s and 80s. “Canadian literature”, he tells us,

“had been introduced to these universities not as a program or department, (...) but as two linguistically pure offerings of rival English and French departments” (Davey 2016: 19). Québécois universities at the time showed no interest in separating the teaching of Anglophone Canadian literature from that of mainstream North-American one. Therefore, the lead to build a bilingual/bicultural Canadian polysystem came from several Anglophone faculty overcoming their one-sided limitations. It was not until the first half of the 70s, thanks to the pressure of the *Association of Québec and Canadian Literatures*, that the Anglophone candidates’ command of French would become an official prerequisite to join a Canadian Literature programme.

The institutional immaturity of Canadian criticism, unskilled to lead the path to a truly bicultural *national* literature, certainly froze the picture of autochthonous Anglophone literature at the time, to the point of conditioning writers themselves and their production:

(...) Reviews -- however much they underestimate, simplify, or distort the writer's achievement - serve nevertheless the essential purpose of providing immediate public attention in the marketplace. Thus, Canadian writers often review each other's work and generally publicize the literary enterprise through various forms of public exposure. Encouraged, for better or worse, by such institutions as the Canada Council, many writers are continually on display as personalities and performers; some are forced, willingly or unwillingly, into the role of cultural guru. (Barry and Nixon 1977, n/p)

As a matter of fact, the previous paragraph is consistent with Lefevre’s understanding of official discourse as an “image” of the actual literary production (1993). Plus, it supports the idea that a merely sociological, scientific explanation to polysystems is impossible, and that what theory portrays as anomalous may actually be understandable once an agent-driven approach is taken. One of the ways disregarded by theory in which patronage was taking place in 70s Canada was among authors themselves. According to Lefevre, “patronage can be exerted by persons, such as the Medici, Maecenas, or Louis XIV, and also by groups of persons, a religious body, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and, last but not least, the media” (Lefevre 1993: 15). Writers, on the other hand, are precisely those subjected to the patron’s will. Surely, given the youth of Canadian literary and academic institutions at the time, no Canadian writer could act simply as a writer. As lecturers, editors, and sometimes cultural policy makers, especially through their influence on Canada-Council committees and juries,

authors had an unusual amount of control over the national institutions which they had crucially helped to build up, and, as shall be argued shortly, over the reception of the then emerging Québécois literature through their own translation and editing praxis. This operational framework explains why what began as an academic/intellectual thought community was quickly transformed into a complex network of literary production, where governments, universities, and private initiative were involved under the management of the same few individuals. It was definitely (a select group of) writers who, via their hybrid roles, would “regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together, make up a society, a culture” (Lefevre 1993: 15). The Canadian society, the Canadian culture: the (Anglophone) Canadian nation. Underneath it, nevertheless, there was nothing more (and nothing less) than friendship, political and intellectual affinities, and, in some cases, love.

In sight of this frozen picture, why then, propose the concept of “establishment” to better illustrate the state of 70s Canadian literature? If, as this thesis claims, our characterisation of a polysystem must rely on the metadiscursive manifestations of different agents, internal or external, coetaneous or anachronic to it, how should we deal with the vast array of “images” projected? An important value for this and other nationalist literary projects is, as Canadian scholar Richard Cavell points out, that of “cultural memory” (Cavell 2016: 64). Such value does not only affect a country’s modern views of its own past (as previously argued, Anglophone Canada tends to remember the 70s nationalist period in self-interested ways), but also the metadiscursive activity of the polysystem’s insiders at the very time when the literary production in question emerged. As any nationalist movement, the CanLit project intended to re-write the depersonalising, chronicle-style narratives of Canada’s past, especially in regard with British colonialism. This implies that any *ad-hoc* manifestations considered by this thesis had metatextual functions with respect to precedent sets of historical and literary discourse. As a result, one may expect an obvious bias in the metadiscourse generated by the leading voices of CanLit regarding their own literary production. However, their concept of self must be surveyed as a priceless window to subjectivity and agency.

In the same line, a polysystem’s counter-discourses are also metadiscursive operations of equally subjective nature, both on prior sets of discourse and on coetaneous, hegemonic ones. Thus, the belief that they are more disinterested or objective, and therefore more authentic than leading statements is certainly disputable. The same may be said of any current, 3rd-person descriptive studies by today’s academics or intellectuals. Lacking the immediacy of context-

sensitive manifestations, conventional systemic description usually has little more to judge on than the *archaeological* remains of a polysystem, purposely left out by elites. On the other hand, it equally responds to current cultural memory standards, either by supporting or challenging them, as well as to a different set of interests and beliefs. In this sense, a *Translator Studies* perspective may contribute to any descriptive translation analysis by pointing out that any agent or group, be it internal or external, coetaneous or anachronic to the polysystem, projects their own, interested “image” thereof. In characterising CanLit, I am of the opinion that one must start off by surveying the purpose of its driving forces, which certainly was that of “establishment”, and then move on to the dissenting voices’ standpoint. These pieces of metadiscourse, as well as those of later critics, shall surely characterise the same phenomena from the opposite approach: that of “stagnation”. What is nevertheless central to this thesis, is that both these values, “establishment” and “stagnation”, rely on a monolithic conception of literature in Canada, a form of national cultural memory where only Anglophone production is considered, either on the basis of its internal evolution or its relationship with hegemonic Anglophone systems. Their meaning must be revisited in regard with the parallel advances in Québécois cultural production, a first-row factor which remains absent, or poorly represented in most analyses. As I contend in a prospective chapter, Anglophone Canada has fluctuated between leading the initiative of a bilingual/bicultural polysystem (a position held by actors such as Frank Davey, Barbara Godard and others) and subordinating Québec's literature to a sub-systemic role. Understandably, translation must have its say in this process. The importance of surveying the policies of the Canada Council’s Translation programme, especially during the 70s, is therefore capital.

3.1.6. "Divergence" and "Decline"

A brief overview of the late 80s and the 90s in Canada illustrates why those years may be considered a period of destabilising change for the CanLit project. In 1980, as promised by the Parti Québécois, in office for the first time since 1976, the first independence referendum was celebrated. Despite the fact that 60% of the votes rejected secession, the supporters of the Canadian dream, understandably more numerous and active on the Anglophone side, were forced to regard their expectations in more realistic ways. In 1982, the Constitution Act was presented at the Federal Parliament. Besides encompassing major amendments to the standing constitution, an immediate goal of this act was to patriate it, eliminating the pre-existing requisite of Britain’s approval. A mirroring Canada Act was passed to that end at the British

Parliament that same year. Despite the amendments' theoretical emphasis on the equality of all provinces, Québec's formal approval to the new constitutional text has not been obtained to this date, and no parallel French version has ever been drafted, despite various unsuccessful efforts of consensus through the Lake Meech (1987) and Charlottetown (1992) Accords. Perhaps the most eloquent response to such efforts was a second independence referendum, in 1995, the results of which, albeit still favorable to Québec's stay within the confederation, were much tighter than those of the first one.

Regardless of the province's opposition, the Canadian Supreme Court has ruled Québec's consent unnecessary for the enforcement of any constitutional amendments. Multiple actions, nevertheless, were taken in those years in the hope of mending the Canadian institutions' troubled relationship with Québec, many of them directly related to language and translation. Already in 1969, Prime Minister Trudeau, who only one year after would have to face up the greatest crisis in the history of Québécois nationalism, passed the Official Languages Act (1969). Especially after the Quiet Revolution, it was several federal leaders' intuition at the time that Québec needed to be reinforced. That the celebration of the Expo 67' in Montreal was coincidental, like the inception of the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism (1967-1971), with the Centennial Celebrations is hardly a coincidence. Neither may Francophone reactions to what in essence was white, Anglophone pride regarded as random acts. Only one year after the Centennial, the Parti Québécois was born. Its first electoral victory, nevertheless, would not arrive till 1976. By then, the internationalisation of Québec had reached unprecedented levels, with the city of Montreal hosting that year's summer Olympics.

Already in the 1980s, after a decade of mutual isolation with very few exceptions, the Federal Parliament passed the Translation Bureau Act (1985), transforming an already existing organisation into an institutional agency, and therefore allocating the necessary means for any piece of legislation to be drafted in Canada's two official languages. Finally, in 1987, and despite Québec's little interest in translating Anglophone-Canadian literature (Simon 1995), the Canada Council started a Translations section for the Governor General's Award in each of the two official languages. But destabilisation did not only come from Québec's growing nationalism and discomfort. It also stemmed from the thus-far ignored reality of Canada's multicultural population, from its neglected Aboriginal peoples to second-generation European, Asian, Arabic, and African immigrants, ignored by cultural policy-makers both in

the Anglophone and Francophone regions. As part of this will to embody civility, and in an effort to conceal its whiteness, multiculturalism is said to have constituted a standing criteria for Canadian cultural policy much earlier than in most Western countries. This is affirmed on the basis of little more than declarations made by Premier Trudeau at the Federal Parliament, in 1971. Its concrete realisation, however, did not come till the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, in 1988. That the 1967 project was one of white civility is confirmed by CanLit's insiders in the late 80s:

“Solecki identifies 1988 and the passing of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Bill C- 93) as the year in which the Canada of 1967 ceased to exist: ‘When Canada’s centenary was celebrated in 1967 , few anticipated, except perhaps for a handful of intellectuals, native leaders, and Québec nationalists, that the country was about to enter an era of intense self-questioning and disunity, and that internal and external forces would lead to a gradual erosion of whatever national self-definition is possessed’” (Lecker 2013: 215).

The socio-political turmoil of the 80s and 90s powerfully translated into the emergence of divergent forces within CanLit. Such divergence is progressively accounted for in the anthological work of most of its members, but no negative repercussions for the original CanLit project are perceived as a result, especially when major threats to an Anglophone cultural unit were present since before the Centennial. As Lecker acknowledges (2013: 225), already in the 80s,

“At one level, the myth of a unified and transcendent Canada whose citizens sang in bilingual harmony from coast to coast (Bobby Gimby’s vision) was unravelling long before the centennial church bells were ringing in 1967 . But at another level, the myth lived on in the hands of anthologists determined to produce collections that reflected canonical ideals of national literary unity even in the face of all the evidence suggesting that such unity could not exist and never did”.

According to this same author, two important factors mark the precarious nationalist fight born by these anthologies editors: an underlying sense of religion and a clever project of “containment” through apparent acknowledgement. For Lecker (ibid: 226),

“These editors are the big believers, the secular descendants of their Methodist forefathers, who believed that the anthologist’s task was to represent the panorama of the nation and to assert that all forms of diversity and minority could be comfortably housed under a single roof. (...) The church may no longer be present, but the religious sentiment is still there: we are all members of the same congregation; our shared house is this country we inhabit, and it is what unites us (...).”

Protestant principles rule much more than explicitly religious environments in white settler nations. As shall be discussed in the next section, they have defined the crucial link between individual and nation present in the colonial novel. The second factor previously mentioned, on the other hand, is as much applicable to cultural and ethnic differences as to gender-based ones. It is based on feminist critic Lorraine Weir's assertion regarding what she perceived as a "strategy of containment" based on the idea of 'sharability'" (Lecker *ibid*: 226). By plainly interspersing canonical figures with a careful selection of tolerably disruptive ones, a common project for all walks of life is suggested with Canadianization, while "[c]ontainment and sharability keep the house in order".

As a crucial input in those years' critical work, a gender approach was incorporated into anthological works in sight of the powerful metaphors discerned between woman and colony (see section 1.2.3.). Here, as shall be discussed in the case of Québécois women's literature, "containment" is exerted through the acknowledgement of several women writers convergent with the national project, that is, those with their minds open to the "sharability" of Canadianization. Thus, in her survey of postmodern female writers, Hutcheon keeps adding to her depiction of the Canadian postmodern authors and novels clearly incompatible with, and overtly opposed to its white, Anglophone civility. From the pioneering *Halfbreed* (1973), by métis author Maria Campbell (Hutcheon 1988: 107), to Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* (1981) or even Francophone novels by Québécois feminist authors like Nicole Brossard (1937-) and Louky Bersianik, a long list of tolerably dissenting voices are discussed together with canonic ones, without the slightest explanation therefor. Contrary to recent works (see Sugar 2016), where various European, Asian, African, Francophone-Canadian and Aboriginal backgrounds explicitly determine the structure of the anthology, no clear idea is perceived of these minoritised literary traditions' contribution to CanLit, beyond an exculpatory exemplification of the exceptional and the peripheral.

Despite geographical distance being a requirement for the existence of an invisible college, I find the social basis of Canadian universities and cultural circles heterogeneous and isolated enough to reconsider the importance of this trait. Isolation, indeed, is a key trait in the cultural and political evolution of Anglo-American nations. The *CanLit* phenomenon built from scratch a sense of literary and cultural belonging in a huge but moderately populated country, with less than a century of history as a national union. It definitely engaged, in Hermans' accurate hypothesis, "a small number of highly productive individuals", most of

them unsurprisingly male, from Northrop Frye, Marshall McLuhan, and George Woodcock, to Matthew Arnold or Frank Davey, Barbara Godard's frequent collaborator. Such voices, despite their differences of approach and certain interesting nuances, were all representative of a white, Anglosaxon, English-speaking, and, of course, masculine "Canadian" establishment. If they were uncomfortable, as I am about to discuss, with the misfit reality of Québec culture and literature within their "national" project, finding innumerable strategies to avoid it in their anthologies, they nevertheless seemed undisturbed by the great affluence of women writers within Canada's history.

This proves, once again, that, even if the solutions therefor may seem insincere, intra-patriarchal forms of dissent like nationalism are eventually acknowledged and, to some extent, faced up. The exclusion of women, on the other hand, has seldom kept the fathers of the nation awoken at night. Additionally, among the other aspects of invisible colleges mentioned by Hermans, the "develop[ment] of a theoretical apparatus", as well as the "set[ting] [of] priorities for research" would seek to prove the existence of a "national" pattern of literary creation. Progressively, their leaders abandoned theme-based analyses (Barry and Nixon 1977) in the case of certain one-sided, exclusively Anglophone studies, and 19th-century European-style, comparative-literature approaches in Québec-inclusive ones (see Davey 2016). Again, war and geopolitical control hold a prominent position in male-produced narratives, which has been, and is still being reversed by historicising Canadian women's writing from the dominion's inception (see Godard 1985; McMullen 1989; Howells 1996; Vevaina y Godard 1996; Sturgess 2003). Despite geographical distance being a requirement for the existence of an "invisible" college, I find the social basis of Canadian universities heterogeneous and isolated enough to reconsider the cruciality of this trait.

The *CanLit* phenomenon simply built a sense of literary and cultural belonging in a huge and moderately populated country, with less than a century of history as a national union. In Hermans' accurate hypothesis, it definitely engaged "a small number of highly productive individuals" like Northrop Frye, Marshall McLuhan, George Woodcock, Matthew Arnold, or Frank Davey, Barbara Godard's frequent collaborator, who "set priorities for research", a tricky enough issue within this current, as the two approaches to the Canadian literary polysystem certainly divided them. These agents, in turn, would "recruit collaborators", among which Barbara Godard is certainly believed to hold a prominent place; and "train students" as well as "maintain contact with colleagues". If the institutionalisation of these private bonds

was at all possible, it was definitely thanks to the fine-tuning of the Canada Council for the Arts' funding programmes during the first half of the 70s, and later of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (1977), in their appreciations of what "national literature" should stand for. Additionally, preliminary Anglophone-Canada/Québec contacts were consolidated through the foundation of the seemingly inclusive *Association of Canadian and Québec Literatures* (ACQL), a club co-founded by CanLit's most radical member, Matthew Arnold, which is bound to hold a prominent place in the two decades key for feminist translation in Canada: the 70s and 80s. Besides delving further into this period, a prospective chapter shall determine the impact of the translation structures, and particularly the gender-informed and feminist ones, on the overall functioning of the polysystem.

3.1.7. Male Dreaming

Where politics dominate culture – for example, in early twentieth-century Germany or some post-independence colonies – history is a masculine affair, and nations appear to be driven by the desire to compensate for a lack of wealth and position, a fear of the feminine. (Armstrong 2006: 98)

The present section intends to discuss the multiple connections between women, nation, and literary production, moving from general considerations regarding the particular context of white settler nations, and the Canadian settler nation in particular. The articulations between the patriarchal task of nation-state making and women's textuality acquire specific significance in the framework of white settler nationalism, where, once again, women's intellectuality and discourses were used in ways productive for patriarchal interest. Two crucial notions receiving enormous attention from Canadian theorists are those of "settler feminism" (Henderson 2016; Pinard 2019, etc.) and "settler femininity" (Allen 2020), perhaps leading to the same confusion as as the more general "feminism" and "femininity". The idea behind the promotion of certain white-settler women writers, according to Allen (2020: 381), is that "possessing white racial privilege and facing gender inequality, white women have occupied a distinct role in imperialism and settler nation-building. Canadian colonial histories demonstrate constructions of white femininity and the strategic use of white women to settle the settler state". According to the previous definition, this kind of feminism, as happens whenever patriarchal nationalism is involved, is a falsely empowering one.

As already discussed, patriarchal elites usually present certain women over others in their historical and literary narratives on the grounds of motivated self-interest. In this case, women have had a productive role to reinforce Canada's precarious patriarchal identity quest, especially in its early days as a nation. Canadian literary critics have generally favoured this standpoint. In a study assessing the impact of female Asian migration in the Canadian white-settler project, Dua (2007) actually offers detailed insight into the forms of "exclusion through inclusion" under which patriarchal nation-making has operated. In effect, a general belief among feminist scholars mentioned by this author is that "the racialized politics of nationalist projects [have] tied domestic arrangements, family, sexuality and morality to the public order and state" (Dua 2007: 449). Secondly, and in line with what shall be suggested shortly, the white-settler mentality has configured female identities "as the physical and cultural reproducers of the nation" (Dua *ibid*: 448-449). Dua's main claim, the importance of a "fear of miscegenation" in white settler nationalist discourse, is certainly explored in its most extreme realisation: non-European immigration. However, we should also reconsider under this light the role of white-settlement approved femininities in intra-national assimilation, from the obvious case of the First Nations to that of rival European peoples, on the basis of the 19th-century idea that each European people constituted a 'race'.

However, several positive interpretations of the woman/colony connection in Canada have equally arisen, defending the role assigned to women by the colonial logic as productive from a feminist perspective. This, indeed, is what Ann Douglas, in her essay *The Feminization of American Culture* understands by "pink and white tyranny", a term first suggested by writer Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896): "the drive of nineteenth-century American women to gain power through the exploitation of their feminine identity as their society defined it" (Douglas 1977: 8). In Douglas' view, this "drive" is associated with the United States' particular re-interpretation of England's Victorian experience, and the role of women in such process, especially through literature. Fairly relevant for the settler-feminist cause have been the metaphorical processes connecting women's writing with "the 'voice' of a colony", through "a literary criticism that identifies the metaphorically colonized position of the nineteenth-century woman with the position of Canada as a British colony" (see Henderson 2016: 4). On such basis, it is Henderson's contention that "the settler woman occupied the site of the *norm*, not a position outside of culture and external to the machinations of power" (see Henderson *ibid*: 4). That the systemic concept of *norm* is a (self-)censorial one, even for those who believe to

embody it, is at the core of the complex relationship between woman and literary canon in post-European contexts. Claims as Henderson's have forged a white and civilised Canadian-feminist pride which seems to believe that women contributing, and therefore subjecting themselves to the cultural colonial order have shown exceptionally precocious signs of emancipation. For instance, in her discussion of Québec feminist writers, Anderson does not miss the chance to introduce the following statement:

From the very beginning, women writers have played a leading - if not principal - role in the development of Canadian literature, in English Canada as well as in Québec. Were men too busy toiling the land to trifle with ink and paper? Were their hands too callous to pick up the pen? Did women have nothing better to do than to put words into scribblers? But women's diaries clearly reveal that female settlers did not spend their time in parlours or drawing rooms; their families and the land kept them quite busy, too (Anderson 1988 n/p).

The previous passage is illustrative of settler feminism in ways consistent with a feminist approach to the already described "New World Myth" (Vautier 1998). By stating that "female settlers did not spend their time in parlours or drawing rooms", Anderson is unequivocally connecting women's literary praxis with the colonial Canadian experience. What is more: she is tacitly suggesting white settler women's advanced social position in contrast with their European counterparts who, she seems to believe, would idle away their time in the type of spaces and with the kind of activities to which only high-class females would have access. In short, a will to defend the Canadian experience, including both the Anglophone and the Québécois contexts, as qualitatively superior to its European heritage stands out in Anderson's discussion. This form of feminist nationalism, displaying dangerous hints of patriarchal 'white civility', is inconsistent, as Henderson herself acknowledges, with the practical outcome of the Canadian "experiment", an enterprise falsely connected to women's emancipation, as "(...) the mutual reinforcement of the categories of 'colony' and 'woman writer' resulted *not* in an organic unfolding of national identity, but rather in exclusionary assertions that 'we are a people' (Henderson 2016: 5). While this mild disappointment at the "exclusionary" nature of nationalism is definitely good news, it should not come as a surprise at the beginnings of the new millenium. One of the essential points made throughout this thesis is that, whenever feminism has joined a nationalist project in the hopes of attaining gender equality, disappointment has almost invariably followed. This, as Catharine MacKinnon has brilliantly expressed (1983: 635), is due to the fact that "[f]eminism has no theory of the state. It has a theory of power (...)", the state being a basic form of "the erotization of dominance and

submission”. Whereas a feminist-tagged concept of nation is productive for patriarchy, a nation-tagged notion of feminism is not productive for us. Only a tag-free deconstruction of power may contribute to feminism.

It is perhaps for this reason that the notion of “settler femininity” has progressively been developed, in the means accounting for the relationship between gender and nation-making in Canada, particularly through literature. For Allen (2020: 381), femininities under the white settler social framework stem from “the appointment of the white woman as the bearer of norms of civility in settler space, through the reduction of her freedom to a condition of protection and the identification of her agency with the project of assimilating others” (Henderson 2016: 107). I am of the opinion that a great deal of the phenomena surveyed as “settler feminism”, a tag raising considerable discomfort in itself, should rather be analysed as a display of “femininity” authorised, because productive, by the patriarchal logics of white settler nationalism. Carefully disguised, white settler nationalism has shaped women’s agencies to suit the purposes of the colonial project in two main ways. First, by challenging the power dynamic which subordinates settler peoples on the grounds of their feminised role in regard with masculinised, hegemonic ones. On such a basis, women have been falsely led to believe that the value of femininity has been vindicated thanks to a post-European setting full of opportunity.

On a more practical level, the amount of physical work required to ensure adequate living standards in an “uncivilised” continent often demanded female collaboration, which seems to further reinforce the idea that European gender roles have been reconsidered on the establishment of settler nations. Secondly, a pillar of the new communities on the grounds of their reproductive and care-taking roles, female actors seem to have enjoyed for the first time a specific agency contributing to the perpetuation of the settlement. In this sense, the attributes granted to femininity by the first Protestant nations in Europe, surely more liberal than their catholic counterparts, may have been intensified as equally Protestant settlements would start their own communities from scratch in America. Despite the undeniable relevance of Protestant morals in the white settler nations’ evolution of the feminine, feminist theorist Ann Douglas laments the absence of a religious approach in most studies:

[Experts] have provided important studies of the effects of the democratic experiment in a new and unsettled land, effects all tending to a liberal creed in theology as in politics (...). Yet they have neglected

what might be called the social history of Calvinist theology. And they have overlooked another group central to the rituals of that Victorian sentimentalism that did so much to gut Calvinist orthodoxy: (...) the active middle-class Protestant women whose supposedly limited intelligences liberal piety was in part designed to flatter (Douglas 1977: 8).

In the previous paragraph, thus, the importance of social history for an agent-driven study of literature is underscored. The point of departure for this author's thesis is the extraordinary relevance of Victorian morals to the formation of American national identity, bearing an impact perhaps superior in the United States than in England. Her survey of the country's huge, feminine market for the Victorian sentimental novel relies on the pivotal connections between Protestantism and colonial femininity. Once again, focusing on femininity and "feminization", rather than on feminism, seems the appropriate standpoint to discuss the very productive female identities encouraged by colonial elites in Angloamerica. The more general studies to which Douglas refers in her text, on the other hand, assume a direct connection between Protestant nation-making and feminism or, in more nuanced accounts, "proto-feminism". However, some of the arguments provided may clarify the bonds between the evolution of female identities and colonial ones. In Cynthia L. Rigby's work on the connection between feminism and Protestant praxis (2004), she explains the grounds on which, in contrast with the Catholic doctrine, certain Protestant women throughout History have been able to develop a proto-feminist agenda. First, the Protestant principle of "the priesthood of all believers" endorses that "every person is equally claimed and called to his or her particular vocation by God" (Rigby 2008: 334), which grants women and men an equal-terms relationship with divinity. In more recent times, Protestant women have demanded access to ministry on the grounds of this principle, their particular construction of an agency offering great linguistic and discursive insight for some theorists (see Walsh 2001: 164-203). The contention that marriage, secondly, is no less productive than celibacy for Protestant societies would encourage the idea that companionship may be as relevant an outcome as procreation. This would turn reverends' wives like Anne Bradstreet (1612-1672) in the U.S. and Frances Brookes (1724-1789) in Canada, into relevant role models and moral guides within their communities, and therefore suitable female voices from the standpoint of the elites. It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that Bradstreet was the first woman to ever publish her texts in colonial America, or that Brookes authored the first novel, either by a man or a woman writer, ever published in the Canadian dominion.

Third, according to the *sola scriptura* principle, “[a]s priests bearing Christ, women as well as men were encouraged to read, study, and test the Scriptures for themselves” (Ribgy *ibid*: 334), This not only allowed for women’s unmediated readership of the Scriptures, and therefore unprecedented levels of training. It also nurtured the growing belief that their subordination to men was contrary to the Bible. Such interpretation was nevertheless incompatible with Luther’s or Calvin’s doctrine, which contended women’s subordination on the basis of their derivative birth from men. As a result, Bible readership and interpretation have been a constant source of questioning for Anglo-American feminism, both in Canada and the U.S.: “how do we read the Bible *as women*, simultaneously recognizing both the ways it liberates us and the ways it oppresses us?” (Ribgy *ibid*: 335). It is my contention that this ambiguity between Protestantism’s individualism, encouraging women’s autonomy, and its orthodox interpretation of morals, actually hampering it, explains much of the complexity in female and feminist canon formation in Canada. Similarly, the fact that some of Angloamerican feminism’s first subversive operations, both regarding translation and gender-inclusive writing, have been connected to the Bible should thus come as no surprise (see Simon 1996: 114-117; 124-131).

Protestantism has been a trait of Anglophone culture against which much of Québécois nationalist discourse has been produced, but what are the particulars of its implementation in settler nation-making allowing Anglophone women to develop these particular, nation-productive agencies? Whereas the question has never been addressed in the comparative studies of Anglophone Canadian and Québécois women’s literature, Anglophone settler feminism provides some key directions toward it. Interestingly enough, Henderson connects the inception of this type of feminism with the “liberal project” undertaken by British colonisers in the Canadian dominion. It is her belief, in line with historian Ian McKay, that “the Canadian nation-state was created through the experimental transplantation and then expansion of an incipient liberal political order (...)” (Henderson 2016: 5). Indeed, a strong argument in favour of Canada’s postcolonial status has been found in this idea of “expansion” of England’s pre-existent liberal project. Settler colonies, thus, may be considered “testing grounds for governmental technologies” which would be “later imported back into Europe in the nineteenth century” (Henderson *ibid*: 6).

From my perspective, the question would be the extent to which the new liberal order was indebted to Protestant frameworks for political and economic organisation. It is generally

accepted that individualism and self-government, two values still at the core of today's neoliberal settler nations in North America, were first encouraged by protestant morals, in contrast with Catholic social behaviour doctrines. In addition, the colonising enterprise is chronologically rooted into the legacy of England's first Protestant monarchs, as well as in other forms of protestantism brought by immigrants from Central and Northern Europe. Accordingly, in the work of Canadian women writers such as English-born author Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860), "questions of female character, moral reform, and the progress of 'civilisation'" possibly intersect thanks to the unacknowledged common space of religion. The colonial context in which Jameson developed her work has certainly been portrayed by Henderson as "a parenthesis opened up in the existing order of things in England, an exceptional space that permits women to practise a transformative work on the self (...)" (Henderson 2016: 8). However, the author's "(...) project to widen the possibilities of the female character is (...) drawn into dangerous proximity with government schemes to implant bourgeois morality" (Henderson *ibid*: 8). In addition, as happens in most displays of 19-century nationalism, her idea of self-government is far too based on governing others.

Protestant morals have been crucial for the British 'civilising' enterprise in captivity narratives such as Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Trelaney's *Two Months at the Camp of Big Bear* (1885, see Henderson 2016: 103-158), where Protestant values are consolidated as channeling the 'civilisation' enterprise. In these narratives, women have often enjoyed the dubious honour of a leading role. In my view, however, the main contribution of these narratives are the interesting connections between gender, intercultural mediation, and colonialism. The fact that it is women who make contact with the native population reinforces their roles as transmitters of the protestant doctrine in domestic realms, to children (see Rigby 2008: 635) and therefore also to other individuals in the making, subjected to the 'civilising' process. Far from showing a feminist disposition, then, white settlements would use women as emissaries of 'civility' through the crucial colonising tool of religion. Similarly, in an already federated Canada, the first women's organisations would evangelise women and children in India and China, as well as "pockets of foreignness within Canada", which included Eastern- and Southern-European immigrants as much as Catholic Francophones, and the First Nations (Henderson 2016: 9). From an intercultural approach, as already argued, colonial experiences have often placed women mediators in sacrificial, objectified positions, as metaphors of patriarchal land possession, disputed between white "civilisers" and indigenous "savages". The fact that, in these narratives, females are invariably rescued and resist "going native" points at

the ultimate triumph of “white civility”, proving the efficiency of “female freedom as an artifact of government” (Henderson 2016: 103).

On the practical level of culture, especially in literature, this falsely empowering view of female identity in the colony is reflected on Canadian writing in equally contradictory, ambiguous ways. A crucial question here, as in the case of other white settler nations, remains in the connection between women, national canon, and the genre of national-identity making *par excellence*: the novel. Initially a feminised, popular genre mostly authored by women, by the last third of the 19th century it had become obvious to patriarchal elites that female novelists were making considerable gains with their writing (Spencer 1987). Most importantly, however, what at first sight appeared as intimate, politically irrelevant experiences in which only a female audience may be interested was consolidating stable bonds and market infrastructures in North America’s newly-found communities:

These women [writers and readers] (...) comprised the bulk of educated churchgoers and the vast majority of dependable reading public; in even greater numbers, they edited magazines and wrote books for other women like themselves. They were becoming the prime consumers of American culture. As such they exerted an enormous influence on the chief male purveyors of that culture, the liberal, literate ministers and popular writers (...). These masculine groups, ministers and authors, occupied a precarious position in society (...). In very real ways, authors and clergymen were on the market; they could hardly afford to ignore their feminine customers and competitors (Douglas 1977: 8).

Important as these new literary infrastructures were, they do not provide enough grounds to argue for Henderson’s settler feminism (2016). Indeed, these women authors and readers “had little formal status in their culture” (Douglas *ibid*: 8), and therefore did not embody the literary “norm” (Henderson *ibid*) like the masculine groups precariously starting to cultivate the novel; nor were they “declared feminists or radical reformers” (Douglas *ibid*: 8). Settler feminism, under this light, constitutes a contemporary interpretation of the settler femininities promoted by patriarchal elites for the literary reinforcement of emergent nations. This assimilation of female discourse has taken place whenever new concepts of nation have been proposed by patriarchal peoples: in the inception of New World societies and in Canada’s and Québec’s national surge during the period with which this thesis is concerned. Douglas’ essay, published at a time of optimism for feminist authors (the late 70s), regards as empowering the ‘influence’ of the best-selling female writers and a largely feminine audience on the first nation-forging patriarchal novels. Clearly, emerging male novelists must have relied

on the patterns of successful, female-authored novels to ensure a readership for their own. However, once again, we should not lose sight of the purpose under the appropriation of this genre. It is “(...) the imagined relationship between individual and nation [what] compels the identification of reader with protagonist” in the nation-forging novel (Armstrong 2006: 99), where a (generally male) protagonist faces an identifiable lack, preventing him from “improving his position in life” (Armstrong *ibid*: 99). Once that lack is satisfied, usually with positive repercussions for the character’s nation, he “achieve[s] recognition within the community whose order and vigour he consequently repairs and renews” (Armstrong *ibid*: 99).

The importance of the novel, thus, for 19th-century nationalisms is clear in sight of the connection drawn in this period between individualism, already a defining trait in Protestant nations, and collective identities. In particular, the Victorian novel, a faithful testimony to the golden age of British colonialism, has interestingly been crucial to its former colonies’ nation-making process, constituting an effective alternative to settler nations’ early political writings (Armstrong 2006: 108). Implicit in this thesis is the belief, once again, that a productive analogy between a woman’s and a colony’s subordination is possible, something of which Virginia Woolf was not particularly fond of. In one of her critical texts discussed in Showalter’s famous *A Literature of their Own* (1977), a negative view is displayed of the common traits between colonial and female emancipation:

Women writers have to meet many of the same problems that beset Americans. They too are conscious of their own peculiarities as a sex; apt to suspect insolence, quick to avenge grievances, eager to shape an art of their own. In both cases all kinds of consciousness—consciousness of self, of race, of sex, of civilization—which have nothing to do with art, have got between them and the paper, with results that are, on the surface at least, unfortunate (Woolf in Showalter 1978: 289),

In my view, the patriarchal exploitation of this alternative tradition illustrates one of the fundamental points made throughout this thesis, namely that the more intimate, emotional bonds encouraged by women’s thought communities, operating “(...) derrière l’histoire bousculée des gouvernements, des guerres et des famines (...)” (Foucault 1969: 10), are much more cohesive than the stiff political preaching of colonial and early-national male literature. It also explains why the dialogues between Anglophone and Francophone feminists through translation in Canada have been considered essential to the nation-making process (Simon 1996). In the Anglophone Canadian context, similarly to Douglas’ contention for the U.S. case, the importance of Victorian narratives for the consolidation of white-settler literary patterns is

such that writer and critic Robert Kroetsch, one of its best 20th-century authors, would state in 1974 that Canadian literature had gone “directly from Victorian into Postmodern” (Davey 2016: 23), that is, from the first re-interpretations of British literature to the ultimate, metadiscursive distortion of European trends. U.S.. British feminist critics seem to have problematised the impact of Victorian culture with particular intensity, and most groundbreaking works in this field considered its female-oriented production as conveying a productive “image” of women within patriarchy (Douglas 1977; Showalter 1977; Gilbert and Gubar 1979; Spencer 1987, etc.). So have Canadian (see McMullen 1988) and Québécois ones (for instance, Smart 2003). However, the connections between gender and genre have not been explicitly analysed in their relationship with nation-making and, importantly, translation. According to the previous considerations, what kind of lack may the protagonist have to fulfill, if, besides being a colonial settler, he is a woman?

As I have suggested before, women’s narratives usually emerge in patriarchal history at moments when the concept of nation needs either establishment or reinforcement. In Victorian Britain, which witnessed a great surge of female literary voices, nation reinforcing was crucial in sight of the imperial project. In the case of Canada, a considerable number of women authors have been put to the service of both nation establishment and reinforcement. To start with, several sources have acknowledged a woman’s text as the first novel ever written in Canada: *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), by the aforementioned author Frances Brooke, unsurprisingly wife and daughter to reverends, who would often write under the pseudonym *Mary Singleton, Spinster*. Hers was “an epistolary novel set in the newly acquired French colony of Québec” (Howells 2004: 197). Surely, a woman discussing her very positive first contacts with the Francophone settlement’s “exotic location” (Howell *ibid*: 197) provides an appropriate beginning for the “New World Myth” promoted by CanLit, as well as grounds for the “settler feminist” cause. Two aspects of this artificial milestone nevertheless seem to disturb Canada’s male nation dreaming: firstly, on which grounds may Brooke be considered a colonial writer, and not a British aristocrat on a mission to advocate for Britain’s irrevocable superiority?

Secondly, what are the chances that the first colonial, pre-confederation novel in Canada is Anglophone, published just one year after the British took over the dominion? As for the nation-consolidating process, starting with the Confederation Act of 1867, the last third of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of various celebrated women authors who, as

McMullen has argued (1988), constituted an alternative tradition by defying the “survival in a garrison” trope. Their protagonists, often the writers themselves, are portrayed in a more intimate and individual way than the “collective heroes” which mainstream Canadian criticism connects with this “garrison mentality” (Atwood 1972: 192-193). However, even if their contribution is characterised as “divergent”, it does not challenge the foundations of the settler nation. In my view, it actually reinforces them. Multiple examples thereof may be found in the authors whose voice was not silenced at the time, especially in a study by Buss (1988) discussing the subversion of the garrison experience through women author’s protagonists. This canon is rarely contradicted by current research, but celebrated. In general terms, in their chronicle-like, mostly autobiographical texts, therefore as far as mainstream literature from “the autonomous world of literature” (Frye 1965), women authors portray themselves as happier with Canadian life than male narratives reveal (Fairbanks 1986).

Elizabeth Simcoe (1762-1850) is one excellent example. A British aristocrat who spent no more than four years in Canada, presumably “in parlours or drawing rooms” (Andersen 1988, n/p), as her main occupation was landscape painting. Apparently, she would constantly leave the “garrison”, or more accurately Castle Frank in the Toronto settlement, in order to explore Canada’s wilderness. When her husband was sent back to England, she was reluctant to leave. For her, “what is alienating is not Canada but England” (Buss 1989: 127), already supporting the idea that the social order in the dominion was of a more open-minded nature than in the metropole. Susanna Moody (1803-1885) was the most prosperous of a genealogy of sister writers, like the Brönte sisters in England, including Catherine Parr Traill (1802-1899), Agnes Strickland (1793-1874) and Jane Margaret Strickland (1800-1888). Interestingly, her autobiographical novel *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852), with the apparent goal of inviting other British nationals to immigrate to Canada, was based on her own experience while her husband was sent to suffocate the Francophone Canadians’ Lower Canada rebellion (1837). The way in which a wife’s suffering for her husband’s safety portrays this attempt at challenging the dominion’s unity seems quite in line with the British settler agenda, as well as with patriarchal values in general. Similarly, Mary O’Brien’s (1798-1876) *Journals* (1828-1838) were sent as letters to her sister, back in England, in order to convince her to immigrate to Canada by illustrating “her growth in competence as she becomes a wife, a mother, and the chatelaine of a large farm estate on Lake Simcoe” (Buss 1988: 128).

As a result, even if the attributions of patriarchal genders may have been altered in colonial settings, settler-feminist claims that they were challenged under the colonial experience seem to be unjustified. Additionally, if women writers ever embodied the “norm” of that time’s literature, it was not because of the intrinsic value of their experience, but in as much as such experience would effectively support the nation-making cause. Finally, Sara Jeannette Duncan (1861-1922), the author of *The Imperialist* (1904) was profoundly aware of having a mainly British and U.S. readership, for which a critical metadiscourse was constantly inserted in her novels in the means of “challenging the political, social, and literary assumptions of a British reader from the point of view of a colonial” (Dean 1988: 187). This approach, in Dean’s view (*ibid*: 188), is what Virginia Woolf defined as “(...) the "double consciousness" of living both inside and outside British culture (...)” (Dean *ibid*: 187), a “colonial state of mind” (Atwood 1972:193) which once again suggests an analogy between woman and settler nations, also present, as are about to see, in 20th-century Québécois feminism. That a writer like Jeannette may be deemed by Rachel Blau DuPlessis as ““(ambiguously) non-hegemonic””, “one who is ‘in marginalised dialogue with the orders she may also affirm’” (Dean *ibid*: 187) is perhaps illustrative of the relationship of officially tolerated women writers with canon and norm: while they have no power to define them, they operate by their standards in frequent exercises of self-censorship.

A similar female literary boom enriched the 60s and 70s, two decades throughout which Anglophone Canada went from celebrating its European, 19th-century concept of nation to facing and sealing its deep cracks. It is perhaps in sight of such cracks, as well as on the grounds of an emerging postcolonial mentality, that Canada, in an effort to embody this “white civility” tolerated several convergent female voices to emerge, especially as a result of its now cultural enemy, the U.S., having already embraced the movement. Till then, women’s production had been systematically despised by the Canadian Polysystem’s emerging leaders, who cultivated “the masculinist modernism that characterized British and American literature in the first decades of the twentieth century” (Gerson 2016: 337). This statement suffices in order to see why this period’s literary production failed to portray a distinctively Canadian identity, as well as statements like Kroetsch’s aforementioned claim that between Victorian and Postmodern times there had been no valuable literary contribution in Canada (1974). Women, nevertheless, were by then believed to degrade the country’s letters as a bunch of “virgins of sixty who still

write out of passion”²⁹. My perception of the early-20th century refusal to enrich Canada’s meagre literature with women’s writing is perhaps a fear to suggest the feminisation of the then-nascent Canadian institutions. As Armstrong points out in this section’s opening quote (2006: 98), by erasing the feminine, “(...) nations appear to be driven by the desire to compensate for a lack of wealth and position (...)”, a sign, on the other hand, of immaturity: cleverly used when appropriate, women’s voices have proven much more effective than male ones to channel patriarchal aims.

Canada’s relationship with the myth (Gerson 1988) of its outstanding number of female writers has evolved with its history, as ready to see them as "that damn'd mob of scribbling women", as Hawthorne (1855)³⁰ would say of its female contemporaries in the U.S., as to promote their best-selling accounts of the Canadian enterprise. I have previously discussed the productiveness of Canada’s early women authors in portraying the moral and political achievement of the dominion’s first settlements and its first decades as a nation. Throughout the 60s and 70s, the Governor General’s Awards were often granted to women, both in the narrative and the poetry categories (Howells 2004: 198). Which sense did it make then to propel the careers of Margaret Atwood (1939-), Alice Munro (1931-), and Margaret Laurence (1926-1987)? First of all, these women would frequently revisit Canada’s colonial past in perhaps new, but definitely positive ways, often echoing the lives of their “foremothers” (Howells *ibid*: 197) in ways which consolidate the plausible genealogy and long-standing tradition which men have been unable to build up. Such is the case of Atwood’s *Alias Grace* (1996). Indeed, the style evolution of mainstream Canadian literature usually stems from an ingrown despise for the previous literary movement, mid-century modernism being considered the revulsive stimulus for postmodernity in Canada (Weingarten 2016: 325). As Bloom shows (1971), male criticism believes it necessary to “kill” one’s literary father in order to provide a creation of one’s own. The concept of “matrilineage” (Gilbert and Gubar 1988), as both Anglophone and Francophone female writers have shown, is much more cohesive, valuing the mother-daughter articulation of literary influence. Secondly, and in order to promote Canada’s new image of (white) “civility”, as well as the general lines in which postcolonial thought was developing, feminism, and more specifically women’s fight to control their own body were productive as topics for new narratives. In mid-century modernism, the very few authorised female voices

²⁹ Scott, Frank R. "The Canadian Authors Meet." In *Overture*. Ryerson Press, 1927.

³⁰ Comment found in Nathaniel Hawthorne's letter to William Ticknor. Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Letter XVII". *Letters to William Ticknor, 1851-69.* *Carteret Book Club* 1 (1972): 78.

were “follow[ing] the masculine trajectory of taming the land at the expense of family love and friendship”, and therefore thought, like L.M. Montgomery, that “just because pigsties existed in real life didn’t mean that people wanted to read about them” (Gerson 2016: 341). Whereas sexual desire, unwanted pregnancies, and marriage unhappiness were contrary to the values of white settler nationalism, and therefore timidly shown in the very few urban novels by women throughout the first half of the 20th century, puritanism was not in tune with Canada’s wanted new image from the late-60s onwards.

Books like Margaret Laurence’s *A Jest of God* (1966), narrating a school teacher’s extramarital affair, portray women’s search for an identity of their own. Unsurprisingly, this novel won the 1966 Governor General’s Award. Already in 1976, Laurence would win again the country’s highest recognition with *The Diviners*, a novel which, like Munro’s *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971), features the figure of the fictional woman writer, an important trend in Anglophone Canada’s feminist identity quest (Howells 2004: 197), as well as in Québec’s literary treatment of both gender and nationalist issues. Additionally, however, the protagonist in *The Diviners* conceives a child through her extramarital affair with a metis³¹ man, thus ending her marriage. Her daughter shall later leave her home in order to investigate her metis roots, a twist of plot which lays the grounds for securing Canada’s postcolonial bid in decades to come. In conclusion, as Howell clearly states (*ibid*: 199), “‘traditional dependencies’ in both a nationalist and a gendered sense” constitute the common ground for women authors’ flourishing during the 60s and 70s, as well as for their establishment, in the 80s. However, as Atwood’s already described facet as a literary anthologist shows, a pervasive nationalist concern seems to be at the core of these contributions. An attempt to embrace a growingly pressing international context, where second-wave feminism was key, made of Margaret Atwood and Munro, the latter perhaps less nation-combative, the face of Canada. In 2014, the Atwood’s 75th birthday and Munro’s Nobel-prize win provided, according to Stephen March, “‘a sense of ending’ for Canadian literature”, understood as a national project, and the beginning of the “Canadian writing” era (Dean 2016: 29), where national impulses are non-defining of (what counts as) literary production in Canada. While that may be true of Munro’s award, Atwood’s birthday milestone constitutes the kind of exercise of personalist idolatry to

³¹ As a distinctive ethnic group, the metis population, issued from interracial relationships between white settlers and First Nations members, has not received enough cultural or literary attention till recently (see LaRoque 2016), CanLit’s first gestures in favour of their recognition being fairly testimonial.

which systemic thinking is used. Be as it may, gender and feminism have constantly been instrumentalised by CanLit's male dominant discourse for self-differentiation purposes.



FIGURE 7: MARGARET LAURENCE (1926-1987).

4. “Roman National ou Récit Féminin?”: Forging A Literary (Feminist) Québécois Identity

Être Français, au contraire, c’est faire souche et fonder une famille nouvelle; c’est représenter la France et le Catholicisme: la France! Noble pays qui marche à la tête de la civilisation (...). La France! Fille aînée de ce Catholicisme qui est la vérité religieuse. (...) Quelle mission que celle de continuer de ce côté-ci des mers le rôle de la France en Europe! [Excerpt of a 1870 speech by Oscar Dunn (1845-1885), M.D. and renowned journalist, quoted in Bouchard 1998: 86.]

Albeit in ways different from those of Anglophone Canadian and U.S. literature, Québec’s literary endeavours have also come to terms with the aforementioned New World Myth (Vautier 1998), accounting for the exceptionality of America’s white settler nations. In fact, to this date, Québec has put together the most coherent case for New-World exceptionalism in North America, despite, or, according to general belief, precisely because of its minoritarian cultural status. Québécois exceptionality, as a result, is usually discussed in terms of the two most obvious premises of national identity, language and culture:

Perhaps it is the language difference; perhaps it is Québec’s recent success in spreading its cultural name internationally with the likes of Céline Dion, the Cirque du Soleil, Robert Lepage, and certain successful films; perhaps it is the persistent discussion of the new and embraced multiculturalism of hybridity [“hybridité”], cross-breeding [“métissage”] and immigrant [“migrant”] literatures and cultures; perhaps it is the self-awareness and pride in this “distinct society” with its “unique character”; perhaps it is the outpouring of studies on the Québec “nation” and nationalism, along with the seemingly endless talk of negative Americanization but the more newly accepted *américanité* or Americanness, thanks to which Québec does not feel impotent in relation to the United States, as it often does in relation to English Canada. (...) (Gilbert 2006: 88)

Striking as we may perceive the anecdotalism of the cultural products mentioned, Gilbert’s previous quote illustrates quite well the grounds on which popular culture has characterised the exceptional in Québec, and popular metadiscourses, as argued throughout this thesis, play a crucial, often neglected role in consolidating a polysystem. A first bid is expectedly cast on linguistic difference, the Québécois being the only North-American community having French as its official language. “Difference”, however, is quite an aseptic

adjective in order to account for Québec's troubled relationship with its two linguistic poles: Anglophone Canada, with its century-long strategy to keep French away from the institutions; and France, which embodied for almost two centuries an unattainable linguistic and cultural perfection, reinforced by the political and moral superiority of a revolution against the Ancient Regime.

As the British took over the administration of the colony, the Francophone population, then overwhelmingly majoritarian, was progressively forced into using English for daily communication with their new neighbours, soon to become their patrons, administrative officials, and political representatives. As a result, particularly throughout the 19th century, Anglophone literature portraying French Canadians and their peculiar way to speak English, like William Henry Drummond's *The Habitant* (1897), was usually a success, employing a condescendingly charming English dialect with constant Francophone interferences. As Simon has pointed out (2006: 30), very few Anglophone intellectuals were able to break the spell of this "(...) broken English, a "bastard idiom" which is the source of much of the comedy (...)" in this literature: "By the 1940s, A.M. Klein was scathing in his criticism of those who continued to recite this dialect poetry; he condemned Drummond as a "patrician patronizing the patois," portraying the habitants as having "homespun minds," "white natives, characters of a comical Québec, of speech neither Briton nor Breton (...)" (Simon *ibid*: 30).

A more comprehensive picture of language use in the Nouvelle France, however, underscores the impact of a conspicuous source of pressure on the opposite side of the sociolinguistic scale. A force until recently assumed by the Québécois themselves to converge, and not challenge or oppose, its quest for a unique identity within Anglo-America: France. As shall be discussed in detail in a prospective section, Québec's belonging to the *Francophonie* has often been exploited as a crucial asset for self-differentiation purposes, especially as the 70s' nationalist outburst explored further the crucial input of language to the consolidation of a Québécois identity. Despite its never-dying emotional bond with its ancient metropole, the province was soon to discover that French was not a democratic, transnational code channelling the identities of all Francophone nations on egalitarian premises. It was first and foremost the national language of the European people which best embodied the 19th-century concept of nation state. A great deal of France's orthodox implementation of such concept relied precisely on strict homogenising linguistic policies, promoted since the Republic's early days, from the institutional disdain and legal marginalisation of regional linguistic varieties, the so-called

patois, to the reaffirmation of the Académie Française (1635), still today the elitist and non-democratic head of the *Francophonie*. Nevertheless, the annihilation of linguistic variation was operated in the name of equality, to preserve the spirit of the Revolution and its rejection of aristocratic privilege. While he despised the allegedly counter-revolutionary spirit of the “*jargons barbares*” et “*idiomes grossiers*” dividing the population, the Abbé Grégoire (1794)³², who conducted a nation-wide survey of the country’s linguistic varieties for the National Assembly, affirmed an unbreakable bond between “*la langue nationale*” and the formulation of a pioneering framework of civil rights. As a result of a seemingly unique enacting capacity, Grégoire promoted the generalisation of this particular form of French in the means of ensuring the citizens’ legitimate partaking in the state’s administration:

Tous les membres du souverain sont admissibles à toutes les places; il est à désirer que tous puissent successivement les remplir, et retourner à leurs professions agricoles ou mécaniques. (...) [S]i ces places sont occupées par des hommes incapables de s’énoncer, d’écrire dans la langue nationale, les droits des citoyens seront-ils bien garantis par des actes dont la rédaction présentera l’impropriété des termes, l’imprécision des idées, en un mot tous les symptômes de l’ignorance? (Grégoire 1794)

As Bouchard explains (1998: 46), “*c’est une constante de l’histoire des langues que la variété linguistique choisie entre toutes pour servir de langue littéraire est la variété parlée par la classe sociale qui est au pouvoir et dans la région où on exerce le pouvoir*”. It is certainly puzzling, but nevertheless true of most processes of nation-making, that this language variety turned into “*langue nationale*”, theoretically because capable of embodying and enacting justice, was nevertheless that of the deeply hated “*courtisan*”, responsible, on the other hand, for the corruption of the previous monarchic order:

Longtemps elle [la langue nationale] fut esclave, elle flatta les rois, corrompit les cours et asservit les peuples; longtemps elle fut déshonorée dans les écoles, et mensongère dans les livres de l’éducation publique; astucieuse dans les tribunaux, fanatique dans les temples, barbare dans les diplômes, amollie par les poètes, corruptrice sur les théâtres, elle semblait attendre ou plutôt désirer une plus belle destinée (Grégoire 1794).

According to the previous passage, Grégoire intends to portray the preponderance of this superior form of French as independent from, and simply exploited by, aristocratic power, when it was the court which, residing in Paris, and later in its surroundings, had made of

³² <https://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-l-assemblee/histoire/grands-discours-parlementaires/l-abbe-gregoire-4-juin-1794>

Parisian French a predatory code. Indeed, this Parisian French, technically the Île-de-France *francien*, had been considered the most prestigious form of French since the Middle Ages given its courtesan use, progressively expanded through France despite the existence of further varieties with a solid literary reputation (Bouchard 1998: 46). That being so, may the aristocracy's preferred linguistic variety be entrusted with the enforcement of justice for the people? In Grégoire's view, the aristocracy "*employait le patois pour montrer son affabilité protectrice à ceux qu'on appelait insolamment les petites gens*" (*ibid*). However, why keep this channel of corruption over the people's own dialects, and force them to speak the code of these "*gens comme il ne faut*", flawed as it was by their "*vices et (...) dépravations*" (*ibid*)?

In Grégoire's opinion, "*[il] faut populariser la langue, il faut détruire cette aristocratie de langage qui semble établir une nation polie au milieu d'une nation barbare*" (*ibid*). This task seems difficult to undertake, nevertheless, when this "*langage*" of corruption, which is nothing but a geographical variety enhanced by the elites, keeps its decision-making power. In short, a limited deconstruction of power relations was promoted by Europe's revolutionary bourgeois class, who had the (and sometimes more than the aristocrats') money, but neither the (en)title(ment), nor the undefinable aura of elitism which they often so desired to achieve. Somehow, a great chance was lost, partly because of frustrated snobbism, partly because of poor linguistic decisions, of truly democratising the relationship between language and state institutions.

The implications of France's persecution of linguistic difference are key to understanding the symbolic capital with which its colonies, and particularly the Nouvelle France, could contribute to the Francophonie. As we may imagine by now, a great part of France's revolutionary power, which was believed to make it an exceptional country within Europe, rested on language: on the enterprise of a democratising linguistic uniformity. Revolutionary officials like Grégoire believed in the exceptionality of the French "*langue nationale*" as the expression not only of sublime beauty, a perception with serious aristocratic connotations in itself, but also of "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*", three values which the French Revolution effectively appropriated: "*(...) [L]a plus belle langue de l'Europe, celle qui, la première, a consacré franchement les droits de l'homme et du citoyen, celle qui est chargée de transmettre au monde les plus sublimes pensées de la liberté et les plus grandes spéculations de la politique. (...)*" (Grégoire, *ibid*).

Even if, according to the previous statement, he disputes its pioneering revolutionary status over France, it is Grégoire's intuition that part of the success in the foundation of the United States, slightly prior to that of the French National Assembly, resided precisely in the fact that no linguistic varieties were on the way of the citizens' communication: "*Les deux sciences les plus utiles et les plus négligées sont la culture de l'homme et celle de la terre: personne n'a mieux senti le prix de l'une et de l'autre que nos frères les Américains, chez qui tout le monde sait lire, écrire et parler la langue nationale*" (1794). In fact, his views on the official translation services required by an administration with regard for the patois are fairly sombre: "*D'ailleurs, combien de dépenses n'avons-nous pas faites pour la traduction des lois des deux premières assemblées nationales dans les divers idiomes parlés en France! Comme si c'était à nous de maintenir ces jargons barbares et ces idiomes grossiers qui ne peuvent plus servir que les fanatiques et les contre-révolutionnaires!*" (Grégoire 1794).

By the mid-seventeen hundreds, France had progressively lost most of its colonies, and was to face more battles for the remaining ones. The republic's exceptional political mores had sadly lost their chance to be extended transnationally like those of its enemy, the British colonial enterprise. Indeed, British colonies, including the United States as its former dominion, usually bragged about having pieced together a political system unparalleled by Europe. In cases like the Canadian one, as the 1868 Federal Constitution demonstrated, such superiority was presented as a distinctively British heritage. Conversely, the bourgeoisie's pathological admiration for an internationally prestigious courtesan French took them to sow the seeds of a different kind of colonisation. One which did not require effective administrative power over an overseas territory, like the prospective Commonwealth (1926) would. A deeper and more effective union would be achieved through the "*langue nationale*", spoken across Europe, especially among the jacobin-detested aristocracy, and across North-America, struggling to defy British colonial rule: "*Mais cet idiome, admis dans les transactions politiques, usité dans plusieurs villes d'Allemagne, d'Italie, des Pays-Bas, dans une partie du pays de Liège, du Luxembourg, de la Suisse, même dans le Canada et sur les bords du Mississipi, par quelle fatalité est-il encore ignoré d'une très-grande partie des Français ?*" (Grégoire 1794).

Grégoire's concern for linguistic uniformity, as much as his devotion for the elitist *francien*, was by no means unknown to the previous monarchic administrations. As the precocious foundation of the Académie Française (1635) demonstrates, the French monarchy

had shown considerable regard for linguistic standardisation from an early age. Even if the status of France's linguistic landscape before Grégoire's national inquiry remains mostly unknown (Bouchard 1998: 42), there is good reason to think that standardisation on the basis of the Île-de-France *francien* was already advanced at that time, especially as one observes the extraordinary uniformity of the French spoken in Québec since the early sixteen-hundreds. Barbaud, who, like other Québécois linguists, seems puzzled by what he calls "*le choc des patois*" (1984) in the Nouvelle France, has argued that, in a very short period of time after the conquest, "*le français s[est] répandu ou imposé en Nouvelle-France au détriment des patois, ceux-ci caractérisant une situation historique de polydialectalisme*" (Barbaud 1994), "*français*" meaning here the Île-de-France variety selected as *langue nationale*.

Thanks to the detailed records of French individuals having sailed to the Nouvelle France throughout the 17th century, we know today that one third of the colonisers came from Île-de-France and neighbouring regions, while another third were of normand origin, and the last third had been born in the south-west of France, in regions like Oïl or Anjou (Bouchard 1998: 42). Two thirds are estimated to have been fluent in *francien*, either because it was the variety spoken in their region or because, as Bouchard (*ibid*: 43) points out, they were already "bilingual". The accuracy of this term is debatable, since traditional views on the patois as radically different from one another are somehow overlapped. Anyhow, be it on account of an already advanced process of linguistic uniformity, or of the pressing reality of moving to the colonies with individuals from other regions, it is generally accepted that "(...) *la langue parlée au Québec au moment de la Cession était très proche du français parlé dans les couches populaires de la région de l'Île-de-France et des environs (...)*" (Bouchard 1998: 45). In my view, however, the point is not to underscore that this French was coincidental with the one spoken by the Île-de-France ordinary folk, but that, almost three decades before Grégoire's survey, the monarchic regime was already somehow invested in promoting the *francien* among the ordinary folk all across France.

Historically, thus, no form of intra-patriarchal dissent, especially in the transition between the Ancient Regime and modern nation states, has proven to bring about the radical change they have often heralded, especially in terms of linguistic and cultural rights. Considering that it is precisely at this time when most European colonial enterprises started, the New World myth must be understood as the utopical realisation of each European metropole's idea of a perfect society. As Oscar Dunn's words underscored in 1870, Québec

was ready to fulfill its destiny as France's most loyal overseas disciple: "*Noble pays qui marche à la tête de la civilisation (...). Quelle mission que celle de continuer de ce côté-ci des mers le rôle de la France en Europe!*" Reappropriating such myth, with its tyrannical linguistic and cultural projects, understandably entailed considerable complexity as white settler nations started to acquire a sense of identity.

In short, as Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood reminds us (1991: 20), "*la langue est toujours compagnon de l'empire*", the empire being a natural extension of a consolidated nation state's narcissistic impulses. Québec's example is no different, and the shadow of France no less of a burden, even if the kind of empire it succeeded to put together was not of administrative nature. Like Canada or Australia for Britain, former cultural dominions like Québec constituted the realisation of France's wildest nation dreaming, where language may not be seen as the asset of a rebellious colony with a new administrator, but as the absolute success of the French nation's model of society. If this courtesan "*idiome*" to which Grégoire refers was effectively spoken in multiple European countries, as well as in the French dominions, but not in all of France's villages, fields, shops, and streets, it was surely because nation-making enterprises would all-too-often forget their people, entrusted to the usual alliance of Church and State. This, as far as I see it, should also invite us to question some of Québec's attempts at fighting one form of colonialism, namely Anglophone colonialism in North-America, with another, like a sense of belonging to the Francophonie. Under the French rule, Canada was no exception to this Church/State connivence. After the monarchy's prohibition of establishment in the Nouvelle France to Protestant individuals, the Catholic clergy became in charge of the moral (and much of the civil) rule of the colonies, including the missionary assimilation of the Aborigines, while the metropole, synonymous with the monarchy and its diplomats before the Revolution, was at ease in any European court, conversing in the same Versailles "*idiome*" which they had successfully imposed in the colony. Linguistically and culturally speaking, then, Québec was a utopian extension of France.

By 1880, the concept of *Francophonie* had already been established by geographer Onésime Reclus in order to address the various governments, states, or organisations employing French in their endeavours. Today, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, founded in 1970, includes a total of 88 governments or states across the world

and, according to its website³³, around 300 million speakers, out of which 75 million have French as their mother tongue, located in France, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, and Monaco. Among its former colonies, Québec holds a privileged position for various reasons. First, despite the French diplomats' decision to keep the Caribbean dominions instead, Québec has struggled for centuries in order to preserve a Francophone culture precisely at the heart of North-America, cornered between the old and the new Anglophone empires. Secondly, it constitutes the only non-European ex-colony having preserved French *as its mother tongue*, and not as a second language of colonial elitism learned at school. This conjunction of superb linguistic and cultural heritage, enjoying symbolic superiority over that of the Anglophone white settler nations, seems to point at the kind of exceptionality which no British ex-colony has been able to put together in North-America: one based on cultural excellence. This, however, makes it no less certain that the highly refined French language and Francophone culture remain an identity asset of the French nation state, and that they may hardly be reversed into a wildcard for the identitarian claims of any of its former colonies. Not much should be expected of a cultural metropole unable to show regard for its own intranational difference.

As a result of this, as soon as the Nouvelle France's former inhabitants were disconnected from its father land, and their French started to evolve independently, the pressure of France's cultural superiority on any non-academic³⁴ uses of French sowed the seeds of what Bouchard (1998) has identified as a determining inferiority complex in the history of Québécois culture. The *joual*, the French variety currently spoken by the Québécois, is the result of something more than the distortion of the artificial *Île-de-France* superstratum which many still idealise. Contrary to popular belief, some of its particular phonetic and lexical traits, today disused in Europe, were found in the French spoken by the colonisers in the sixteen and seventeen hundreds. Even if by the 18th century the eradication of the patois was almost assuredly effective, a mild substratum thereof remained on the settlers' French, which explains some of these particularities (Bouchard *ibid*: 47). The range and accuracy of the *joual* lexicon, on the other hand, was affected by the limited professional specialisation of the settlers, who often had to fulfill different functions at a time. Their knowledge and use of particular jargons

³³ <http://observatoire.francophonie.org/2018/synthese.pdf>

³⁴ Here, the term "academic" is used in the following sense, referred to by the Oxford Dictionary online: "(of an art form) conventional, especially in an idealized or excessively formal way", '*academic painting*' being the example given for further clarification. Even if no background is provided, this notion of an Academy establishing the normative framework for the arts, as well as for linguistic use, comes from France, whose *académies* would sanction any form of linguistic or artistic expression against their taste. Originally a monarchic project, their power did not diminish under the Republican administrations. Conversely, it grew considerably.

was therefore restrained (Bouchard *ibid*). Additionally, as the British took over the administration of Canada, all Francophone civil servants and authorities, as well as the aristocracy living in the dominion returned to France, the clergy remaining the only Francophone (moral) authority in the region.

This fact, as we are about to see, created a strong bond in the eyes of the population between catholicism and the survival of the Francophone speakers' culture. Since the Catholic faith constituted in itself a differential identity trait before the strong Protestant input of the British colonial enterprise, Québec's first-wave nationalism would extol, as the next section explains, this unbreakable bond between language and religion. In another vein, institutional uses of the *langue nationale* disappeared within the new Anglophone administration, despite the already mentioned commitments in this sense by the British (2.1.2.). Unfortunately, the Francophone settlers' impossibility to identify with their new institutions entailed the "*appauvrissement relatif du vocabulaire québécois*" (Bouchard *ibid*: 49). Other characteristics, understandably, derive from the new adstratum status enjoyed by English, miraculously challenged by this resilient Francophone population, especially from the 19th century onwards, as the use of English grew in Québécois cities due to industrialisation. Anglicisms, for many a defining trait of the *joual*, started to permeate it as industrial progress and urban life arrived in Québec, orchestrated by an already consolidated Anglophone elite. Technological advancements were crucially intertwined with a pervasive English jargon.

By the late eighteen-hundreds, particularly as the French Bohème became the most sublime artistic movement worldwide, and Paris its centre, the Québécois started to assess the literary potential of their minoritarian variety on the growing prestige of the French *langue nationale*. Consequently, two opposed currents appeared, the *régionalistes* defending the literary use of the *joual* before the *exotistes*' praise of anything Parisian, including its French (Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge 2007: 149-150). Such a "*clivage*", apparently a "*conflit esthétique et idéologique*", was a symptom of growing sociolinguistic disorientation, which the Anglophone elites exploited to their advantage. That the progressively anglicised *joual* was, as A.M. Klein put it (Simon 2006: 30), "neither Briton nor Breton", permanently on the margins of English, but also on those of French, was a constant in Anglophone Canadians' picturesque portrait of the Québécois. As Bouchard explains (1998: 69), Québec's linguistic varieties started to be regarded as an "abominable patois", far from the chic Parisian standard which Anglophone Canadians allowed themselves to cite in order to mock Québécois dialects. This

understandably left little room for questioning the degrading nature of the term *patois*, the inferior consideration of France's regional linguistic varieties being just one of the many factors contributing to the complex set of reasons why it may be applied to the *joual*.

Canadians at the time felt essentially British, and therefore unbothered by their invisibility in the Empire's transnational literary landscape. However, the Québécois' fight in this period to patriate their literary production, establishing an autochthonous audience and book industry, was no different from the already discussed "Canadianization" period, undergone by the Anglophone regions over a century later (see section 2.1.3.). Till that moment, nevertheless, as Bouchard puts it (1998: 69), "*ils ne se demandent guère s'ils parlent, eux, l'anglais d'Oxford*". In the Québécois' perception, the pressure generated by metropolitan linguistic prestige was strategically amplified by Anglophone Canadians, perhaps in the means of blurring its most appreciated source of difference, at a time when Canada was still seen by its inhabitants as a colony of two (European) nations. Despite Québec's precocious signs of an autonomous identity, this unbreakable bond with the metropole remained unquestioned till second-wave nationalism reached a more mature status, from the late 70s onwards. As a result, even if solid efforts were made in order to create a literary system of its own, this traumatising, unachievable perfection of "the real thing" would hunt Québec for a century, attempting to fight a progressive inferiority complex (Bouchard 1998) with a fervorous praise of the "*gloire du paysan*", the same character simplified by the comic sketches of Anglophone bestsellers like Drummond's *The Habitant*:

(...) Le mythe du French Canadian patois fait son entrée dans la conscience québécoise, accompagné de tous les ingrédients qui caractériseront le débat qu'il va provoquer: le mépris des Anglo-Saxons, le Parisian French en tant que référence, le rejet du "français de Paris" comme norme, et l'apologie de la langue des paysans canadiens. En revanche, un élément va disparaître: l'affirmation que les Canadiens français parlent en général une langue aussi correcte que les Français. (Bouchard 1998: 69-70)

This *paysan*, a symbol of the hard farming work for which the Québécois were known by the Anglophone settlers, who would often hire them to take care of their fields, was placed at the centre of their *résistance*, as an attempt to revisit France's New World myth in their own terms. Once the illusion of a distinctive identity on the sole basis of a colonial language was vanished, the Québécois' specific settler culture began to be romanticised. Initially, the

particulars of the French colonial experience were praised without remorse, portraying a people of settler peasants who had first domesticated the harsh Canadian soil, cultivating the Saint-Lawrence riversides. Their pioneering settlement in North-America, as well as the extreme traditionalism allowing them to protect their lifestyle under British rule were proudly accounted for in the late-19th century *roman de la terre*, the privileged genre for the *régionalistes*.

A prelude to the so-called “farm novel”, which did not appear in Angloamerica till the early 20th century (see 2.3.), the “*gloire du paysan*” became a very attractive fictional product not only to the reminiscing Québécois, but also among Anglophone readers. There was in Anglophone Canada, at least in appearance, an idealisation of Québec’s constant struggle for the survival of an archaic Francophone tradition in North America, which many perceived as endangered by its slow modernisation. This shallow admiration grew, incomprehensibly, as the world’s new decolonised landscape invited Anglophone Canadians to consider their own linguistic and cultural subordination to mainstream conceptions of the Anglophone. Few of them actually saw themselves as agents of a similar subordination for the Québécois. Their fight, on the contrary, was probably seen as a mirroring effect of the French late-sixties’ intellectual and political counter-culture; as another of the mimical uprisings of its latest colonies, like Algeria and its Front de Libération Nationale (1954), from which the Front de Libération de Québec most assuredly took its name.

Be as it may, from the classical standards of British-French contrast, a great deal of this patronising assimilation of Québec’s difference originally rested on religion. The Québécois’ orthodox obedience to catholic mores was regarded by Canadian translator William Hume Blake (1861-1924, for instance, as “the habitants’ “simple faith (...)”, governed, in his view, by “(...) the living principle that animates any religion worth having” (Simon 2006: 30). Thanks to the fact that, in Canadian literature, translators exceptionally were canonical agents, often operating as patrons to authors, Blake’s constant support of Drummond’s poetry led the general Anglophone public to regard catholicism as a charming form of primitivism. This once again proves the inability of North-American nation states to build their identity outside classic European axes of difference. But more importantly, it challenges the idea that traditional Québécois culture enjoyed the kind of prestige justifying its exceptionality among North-American white settler nations. Can we be talking about a “distinct society” when many still believe that it speaks a second-class version of a prestigious language? Are the claims regarding Québec’s “unique character” (Gilbert 2006: 88) compatible with those portraying it as a

“priest-ridden” society (Spry 1974³⁵), with only incipient industrial infrastructures and little more than farming skills? Again in an extraordinary display of honesty (and crudity), A. M. Klein described best the general Anglophone perception of the Québécois till the mid-20th century: “a fable folk, a second class of aborigines, docile, domesticated, very good employees, so meek that even their sadness made dialect for a joke.” (Simon 2006: 30).

And still, Québec’s New World myth has survived better than those of its Anglo-American peers. If it is not on account of its command of a superior language, or its display of a refined culture, what feeds the Québécois myth? In my view, Québec has had the extraordinary ability to rhetorically detach itself from the flip side of Europe’s colonial enterprise: violence. At the end of the previously quoted passage, albeit on purely statistical grounds, Gilbert (2006: 88) also considers violence central to the specificity of Québec society: “(...) Or is it the fact that statistics show that Québec remains one of the least violent provinces in Canada and has not succumbed to the influence of its more violent North American companion? (...)”. While they are illustrative of a people’s social and moral standards, it is hard to imagine how official figures may account for generalised outsider perceptions. Since when, and why, is Québec considered less violent? And more importantly, according to which standards? This last question, at least, is effectively answered by Gilbert: the United States, as the first white settler nation to emancipate on the grounds of superior civil values, has nevertheless betrayed its façade of peace, liberty and independence by becoming the world’s new Anglophone empire. It is through a persistent promotion of its “hybridity [“hybridité”], cross-breeding [“métissage] and immigrant [“migrant”] literatures and cultures” (Gilbert *ibid*: 88) that Québec, in a similar but more successful attempt than Anglophone Canada, has built up a postcolonial identity by questioning the United States’ and Anglophone Canada’s false stance as the embodiment of Post-European (white) civility.

Till the 60s, the U.S. constituted the irreproachable standard for New-World societal achievement, the image of a transatlantic land of opportunity, whose timely intervention in the First and Second World Wars seems to have justified a falsely messianic interference in further foreign conflicts. As discussed in previous sections (see 3.1.3.), white settlements’ self-conception goes beyond Europe’s need for territorial extension, to the embodiment of more efficient and morally superior political orders, at a time when the Ancient Regime system was

³⁵ https://www.nfb.ca/film/action_the_october_crisis_of_1970/.

shattering down. The philosophy of the Enlightenment, and particularly Rousseau's praise of nature as the ideal state for moral correctness (1755), favoured a view of the newly-founded United States of America as the experiment where wilderness and a stage of (white) civilisation unparalleled by Europe may allegedly coexist. While the settlement's systematic destruction of the Aborigines has remained a taboo, undermining its allegedly superior concept of civility, the U.S. constitution is constantly mentioned as its finest outcome. As the country's Senate claims on its website, "[w]ritten in 1787, ratified in 1788, and in operation since 1789, the United States Constitution is the world's longest surviving written charter of government"³⁶, a timeline explicitly questioning the pioneering status of the French Revolution and its *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* (1789). Both on the basis of this political (and therefore moral) superiority and of an explicit confrontation with its metropole (the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1783), the U.S.' emancipation from Britain constitutes the only nation-making process in North-America having led a clear-cut opposition to European forces and mores.

In sharp contrast, (Anglophone) Canada has a much "more conservative history as a colony" (Hutcheon 1988: 3). As a result, its Confederation process with Québec may be regarded not as the implementation of a political order unknown to the Old Continent, but as a statement of Britain's superiority as a nation, particularly over France. As the preamble of the 1867 Constitution claimed, "(...) the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their Desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom"³⁷. To this day, Canada still shares with the United Kingdom its head of state, which implies its monarchic status, something against which the American and the French Revolutions explicitly reacted. It has never left the Commonwealth, and did not patriate its Constitution till the passing of the 1982 Constitutional Act. On its part, Québec has earned a reputation for fighting every inch of autonomy and identitarian recognition granted after being transferred to the British crown. However, the end of its administrative subordination to France was by no means an identitarian venture. After various intercolonial wars (1689-1763), king Louis XV agreed to relinquish the last French territories in North-America through the Treaty of Paris, in exchange for the right to keep the country's much more profitable Caribbean colonies, today recognised as French departments. And still, "*Je me souviens* [/que né sous le

³⁶ <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/ConstitutionDay.htm>.

³⁷ <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-1.html>

lys/ je crois sous la rose]” has been, since the first government of the Parti Québécois (1976-1981), the province’s motto. While its New World Myth has been thought to depend on it, France’s decision to waive the dominion, which suggests the unrequitedness of Québec’s emotional attachment to its ancient metropole, has been effectively deleted from most of the province’s national narratives.

In short, the United States has been the only white settler nation in North-America having challenged European tyranny, and part of that task has relied on rhetorically fighting violence, shamefully present in European relations till the mid-20th century. Political and social morality in America, as we may see, are inseparable from culture or, for that matter, from mainstream literature, the function of which, especially in the United States, is essentially to suggest political (Douglas 1977) and societal superiority. As a result, the violence exerted against Aboriginals for the foundation of white settler nations has been precariously dissipated through powerful rethorics, as keeping a civilised façade has been central to their quest for identity. Thus, for Anglophone Canada, a legitimate source of reproach on the U.S.’ moral leadership has been found in its shameless imperialist policies throughout the 20th century, disguised as selfless “cooperation”. Canadian immigrational and cultural strategies, at least since Premier Trudeau’s famous 1971 declarations, are believed to have configured the first explicitly multicultural state in the West, despite legitimate claims about the “white civility” (Coleman 2006) lying underneath Canadian cultural policing (see 3.1.2). The Canadian institutions’ difficult relationship with Québécois nationalism has surely also damaged the Anglophone elites’ prospects of proving their commitment to such multicultural openness. Only one year prior to Trudeau’s statement on Canada’s pioneering multiculturalism, accompanied with a new membership of the Organisation Mondiale de la Francophonie, the President sent the army to Québec in the means of quelling a nationalist uprising under the War Measures Act. With its recent history as a challenge to Canada’s respect for cultural difference, Québec’s specificity among America’s white settler nations relies on detaching a superior form of civility from white supremacy and violence. It has successfully addressed the kind of blemish staining all Anglophone white settler nations, and from which history has traditionally absolved the French ones: aboriginal genocide.

The Québécois New World myth, consequently, may be defined by what Gaudry and Leroux call “evocation of métissage” (2007). For these authors (*ibid*: 116), the “evocation of Indigenous–settler societal unification through intermarriage” constitutes a recurring subject

in colonial discourses, particularly among French conquerors. Undeniable historical facts like the so-called Beaver wars (1609-1701), engaged in by the French against the Iroquois league, seem to point at a state of settler-indian relations quite similar to those of other colonial enterprises. Conversely, several 17th-century statements attributed to different civil and religious authorities in the French colonies have sustained absolving historical narratives of French colonialism in contrast with those addressing the British and Spanish enterprises: “Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him” (Parkman 1867 in Gaudry and Leroux 2017: 120).

Granted: in appearance, a certain tendency towards tolerance or even support of interraciality may be accounted for in the early times of the Nouvelle France. French conqueror of Canada Samuel de Champlain, for instance, defended interracial marriages with the Aborigines (1633). The French Catholic church, perhaps unsurprisingly, did also preach on the benefits of French settlers marrying Aboriginal women, going as far as to formally request the Holy See permission to celebrate interracial marriages between French men and non-Christian female Natives, hoping that “this would oblige the natives to love the French as their brothers” (Deslandres 2012, in Gaudry and Leroux 2017: 124). Such marriages were never allowed by the Catholic authorities, and by 1765 97% of the population of the Nouvelle France was estimated to have a French ethnical background (Gaudry and Leroux *ibid*: 125), which proves the futility of any interracial institutional initiatives. Racist terminology, additionally, is currently known to have originated in the colonies, where direct contacts between the French and the Aboriginal peoples took place for the first time. Miscegenation, like in British colonies, consolidated into a common but officially discouraged practice, leading to the existence of a marginalised *métis* population which never saw the slightest improvement in its status on account of a partially white ancestry. Instead, king Louis XIV would start sending to the Nouvelle France the so-called *filles du roi* (1633), French orphans with a state-provided dowry expected to marry the men agreeing to settle down there, particularly soldiers.

The way in which interraciality was conceived proves that a perverse gender metaphoric lies behind any patriarchal colonial project, including, despite systematic historical absolution, those promoted by the French. Regardless of the different conceptualisations across colonies, colonised women have usually been forced into becoming the liaison between the conquerors and the territory’s patriarchal elites, chained to the land and



FIGURE 8: THE "FILLES DU ROI" ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT QUÉBEC CITY, IDEALISED BY PAINTER ELEANOR FORTESCUE-BRICKDALE (CA. 1927).

therefore, reified, their sexuality being an attractive part of the deal. Thus, “in a colony settled primarily by French men, the intermediaries targeted in the blending of people were Indigenous women” (Gaudry and Leroux 2017: 124). With such an aim, nevertheless, “not just any women” would do (Gaudry and Leroux 2017: 124). As previously explained (see introduction to Chapter 4), female members of the Aboriginal elites were needed, with deep knowledge of the conquerors’ language and culture, and therefore able to mediate between both spheres. French colonial administrations were no different, encouraging the first settlers “(...) to find *civilized, Frenchified* wives among Indigenous women” (Gaudry and Leroux 2017: 124).

In colonial gender metaphors, it is my conviction that religious mores play a capital role. The race for leadership taking place in Europe at the time had a crucial religious component, colonised territories constituting the *tabula rasa* on which to prove the superiority of either Catholic or Protestant principles for an effective government. Undoubtedly, the Catholic church saw in the First Nations an extraordinary opportunity to obtain new converts and expand its power. Based on patriarchal dynamics, colonial administrations conceived of gender relations in unidirectional ways, looking for “obedient, Catholic, and Frenchified” women, much more often than men, for an effective appropriation of Aboriginal social structures. Catholic gender normativity, therefore, was ruthlessly employed for social coherence, and regulated the very few interracial marriages which actually took place. It indeed resulted in deeper inequalities between the French and the First Nations, and not vice versa, forcing women into a position of double subjugation: on the one hand, they were supposed to sacrifice themselves in order to improve the state of relations between their peoples and the

invaders. On the other, they were to become peripheral subjects in colonial societies, inhabiting the edges of both the Indigenous and European peoples.

As new narratives of Québec's past were being put together during the 70s' second-wave nationalism, miscegenation needed to be presented as a process seeking social equality and cohesion. More importantly, however, it was portrayed as a generalised practice among French settlers, which resulted in an attractive interracial fiction of the inception of the Québécois population. René Lévesque, leader of the Parti Québécois and Québec's Prime Minister between 1976 and 1985, had a crucial role spreading this idea from institutional settings. Today's generally admitted belief, both by academic and institutional authorities, is that the Québécois only opted for a sort of "racial" purity policy against Anglophone Protestants, in the means of guaranteeing linguistic and cultural survival: "Il fut un temps où la pureté de la race était une condition essentielle à la survie de la population canadienne, coupée de la France depuis 1760. Pour demeurer française et catholique, elle devait éviter les mariages mixtes, c'est-à-dire les unions avec des anglophones protestants. La religion devenait protectrice de la langue et inversement" (Vaugeois 2014: 41). Remarkably, in 2014, when the previous article was written, the outdated 19th-century terminology portraying European peoples as embodying different "races" seemed far from outweighed. In contrast, Vaugeois claims that a different policy was implemented regarding the First Nations, one characterised by racial mixture. His hypothesis points at reasons of practical nature for this practice, as well as, shockingly, at the Aboriginal women's sexually solicitous attitude, which, as previously argued, constitutes an attractive part of colonial dynamics: "Les jeunes Amérindiennes sont accueillantes, tandis que les femmes d'origine européennes sont peu nombreuses. (...) Et les Français, comme le souligne le jésuite Charlevoix en mars 1721, ont un faible pour «les Sauvages»" (Vaugeois 2014: 41).

The extent of this "evocation of métissage" has led legal scholars like Sébastien Malette, as Gaudry and Leroux explain (2017: 121), to contend that any Québécois citizen may qualify for the benefits to which the Métis people are entitled under the Canadian Constitution, with several precedents like *R. v. Paquette*³⁸ as potential grounds for such claims:

³⁸ *R. v. Paquette* (File No. 2561-110170, 2012.08.15, OCJ) was a controversial case against a member of the Métis nation of Ontario with a Québécois background, summarised by Teillet (1999: xviii) as follows: "(...) Individuals without an MNO Harvest Card who claim Métis hunting rights must prove their rights pursuant to the

Why can't a Québécois be seen as Métis and Québécois, since he bathes in a historically mixed society and carries a distinct culture from this fact? . . . According to the [Paquette] judgment, an individual can claim aboriginal rights if there is a continuous and strictly territorialized relationship between a "Métis community" that existed before the "effective control" of the colonial powers, and an individual still living in this same community. So, couldn't the entirety of Québec be one of these territories, since the Métis have historically roamed through and inhabited it, just like several other places in North America? (Malette 2014 in Gaudry and Leroux *ibid*: 121)

With globalisation, however, a broader perspective on multiculturalism is needed, and given the considerable immigration received by the province in the last decades, their notion of *hybridité* must somehow encompass such reality. For Vaugeois, then, Québécois culture is fully *métisse* not only on account of the Aboriginal input, but also thanks to what he portrays as a fully integrative immigrational policy: "Très vite, j'ai réalisé que la culture québécoise était faite d'emprunts. Sauf la langue et une partie de notre Code civil, le reste provenait soit des Premières Nations, soit des divers groupes d'immigrants qui étaient venus se fondre dans la population dite canadienne" (Vaugeois *ibid*: 40). Indeed, defending Québec's openness toward immigration has become a top priority as the now-feared "pure laine" tag, determining though it was during the 70s' nationalist period, is perceived to have hampered any prospects of integrating the province's main immigrant communities. Rosa Pires, member of the Parti Québécois, has specialised in developing integrating policies for those Québécois citizens with an immigrational background, and especially women. Her experience within the party as a second-generation immigrant woman is thus fairly illustrative of the pro-independence movement's need for more sensitivity toward real multiculturalism:

(...) J'ai remarqué à l'intérieur du Parti Québécois et du mouvement féministe une renaissance du nationalisme identitaire. Que je revendique ma québécoisité en tant qu'héritière du poète Gérard Godin ravissait tout le monde, mais lutter contre l'exclusion des minorités ethnoculturelles, celles-là mêmes que Godin a défendues ardemment, remettait soudainement ma loyauté en question. Selon certains idéologues, construire un dialogue avec l'Autre s'avérait une perte de temps et de ressources pour le parti et ne résolvait pas l'éternel défi de l'appui du vote francophone. (Pires 2019: 10)

As the next sections intend to prove, Québécois feminism, initially embedded by the patriarchal nationalist enterprise, would progressively acquire a critical, nuancing role in

Powley test. Paquette's genealogy showed that his claim to aboriginal ancestry came from Québec and that his ancestors moved to Ontario after effective control. He provided no proof of an historic Métis community in the Sturgeon Falls area of Ontario. The judge found him guilty of hunting moose without a licence.

shaping modern Québécois nationalism. An essential aspect of its contribution lies in theorising difference not within Canada, but *within Québec*. Thus, the notion of “hybridité culturelle”, crucial for this purpose, was first coined by Sherry Simon (1999), who found fault, like many other Québécois citizens, with a series of slogans spread by the government suggesting that cultural minorities felt indeed Québécois: “*les cheveux bouclés, le coeur québécois/ les yeux bridés, le coeur québécois*” (Simon 1999: 55). Hers is in my view the most clearly expressed statement regarding the challenges posed to traditional nationalism by those inhabiting Québec’s internal cultural frontiers: “Il est certain que l’être hybride pose de sérieux défis aux nationalismes. Dans le paysage politique et culturel actuel, les cultures nationales ont à se redéfinir. C’est que la culture n’est plus une bulle sécuritaire qui sépare un groupe d’individus d’un autre. Le régime de l’hybride nous oblige à redéfinir le rapport entre culture, identité et citoyenneté” (Simon *ibid*: 56-57).

4.1. Re-Appropriating Colonial Violence: Québécois White Settler Feminism

Recent feminist theorisations, in short, may seem to have defied patriarchal nationalism, inviting for notions of identity respectful of today’s multicultural order, and underscoring the symbolic violence implicit in neocolonialist attitudes. The feminist historiographical enterprise in Québec, however, has followed a more traditional operational line. The overall aim has expectably been to reappropriate the essence of the colony’s achievement on behalf of the female settlers, through the perhaps more innovative prism of neglected pieces of discourse, portraying female day-to-day experiences.



FIGURE 9: MADAME DE CHAMPLAIN TEACHING NATIVE CHILDREN CA. 1620, IDEALISED BY ADAM SHERIFF SCOTT IN 1931.

The problem lies in that, because nurtured by more honest sources, these works, clearly rooted in the feminist social history principles, reveal the extent to which the Nouvelle France settlement relied on daily violent practices for its foundation and survival, not only against Britain as its colonial competitor, but also against the First Nations. As a result, this proud reappropriation of the true face of colonial life, undoubtedly a form of white settler feminism (see Henderson 2016), appears to question patriarchy's monopoly on violence by discussing historical events in which women, instead of men, took matters in their own hands in order to defend the French colonial order. Such perspective, overtly contrary to the mainstream narratives portraying French-Canadians as non-violent, quasi non-colonial agents of civilisation, is again deeply indebted to the powerful "garrison mentality" motif (see Frye 1965), so often enhanced by Anglophone-Canadian literature.

One excellent example thereof may be found in the vicissitudes of a certain Madeleine de Verchères (1678-1747), rescued by the Clio Collective, a team of feminist historians, in their colossal work *L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles* (see Dumont-Johnson, Jean, Lavigne *et al.* 1982). According to the documentation recovered, de Verchères requested the French authorities state compensation for her successful defense of a garrison attacked by the Iroquois, after an attempted kidnapping. Among the multiple, potentially similar stories which one could easily spot in chronicles, such is the profile chosen by the Clio collective, despite their honest acknowledgement that De Verchères "(...) faisait partie d'une classe sociale qui avait accès à l'écriture, et conséquemment aux pensions royales" (CLIO 1982: 30). Trapped between the praise of colonial violence as a female achievement and the sanction of such social dynamics, the authors promote a nuanced, gender-sensitive approach to the patriarchal notion of heroism:

Les Canadiennes n'avaient pas moins la passion de faire éclater leur zèle pour la gloire du Roy si elles en avaient l'occasion. (...). Finalement, force nous est de constater que l'héroïne elle-même endosse totalement une échelle de valeur basée sur une conception masculine, militaire et élitiste du courage; qu'elle accepte tacitement l'infériorité générale de la femme et son confinement à des fonctions dites «naturellement» féminines ; qu'elle justifie surtout son héroïsme par le fait d'être sortie des cadres imposés aux femmes. (CLIO 1982: 30)

In effect, even if at times it is hard to tell whether it is being extolled or condemned, white settler feminism in Québécois historiography relies on a patriarchally productive construct of settler femininity, converging, even when transgressive with traditional European

gender roles, with the essential aims of the colonial order. In De Verchères' case, transgression takes place on account of her "zèle pour la gloire du Roy" (CLIO *ibid*), comparable, as it seems, to that demonstrated by men. A similar and considerably shocking instance of this nuanced exaltation of female violence is observed in the high crime rate projected by women during the first years of the colony. For the collective, this "(...) climat de violence immanente" constitutes "une caractéristique de tous les premiers établissements" (CLIO *ibid*: 32). Here, again, an honest depiction of any colony's violent foundations comes hand in hand with the erroneous perception that, whenever patriarchy's supposed monopoly on violence is questioned, a feminist attitude is being displayed.

Perhaps without consistently challenging the province's non-violent nature, (this would endanger Québec's more benign image as a white settler nation), Québécois feminist literary critics have underscored how female characters often become perpetrators in women-authored novels as a reappropriation of the so-called *américanité* (Gilbert 2006), the differential form of experiencing Québec's white-settler nationalism in North America. The underlying thesis, of course, is that Québec cannot be as peaceful a society as it has depicted itself to be when women's response to patriarchal Québécois identity takes violence as a prism. Feminist social historians like the Collective have taken similar positionings by admitting that systemic violence not only exists in the current Québécois society, but was a foundational element of the colony. What they do not seem to question further, perhaps, is the reason why appropriating such violence may be productive for women, let alone for feminism. To begin with, it remains hard to see why theft or murder are a specifically male form of violence, and therefore significant when engaged in by women. Even harder to see is what the authors intend to prove by emphasising this.

On another front, the Collective have unearthed the lives of individuals, particularly but not exclusively women, which now sustain, now counteract several crucial aspects of the Québécois New World Myth. A fundamental claim supported by mainstream historiography, as discussed previously, is the consolidation of ground-breaking gender roles as part of the colonial dynamics. Regarding the practice of sending off the so-called *filles du roi*, girls of no more than 11 or 12 years of age in numerous cases, to marry the French men willing to settle down in the colony, the Collective sustains that the reason behind those marriages was often financial, as the men wished to get hold of the state-provided dowry with which the young orphans were sent. This seems to have been the case with the aforementioned explorer Samuel

de Champlain (1567-1635), who preached in favour of interracial marriages but was personally more inclined to marrying a 14-year-old French girl, 30 years his junior: H el ene Bouill e (1598-1654).

When matters of gender intersect with those of race, a certain degree of contradiction is also shown in the conclusions reached by Dumont, Jean, Lavigne, and Stoddart. In general, the authors concede that very few interracial marriages took place in Nouvelle France, despite the various institutional discourses paying nothing more than lip service to the practice at the time. According to the evidence gathered, only six interracial marriages took place throughout the 17th century, all of them between male colonisers and Aboriginal women (Clio 1982: 26). Nevertheless, Amerindian women are blamed for the French settlers' apparent reluctance to interracial coupling: "*Certes, les Franais appr ecient la libert e sexuelle des jeunes Am erindiennes et l'aide qu'elles leur apportent pour le quotidien; mais les Am erindiennes ont du mal   accepter les contraintes d'un mariage chr etien et la vie   l'europ eene*" (Clio *ibid*: 35). An exception is found in the Huron-Wendat nation, which opted for protecting themselves by promoting their young women's marriage to the colonisers. This sort of agreements between colonised and colonising patriarchal nations, as argued in previous sections of this thesis, demonstrate the reified, linguistically and culturally mediating positions into which the women of the military inferior side have often been forced. In general, such was the frequent destiny of Aboriginal females in areas with consolidated networks of fur trading, subjected to a different, "clandestine" form of temporary unions for the settlers' sexual and a commercial profit:

"Les voyageurs et les marchands vivant de la traite des fourrures ont particuli rement int r t   avoir une femme   leur c t . La pr sence d'Am erindiennes servant d'interpr te et de guide (...) se r v le essentielle   la survie des Blancs dans le Nord-Ouest. Anglophones et francophones, au grand scandale des missionnaires, prennent des  pouses de droit commun chez les Am erindiennes. Ces mariages "  la faon du pays" durent aussi longtemps que le s jour de l' poux dans l'Ouest. Les Am erindiennes, avec leurs enfants m tis, r int grent ensuite leurs tribus" (Clio 1982: 87).

There is little doubt that the previous description could also suit the notions of "bed dictionaries" and *Bibis* in the British empire. For some reason, however, feminist historians and gender-sensitive translator theorists have shown true fascination for such imposed roles, perceiving them as the result of these women's empowerment and independence. No survey of translation history from a feminist scope has ever missed the chance to mention the Malinche,

as previously discussed in this thesis (see 2.4.3.), and her “presentation” as a unique character in the history of colonial Latin America, or, for that matter, in the history of translation, purposefully obscures the innumerable others who shared her destiny. Although the Clio Collective has no intention, as we have just seen, to introduce the racialised female mediator as a rare exception among their allegedly obedient and dependent kind, the numerous Aboriginal women subjected to the “*mariages à la façon du pays*” remain anonymous, while the figure of *métis* interpreter Isabelle Montour (1667-1753) emerges with particular emphasis in their research.

Unlike other faceless female interpreters working in the fur trade sector, Montour’s mother was a Christian member of the Algonquin nation, which probably explains why the Collective have been able to trace her back in documentary evidence from the past. As Frenchified subjects providing offspring with French fur traders, the very few Aboriginal women in such position often emerge in mainstream narratives intended to reinforce Québec’s myth of *métissage*. They are therefore useful in order to make a case for the Nouvelle France’s supposed egalitarian alliances between Natives and settlers in the so-called fur-trade centres, which have come to symbolise the colony’s alleged interracial coexistence.

Feminist exaltations of a superior colonial order, where both racial and gender-based differences supposedly had a better chance of thriving, have failed in Québec as much as in Anglophone Canada to characterise white settler femininities as anything but the more amicable, supporting role to perverse colonial masculinities. As contemporary revisions of past historical discourses, they have been similarly used as the politically correct façade of Canadian nationalisms of one or the other kind. In the particular case of Québec, to be surveyed in the next sections, the impact of this and other feminist metadiscourses on the patriarchal nationalist cause shall be key in accounting for the province’s recent history, its project of society crucially realised through literature and translation.

4.2. “*English-Canada’s New Wild West*”: Québec’s Rebellious Literary Search for Identity

“From Expo 67 and exploding mailboxes through the Sir George Williams computer-centre riot, de Gaulle’s visit, Trudeau’s marriage, the War Measures Act, to the theatre of the referendum night, Québec was English-Canada’s new wild west, its cultural frontier, its seemingly inexhaustible source of spectacle” (Davey 1995)

The kind of historiographical work required by polysystemic characterisation is crucially marked, as already expressed, both by internal and external perceptions of it, manifested through pieces of metadiscourse. While the Québécois polysystem's self-perceptions should be regarded as an essential display of will and empowerment, its configuration has been severely affected by outside judgment, especially by that of a nation understandably invested in controlling the outcome of its identitarian quest through literature: Anglophone Canada. Here, again, contradiction dominates the viewpoints expressed in mainstream historical metadiscourse, as Québec's generally accepted image of peacefulness is questioned by some first-row agents of this quest throughout the mid- and late 20th-century.



FIGURE 10: CHARLES DE GAULLE DURING THE SPEECH IN WHICH HE PRONOUNCED HIS FAMOUS "VIVE LE QUÉBEC LIBRE!".

Frank Davey, who is considered a respected mediator in the Québécois cultural landscape, and has worked hand in hand with Barbara Godard for the translation of its literature, describes nevertheless the Québécois society of the time through a classical metaphor for lack of civilisation in North-America: the wild west. In a strike of honesty, he reveals in the introductory quote that violence in a thus-far invisible region, with a solid reputation for the opposite constituted a “seemingly inexhaustible source of spectacle” for Anglophone Canadians. Anglophone Canada, as explained in the previous section, romanticised Québécois traditionalism during the first half of the past century, condemning it to a static, quasi filmical perception of its identity. Yet, the apparent disruptiveness of its 60s and 70s sociocultural (r)evolution has not been perceived as any less “spectacular”. A new film in a promising saga which made Canada hit the headlines for the first time as a country, suggesting a cultural complexity new to the foreign and domestic public alike. While undoubtedly affected by Anglophone perceptions, Québec has successfully come to its own realisation of self, living permanently on the margins of the fictional Francophonie, out of

which it was forced, and in which it shall always feel somehow foreign, and on those of a “Canadian nation” with which it does not fully identify either. As a result of this, any descriptive narrative of its process of political and cultural differentiation through literature must account for the two sides, the double discourse of a nation eternally in-between.

Once again, for historicising purposes, I am to follow the evolving pattern discerned by Hermans regarding the already discussed “invisible colleges” (1998), with an evolution similar to that of Anglophone Canadian literature, although with more permeable frontiers between the different stages:

Period	Québec Literature (Invisible College)	“Écriture au féminin” (Thought Community)
40s	Differentiation	Dissociation
		Operation
50s	Differentiation	Dissociation
		Operation
60s	Infection	Dissociation
		Operation
70s	Establishment	Operation
	Divergence	
80s	Decline	Consolidation
90s		Overture

TABLE 4: THE EVOLUTION OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE AS AN INVISIBLE COLLEGE.

As the previous table illustrates, it is my contention that mainstream, and therefore patriarchal, Québécois literature has displayed a more organic evolution than Anglophone Canadian one. As a result of their separation from their original metropole, and of their resilience toward the British Empire’s homogenising policies, Francophone Canadians developed a sense of self considerably earlier than their Anglophone counterparts, who felt essentially British till the first decades of the 20th century. Although outrageously stereotypical, the fact that some of the first Anglophone Canadian literature romanticised Québec’s archaic culture (see the already discussed example of Drummond’s *The Habitant*, 1899) somehow points at the province’s pioneering role in developing a non-colonial literary

polysystem in Canada. The cultivation of the already mentioned Farm Novel, which proliferated in all three of North America's white settler nations between the mid-1800s and mid-1900s, seems to reinforce this standpoint. For Florian Freitag (2013), who has compared the incidence of this genre across the sub-continent, Francophone Canadians led the way not only by inaugurating it, as early as 1846, with Patrice Lacombe's *La Terre Paternelle*, but also by abandoning it earlier, displaying a precocious "paradigm change" around the 1940s (Freitag *ibid*: 1). As a first sign of modernisation, a slow counterculture movement started to oppose precisely the rural and catholic values extolled in the French-Canadian version of the Farm Novel, the so-called *roman de la terre*, once believed to preserve the essence of French-Canadianness.

Political and social shifts in Québec, indeed, display an evolution crucially entangled not only to that of its literary production, but also to a precocious metadiscourse embodied, as Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge (2007) propose, by a "*conflit entre ici et ailleurs*", that is, as a constant, ongoing discussion on the potentially autonomous nature of their literature. The *répertoire national*, as happens in any traditional process of polysystem formation, defines itself against the collective efforts of a politically and culturally tyrannical force, the new British institutions, but also, importantly, against the blurring effects of the *attrait de Paris* (Biron, Dumont and Nardout-Lafarge 2007), which shall remain present in the province's literary narratives till the 60s. In this search for a defensive literary specificity, as well as for a market and book industry independent from France, the contributors to the emergent polysystem have displayed a degree of self-awareness and political intentionality precocious when compared with those of other white settler nations, and particularly Anglophone Canada. As a result, the different stages of Québec's literary evolution may be perceived as less stiff and categorical than those of the Anglophone-Canadian regions, matching a natural process of cultural and political differentiation.

The notion of "invisible college", therefore, must be implemented here in less strict a sense than it was in the previous section. *CanLit*, as argued so far, was essentially an academic project, generally state-funded and therefore relying on the necessary institutional sustain, in the means of building up a missing concept of nation, or perhaps of imposing one which lacked widespread support among the different groups targeted to embody the new polysystem. As such, it was developed at record-breaking speed, treating its main public, the Anglophone population, almost as a *tabula rasa*, among which little resistance to the concept and low

degrees of dissent were expected. While the success of any project of this nature, as previously stated, is limited, it has better prospects of surviving, at least as a tool for elitist control, in those societies with a recently acquired sense of self.

As a more ancient society, on the basis of earlier self-awareness, Québec had no need to use academia, important as it has been for the consolidation of its literature, as the *matrix* for its polysystem project, nor should this have been productive, given the complex evolution of the population so far. In effect, the Québécois already had their own concept of self, and did not need to be fed an artificial one. True: the immigrant community, steadily increasing since the mid-20th century, was tragically left out of the institutions' calculus, and would soon enough become a mainly Anglophone, somehow resisting force. Still, the so-called *pure laine*, the descendants of the French settlers to which Québécois politicians have exclusively addressed till very recently, have generally felt concerned by nationalist discourses without the slightest difficulty. They had proven capable not only of fighting Anglophone imperialism since 1763, but also, to a certain extent, of courageously questioning the same tradition which has kept them alive for centuries, in the means of becoming a modern society.

Nevertheless, from a feminist critical perspective, academic spaces are not the only authority-provided, hierarchical infrastructures exerting power in coalition with the State without further justification, which is, in my view, what a feminist critique may unveil behind the terms “invisible” (not needing explicit ties, because self-evident) and “college” (an authority-provided, and therefore prestigious, collegiate entity). As we are about to see, multiple sustained alliances between a nation-state's patriarchal institutions may lead to similar repressive networks. In the case of Québec, its two crucial moments of national consolidation throughout the 20th century showcase different alternatives of this nature. The first milestone in Québec's nationalism, generally identified between the mid-forties and late-fifties, witnessed a classical alliance between Church and State, created a specific national entity “invisible”, because they did not require explicit ties (therefore unquestionable), and “collegiate”, because coordinated. A second, also well-known form of alliance, is that between the State and a certain cultural clique, self-considered the embodiment of the entire population targeted by a nascent polysystem. In Québec's second-wave nationalism, the Parti Québécois' conquest of national institutions featured a sustained connivance with a culture-oriented thought community, first leading Québec's counterculture, but soon abandoning it for institutionalisation (see Pelletier 1991). For the sake of clarity, and in order to underscore the

already discussed importance of generally neglected metadiscourses, I shall propose to address this thought community, as the *écrivains "joyal"*, honouring a 1965 photo caption by photojournalist Jean-Pierre Beaudin.



FIGURE 11: THE "ÉCRIVAINS JOUAL" PORTRAYED BY JEAN-PIERRE BEAUDOIN. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, ANDRÉ MAJOR, GÉRALD GODIN, CLAUDE JASMIN, JACQUES RENAUD, LAURENT GIROUARD ET PAUL CHAMBERLAND.

The short, apparently anecdotic story behind this photo is nevertheless illustrative of the institutionalisation process undergone by thought communities on their alliance with the state. Similarly to the Parti Québécois, the winning option among a wide range of failed nationalist alternatives proposed against the Parti Libéral, various cultural thought communities were gathering around the different factions of the province's political spectrum. As shown by Québec's academic interest in the so-called *études sur le livre* (for an outline, see the work done by research groups like GRÉLQ), leadership in any given publishing industry plays a crucial role in any process of polysystem consolidation, especially under patriarchal nationalist policies, constantly striving for institutionalisation. This also reinforces the idea that thought communities usually target a wide variety of outlets and genres. In the 60s, as the so-called Quiet Revolution started, the Union National, in office during the previous decades, had lost its grip as the anachronic remains of the darkest period in Québec's recent history, the so-called Grande Noirceur (1936-1939/ 1944-1959). Throughout the 50s, a number of subversive intellectuals and future politicians gathered around *Cité Libre* (1950-1966), a journal through which they would vent their political anger. Co-founded by Pierre Trudeau (1919-2000), future

Prime Minister of Canada, it originally assembled politicians of soon-to-be opposed mindsets, like sovereignist René Lévesque (1922-1987), future Prime Minister of Québec, and even journalist Pierre Vallières (1994), the ideologue behind the terrorist band *Front de Libération du Québec* (from now on FLQ). Expectably, a journal which ended up illustrating the decalogue of the Parti Libéral, by then the only alternative to Duplessis' priest-ridden rule, was to last as much as the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966) led by Jean Lesage's liberal cabinet, which inevitably showcased the need for more engaged positionings regarding the national cause.

As soon as it was understood that the Parti Libéral was neither left-wing, nor nationalist enough, several failed alternatives followed, from the RIN (Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale, 1960-1968), which acted as a matrix to the future FLQ, to the triumphant Parti Québécois, founded precisely by René Lévesque in 1968. The more extreme pro-independence positionings resulting from political overture to nationalism gathered first around the journal *Parti Pris* (1963-1968), soon to found its own publishing house, Éditions Parti Pris (1964-1984), and later around *Mainmise* (1970-1978). In effect, Québec witnessed a surge of the first national publishers in the dawn of the Grande Noirceur and during the Quiet Revolution, among which Éditions de L'Hexagone (1953-) is known till this day as the province's most emblematic autochthonous publisher. Under the War Measures Act of the already mentioned October Crisis (1970), indeed, great damage was inflicted to those agents of the book market and the communications sector considered subversive. L'Hexagone founder Gaston Miron (1928-1996) was arrested, while Parti Pris co-founder Paul Chamberland (1939-) and pro-independence writer Jacques Ferron (1921-1985) were "subject to police searches" (Morgan 2012: 38). However, it is Éditions Parti Pris that has truly remained a symbol for the nationalist cause. Located at the residence of poet and politician Gérald Godin (1938-1994), a member of the Parti Pris editorial board, and his partner, nationalist songwriter Pauline Julien (1928-1998), its headquarters were a clear target for the federalist establishment, famously inspected during the October Crisis, which led to Godin and Julien's arrest. This inspection underscored how small and intricate Québec's nationalist thought community was at the time, with personal affinities, as I have contended throughout this thesis, often playing a major role in networking processes, and agents like Godin developing a wide range of functions, from political representation to editorship and authorship. The events which took place at the Godin-Julien residence powerfully contributed to the non-stoppable turmoil, inspiring the first gatherings of then emerging feminist writers like Nicole Brossard (1938-) and the already consolidated nationalist, male circles (see 4.2.). Parti Pris, as a result, has been to this day

commonplace for Québécois nationalist mythology, to the point that the great numbers of national writers and poets emerging at the time have been generally believed to belong to this subversive publisher.

For decades, thus, the caption of the previous photo described the men portrayed as “Le groupe de Parti Pris en 1964” (see Deglise 2018). The truth is, however, that the picture was taken in late 1965, that only André Major and Gérald Godin were members of such “groupe” (Deglise *ibid*), and that Major (1942-) is the only writer in that picture having made it to the first rank of the Québécois national canon. A link between the purest literary establishment and the mythological existence of Parti Pris, Major’s early membership at Parti Pris may be perceived to have a softening effect on the abrupt institutionalisation of the nationalist counterculture in Québec, which took place in less than a decade. However, the connections of Parti Pris with the RIN, and therefore with the FLQ, whose unfortunate use of violence hampered Québec’s self-promoted image of peacefulness, could by no means become the official image of the national polysystem. Major soon moved to more moderate, even conservative positions within the nationalist spectrum, which perhaps explains his sudden rise as a canonical figure of a Québécois literature in the making.

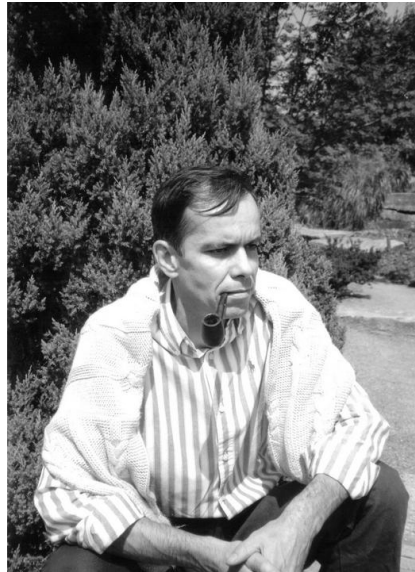
Among the so-called *écrivains “joual”*, Major’s positioning was somehow *bâtard*. Throughout the Quiet Revolution, as I suggest in the previous section (see 4.4.1.), a predominant strategy for cultural and linguistic resilience against Anglophone imperialism had been Québec’s renewed fraternity with France. In line with that, rising stars like Jacques Godbout (1933) would pursue their studies in the metropole, developing a colonial mentality regarding literature in French which hampered the consolidation of an autonomous polysystem in Québec. In the 70s, conversely, the so-called *querelle du joual* (Bouchard 1998) pursued the institutionalisation of Québec’s linguistic variety as a language in its own right, proving increasing awareness among the national writers of the *Francophonie*’s subjugating power. While *Parti Pris* seemed to have a monopoly on defending the joual, for Major, who soon left the group, a certain snobbishness obscured their claims:

Parti pris ne valorisait pas le joual; il s'en servait pour dénoncer une situation précise: d'une part l'irréalisme malsain d'une certaine littérature, et d'autre part l'aliénation culturelle du Québécois. Maintenant, au nom d'une authenticité plutôt douteuse, on valorise ce patois de la misère, ce bégaiement de dépossédé, comme si avec le temps c'était devenu un langage libéré. À moins de vouloir enfermer l'homme québécois dans sa

condition, on ne peut voir dans le joul autre chose qu'un indice extrêmement significatif de sa déculturation, de la violence que lui fait la culture dominante. (Major 1975: 123)

Notably distraught by the Duplessis era, Major knew that history and literature were inseparable (Pelletier 1991), which suggests an understanding of literary creation as a critical metadiscourse of history. If Québec was to learn from its past, and especially from first-wave nationalism during the Grande Noirceur, the obsession with the joul, in effect, had been a double-edge sword, whose defense had strengthened the clergy's power as its guardian, which Major had firmly opposed, and justified any patronising attitudes displayed by Anglophone elites. But particularly, it had led to the already-mentioned "inferiority complex" debate (Bouchard 1998), far from ending already in the mid-70s. For Major, an elitist praising of the joul entailed, once again, a level of social abstraction which disregarded the writer's first and foremost moral duty: that with the people: "Mais s'il est avant tout préoccupé de libérer le langage, l'écrivain demeure un citoyen sans privilège de caste, et à ce titre il est également préoccupé de la libération de la communauté dont le sort est solidaire du sien, surtout si celle-ci est particulièrement menacée" (Major 1975: 124). In effect, the multiple positionings found regarding the querelle du joul, central to the écrivains' political quest, proves that non-stop dialogues with conservatism are an essential trait of thought communities.

In the Parti Pris members and other agents among the écrivains joul, cross-disciplinary goals, also typical of thought communities, were a constant, their structural and networking resources often placed at the disposal of the nationalist political cause. As the literary society closest to Marxist positionings, at a time when leftist unionism was on the rise, the mythical Parti Pris, nevertheless, had indeed responded to the wake-up call made by the Québécois working class. They pursued, as Pelletier explains, "l'objectif tout à la fois d'écrire, dans une perspective révolutionnaire, la classe ouvrière et ses problèmes, d'une part, et de créer, à cette fin, des formes nouvelles, ou du moins de briser les formes traditionnelles (...)" (Pelletier 1991: 194). In contrast, anthologies like *La Chair de Poule* (1965) illustrate from an early stage, the mid-sixties, Major's differing understanding of langagement. As already explained, the joul was for him "à sa manière une manifestation du rapport de domination coloniale" (Pelletier 1991: 192). Portraying it in fiction, therefore, served the purpose of denouncing, as he himself explained, "l'irréalisme malsain d'une certaine littérature, et d'autre part l'aliénation culturelle



du Québécois” (1975: 123). This made his prose a more classical alternative to the formally ground-breaking proposals of Parti Pris.

As was almost compulsory at the time, Major offered his self-portrayal as an approach to the Québécois *héros*, an alter ego to himself, who, as a first-person narrator, weighs in those year’s vertiginous social evolution. For Michon, this form of critical, distorting “autofiction”, a classical notion in literary theory (see, among others, Barthes 1967), is re-appropriated as something almost autochthonous, a political metadiscourse to which he referred as the “vision carnavalesque” (see Michon 1981). This proves how academia, also in Québec, was by no means alien to the institutionalisation of national literature. Another paradigmatic case of literary institutionalisation is that of Jacques Pelletier’s work, often quoted here on account of his undisputable experience in the field. Pelletier is a literary scholar at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), as well as a member of the Parti Québécois, a circumstance to which he finds fit to devote an entire introduction in one of his main books, *Le roman national* (1991). Like Michon and other first-row theorists of the *roman national*, he constantly re-visits recognisable fictional (sub-)genres or modes as specific forms of the *roman québécois*. In Major’s case, instead of discussing a favourite, the *roman de l’écriture*, Pelletier addresses novels as the autobiographical *Le Cabochon* (1964) as a *roman de l’éducation* or *roman d’apprentissage*.

Opposed to the elitisation of the engaged writer, Major’s professional coming-of-age has less weight in his alter egos than in those of the other canonical writers which we are about

to discuss. For him, other authors do not reflect the Québécois social reality, “mais un problème social intériorisé et vécu comme problème personnel et essentiel (...)” (Major 1964 in Pelletier 1991: 202). However, self-centeredness is not out of the equation in Major’s autofictions, which relate the story of his rebellious, teenage alter ego against the institution which is in his view to blame for Québec’s archaism: family. In this way, conversely, Pelletier still sees a certain “conscience que son histoire personnelle n’est que la reprise, au niveau individuel, de l’Histoire collective, qu’il y a un lien entre les défaites historiques et les défaites individuelles (...)” (Pelletier 1991: 192). Once a relevant actor in the “préhistoire de *Parti Pris*” (Pelletier *ibid*: 201), Major is perhaps the perfect example a frustrated revolutionary leader, who quickly and timely joined the establishment of the counterculture. His own protagonist, *Antoine*, perhaps explains it best: “Incontestablement révolté, rien n’indique qu’Antoine soit devenu révolutionnaire” (Pelletier *ibid*: 194).

Still, a difficult balance between political commitment and peaceful endeavours is still missing from the equation of this Québécois canon. A definitely apolitical member was author and editor Victor Lévy-Beaulieu (1945), an excellent example of thought communities’ multi-role praxis, interspersing writing with multiple forms of mediation, especially editing. A bright novelist, he portrayed the crucial decades of Québec’s national coming-of-age through the saga of a now classical fictional character, Abel Beauchemin. Alter ego to Beaulieu, Beauchemin, who, like the author, moves from rural Trois-Pistoles to Montréal with his family, features a solid line of *romans de l’écriture* throughout Beaulieu’s literary career. The importance of this genre for the *écrivains “joual”* lies precisely in the central role which they played in the province’s political and social evolution, presenting their alter egos as true Québécois “*héros*”. As a result, these *romans* were metafictional in that they allowed Beaulieu, as much as Jacques Godbout and other contributors to the polysystem, to articulate a certain metadiscourse on the social implications of writing. Beaulieu’s voice, perceived throughout works like *Race de Monde* (1968) later to become an acclaimed TV series (1978), or *Don Quichotte de la Démanche* (1974), had nevertheless also a doubtlessly personal dimension, where Abel

Beaucheman's solitude (Pelletier 1991: 177) humanises the depersonalising establishment of



Québécois nationalism.

Indeed, this honest, personal account of Québec's recent history is possibly the most interesting trait of Beaulieu's work. Most of his first novels fall into a category which Pelletier identifies as *littérature du constat*, granting a voice to the "victimes d'une société, la société québécoise dont les principes caractéristiques sont la dépossession et l'aliénation" (see Pelletier 91: 133). While "dépossession" and "aliénation" seem to have a clearly external origine, Beaulieu was impartial in his view of the province's evolution as this "révolte contre nous mêmes", in Pépin's words (1963), making the necessary room for critical self-reflection in essays like *Manuel de la petite littérature du Québec* (1974): "Il y a des sociétés, écrit Beaulieu, qui évoluent vers un rétrécissement d'elles-mêmes, qui tournent contre elles-mêmes leurs forces vives, dans une aberration destructive. C'est un peu ce qui s'est passé au Québec, particulièrement de 1850 à 1950, au nom de la survivance française et catholique" (Beaulieu 1974 in Pelletier *ibid*: 133).

However, after a certain period of overall optimism, coincidental with the unstoppable rise of the Parti Québécois, a mere "*constat*" of reality was far from satisfying given Beaulieu's

outright disappointment. The impact of such disappointment may be perceived in the less utopian portraits of his “héros”, especially Abel Beauchemin, in the years to come. In 1976, as René Lévesque’s even-tempered project found its way to the institutions, everyone else in the *joual* family was ecstatic. Beaulieu, however, appeared disconnected from the establishment of the counterculture which they had excitedly inhabited so far:

“Beaulieu n’est guère sensible au discours nationaliste ‘officiel’ de la période, estimant que le PQ, par une plate politique ‘réaliste’, congédie le rêve, la magie dont il était porteur et renonce au mythe qui seul pourrait mobiliser toutes les énergies et le dynamisme du peuple québécois. La représentation de la collectivité comme pays équivoque que l’on retrouve dans *Les Voyageries* traduit bien le scepticisme qui le distingue de Godbout et de Major entre autres, alors ‘compagnons de route’ du PQ” (Pelletier 1991: 179).

It is then that a new period is inaugurated, marked by the “exacerbation des conflits sociaux” (Pelletier *ibid*) faced by Levesque's two administrations (1976-1985), and therefore, by a new *littérature du problématique* in Beaulieu’s career, inhabited by

“(…) des héros qui ne se contentent plus de hurler leur détresse et leur désarroi, leur malheur de vivre, mais qui s’interrogent sur le sens à donner à leur vie, sur leur avenir. Sur ces héros, comme sur les précédents, le poids du passé (…) pèse toujours lourdement, mais cela ne les empêche pas, malgré tout, de chercher leur place dans le monde à construire. La dimension intérieure et ‘réflexive’ est chez eux beaucoup plus importante que chez les héros antérieurs.” (Pelletier *ibid*: 135)

Beaulieu was also an articulate humanist. He wrote well-driven essays on classical novelists like Victor Hugo (1968), which won him the metropole’s highest recognition, the Prix Larousse-Hachette; Jack Kérouac (1972); Herman Melville (1978); and James Joyce (2006), among others. But most importantly, from the first self-considered national publishing houses (Éditions du jour, 1961-1980) to the explicitly sovereigntist ones, he is living proof of the evolution of the book industry during Québec’s second-wave nationalist period. His career indeed illustrates the process by which a counterculture writer joins the establishment and ends up being his own publisher, editing under his own name, VLB éditeur (1976); and suffers from the unbearable contradictions resulting from it. Interestingly, despite his indifference toward

the Parti Québécois' administrations, he did not appreciate losing the considerable institutional support enjoyed by his publishing house while Lévesque was in office:

“[...] je commençais à envisager sérieusement la possibilité de me défaire de VLB éditeur (...). [...] L'indifférence des pouvoirs publics me donnait la nausée, ces syndicats de boutique qu'étaient toujours nos associations professionnelles m'écœuraient, l'envahissement de nos librairies et de nos bibliothèques par de la camelote américaine mal traduite me dégoûtait. Et plus le temps passait, moins les choses s'amélioraient[...].” (Beaulieu 2001, in Lavoie 2010: 58)

It is perhaps at this point when Beaulieu gives the finishing touch to the image of a sophisticated *paysan* which he has projected since the late 80s. As a necessary *coup d'effet*, the author leaves the city of Montréal and gets rid of VLB éditeur, forever a legendary publishing house, to found a new one outside the constraining establishment: Éditions Trois-Pistoles (1994), bearing the name of the Québécois village where he was born, and in which he has resided ever since. This peaceful retirement of the least conventional writer in the Québécois national movement, together with the multiplicity of roles fulfilled by Beaulieu, has turned out to be quite enriching for its canon.

As the results of the Parti Québécois progressed election after election, beating by far those obtained by the RIN in previous years, The “souveraineté-association” was confirmed as the Québécois' preferred approach to nationalism. As their conquest of the institutions approached, some of the *écrivains “joyal”* suddenly discovered to have a soft spot for politics. While most had affiliated the party almost on its foundation, some, like Gérald Godin, even got prominent positions in Lévesque's (1976-1985) and Johnson's cabinets (1985-). While a permanent connivence with the party was key in the consolidation of the Québécois polysystem, politics and art had to remain formally separate spaces. The national canon was in need of members officially supporting the Parti Québécois but without a political career, with more measured standpoints on the national cause to match the mild consensus brought about by Lévesque. In effect, in 1968 the RIN finally succumbed to, and was absorbed by, the victorious Parti Québécois, oriented toward René Lévesque's more moderate option, the “souveraineté-association” model. Close to this new party's ranks, was the effective predicament of the journal *Liberté*, founded at the end of the Grande Noirceur (1959) by one of the most emblematic writers among the *écrivains “joyal”*: Jacques Godbout (1933-).



Grand-nephew to Liberal Prime Minister Adélard Godbout, who, against all odds, granted women the right to vote in 1940, Godbout was an enthusiastic affiliate to the Parti Québécois. His novels displayed increased political engagement as the 70s progressed. However, unlike Godin or Jacques Ferron, he would never pursue a career in politics, or express admiration for the disgraced FLQ, like writer Hubert Aquin (1929-1977). Nor was he arrested or inspected during the October Crisis of 1970. In 1977, as the manifestation of an already consolidated institution, he would co-found the Union des Écrivains Québécois. A reflection of the nationalist consensus attained by the Parti Québécois, Godbout's journal *Liberté* was considered to embody a balanced souveranist positioning between *Parti Pris* and *Cité Libre*, victim of its own "hara-kiri" (Pelletier 1991: 72) in 1970, as it became abundantly clear that the Liberals were in control even in Ottawa, after Pierre Trudeau's 1969 federal victory. As a platform for the RIN, *Parti Pris* was to disappear as a journal in 1968. Today, besides his literary endeavours and a film career at the federal National Film Board, for which he has directed various documentaries and dramatic features, Jacques Godbout is the dean of the University of Ottawa. This proves a certain circularity of invisible colleges in their relationship with Academia: either they start from it (perhaps when there is not enough stamina

coming from the counterculture), or they end up there. What is doubtlessly clear is that Godbout appears to have been a regular of federal institutions for a few decades now.

In sharp contrast with Major and Lévy-Beaulieu, Godbout was, as he himself would recognise, an intellectual of the *petite bourgeoisie*, which had started to be regarded as compliant with Anglophone elites with the advent of the Quiet Revolution. By now, it seems obvious that, in effect, thought communities are capable of luring various social profiles, but also multiple degrees of commitment to their cause. However, hierarchies do exist in any patriarchal group, and here, unsurprisingly, leadership is placed in the least problematic agent, someone with a high social profile and acquainted with traditional elites. As was customary at the time, Godbout was sent to France to study, and felt immediately attracted by the then fashionable French philosophy. The spirit of Québec's awakening finds Godbout maturing his sense of self as constant metadiscourse to his increasingly committed portrayal of Québécois society: "Tout s'est passé comme si, au niveau des romans, j'avais involontairement fait deux cheminements: l'un (géographique) qui m'amena de l'étranger au pays, l'autre qui me ramena du moi emprunté, étranger aussi, cultivé, classique, galvanisé au moi simple de l'enfance" (Godbout 1971 in Pelletier 1991). In effect, after long educational and teaching stays both in France and Africa, Godbout was to return to Québec and face up the remains of his *grande noirceur* childhood. In the early 60s, novels like the dystopic *L'aquarium* (1962) timidly inaugurate another saga of the autochthonous *héros*, alter ego to the writer, by portraying the beginnings of his colonial emancipation:

"(...) [*L'aquarium*] met en scène un héros coincé entre l'univers des colonisateurs auquel il appartient et l'univers des colonisés pour lequel il éprouve de la sympathie. Si (...) l'univers des colonisateurs, le cartel féodal Clergé-État reproduit la structure du pouvoir dans le Québec de Duplessis, le héros irrésolu, hésitant de *L'aquarium* représenterait de même, à sa manière, les opposants au régime (...) qui n'osent pas s'engager dans une lutte (...)." (Pelletier 1991: 65)

L'aquarium is considered "une variante local du nouveau roman français" (Pelletier *ibid*), and Godbout's "héros irrésolu", a bourgeois youngster educated in the metropole, evolves to embrace his *québécoisité*, making his metamorphosis public through his novels, and explicit through a clarifying, parallel metadiscourse, particularly via *Liberté*. In *Le couteau sur la table* (1967), a clear instance of what he identifies as the *roman de prise de conscience*, Pelletier perceives Godbout's crucial shift to truly committed activism through a favourite motif of his: failed relationships on account of inconsolable differences. Generally exemplified by the *héros'*

frustrated affairs with Anglophone women, abrupt separations between lovers are also key in *Salut Galarneau!* (1967), where Godbout takes the ultimate step toward the political engagement of his literature. As is almost compulsory in Québec's canonical literature, the *héros* is not only a political and emotional alter ego to the author, but also a professional one: a writer, whose "venue à l'écriture", as Cixous would put it (1977), is granted ideological significance, on the somehow pretentious belief that the writer's life is the ultimate illustration of a whole society's evolution. Once again, patriarchal polysystems prove their proneness to idolatry, often amplified by canonical writers' frequent control of multiple outlets, influencing the reception of their work. In Godbout's case, as already indicated, his novels were frequently accompanied by a sort of self-exegesis through in his self-published, *Liberté* articles:

“(…) L'évolution des consciences, la lutte des langues, l'apparition du groupe *Parti Pris*, la défense du joual, et finalement l'illustration de la marde, la répression, le terrorisme, les trahisons, les ambiguïtés, les générosités, les discours de Gaston Miron (...) me font découvrir ce personnage merveilleux qu'est François Galarneau cousin des héros de *L'Aquarium* et du *Couteau*... J'écris donc *Salut Galarneau!* (Le premier roman heureux)... me voilà dans le TEXTE NATIONAL!” (Godbout 1971 in Pelletier 1991: 74)

Godbout's alter ego, François Galarneau, immodestly (self-)praised as a "personnage merveilleux", is logically a writer in the making. Emotionally and professionally confused, Galarneau finally takes a chance with literature, and leaves an Anglophone love interest for Mireille, a Québécois woman. Together with *D'amour, P.Q.* (1972), *Salut Galarneau* is another example of the already discussed *roman de l'écriture*, as well as of a new category invented by Pelletier *ad hoc*: a *roman de l'affirmation*. From this point onwards, the evolution of Godbout's novels displays such a degree of autobiographical intentionality and political propaganda, that Pelletier (1991: 48) questions the actual literary achievement in novels like *Les Têtes à Papineau* (1981): "(...) [I]l s'agit peut-être du roman le moins réussi de Godbout dans la mesure où le romanesque apparaît trop directement asservi au projet politique, au point qu'on serait fondé d'y voir un piétinement, sinon une *régression* révélatrice de la conjoncture confuse, désenchantée et morose qui a suivi le référendum de mai 1980". Published in the aftermath of the 1980 referendum on sovereignty, this novel features a "(...) personnage monstrueux, petit corps régi par deux têtes symbolisant le Québec de la période référendaire s'interrogeant fébrilement sur son avenir" (Pelletier *ibid*: 48). Again in a display of inconsolable differences, this monster's heads speak English and French respectively, and have an opposed identity (one is federalist and the other is separatist). The 80s, "conjoncture confuse désenchantée et morose", which other authors, as we are about to see, identify as a period of "décentrement"

(see Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 2007), did not bring much besides outright disappointment at the Parti Québécois' project, with Godbout's literature increasingly less optimistic and original, with anthologies like *Le murmure Marchand (1976-1984)* (1989) merely revisiting the recently ended administrations of the Parti Québécois.

Jacques Godbout's career (Pelletier 1991)	Periodisation of Québécois literature (Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge 2007)	Evolution of Québécois literature as an invisible college
	1945-1960 "Autonomie"	1940-1960 "Differentiation"
1960-1966 "Révolution Tranquille"	1960-1970 "Exposition"	1960-1970 "Contagion"
1967-1972 "Consolidation du néo-nationalisme"	1970-1980 "Contestation"	1970-1980 Establishment/Divergence
1972-1976 "Crise économique"	1980-1990 "Décentrement"	1980-1990 Decline/Divergence
1976-1980 "Pouvoir Péquiste"		

TABLE 5: A COMPARISON OF THREE TIMELINES: JACQUES GOUBOUT'S CAREER, A PERIODISATION OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE AND THE EVOLUTION OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE AS AN INVISIBLE COLLEGE.

A capital actor in the Québécois cultural scene since the early 60s, Godbout's literary evolution has marked the tempo for his entire generation, especially in later narratives aimed at consolidating a national literary history. His determining role in the institutionalisation of the *écrivains "joui"* thought community translates into a perfect correspondence between official periodisations of Québécois literature and his personal literary metamorphosis. The following table compares Pelletier's proposal for the evolution of Godbout's work (1991) with a generally accepted timeframe of Québec's national literature throughout the second half of the 20th century. For further clarification, my own timeline of such literature understood as an invisible college shall also be displayed.

Several differences as well as various commonalities arise when the previous three periodisations are compared. Pelletier's survey of Godbout's evolution is notably historical in that it presents the province's political upheavals as the driving force behind the author's literary achievements and creative shifts. This is a non-traditional view on literary history, normally prone to offering unprocessed chunks of historical evidence, in case the reader desires to join the dots on his own. However, it crucially reinforces the hypothesis that polysystems are the formal outcome of patriarchal nation-making processes, as well as it proves the connivance between national institutions and the literary elites resulting from intra-patriarchal power struggles. In contrast, the literary periodisation offered by Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge (2007) may seem methodologically less innovative, dealing with historical contextualisation in more conventional ways. However, a remarkable aspect is the tagging protocol followed in order to illustrate each period's predominant spirit. A sociological, function-oriented approach to literary history appears to have been implemented here, underscoring the intentionality behind the consolidation of a national literary tradition.

As a result, perfect compatibility may be found between such tagging protocol and the one guiding this thesis, based on Hermans' notion of invisible colleges. The Grande Noirceur period, essentially comprised between 1944 and 1960, is defined, according to the authors, by the search for the ultimate "autonomie" of Québécois literature, as we shall see, not only with regard to a voracious Anglo-American culture, but also in response to the European French ideal, increasingly perceived as tyrannical. This perfectly adds up to the already described notion of "differentiation" in Hermans' discussion of invisible colleges. Throughout the 60s, during the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966), an increasingly self-aware Québécois literature is introducing itself as a distinctive form of literary creation by a distinctive form of society, while looking for new adepts to join its ranks. This phenomenon, which Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge (2007) identify as "exposition" may be supplemented with that of "contagion", as the list of proudly self-considered *écrivains "jouis"* was set to grow. In the 70s, with the rise of neo-nationalism and a severe economic crisis on the horizon, the anthology presented above perceives the first signs of literary divergence, therefore employing the tag "contestation". Here, I may partially disagree with Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge (2007), in that the 70s were, from the traditional, patriarchal perspective which they essentially follow, a time of "consolidation", as Pelletier indicates (1991), of "néo-nationalisme" and of the "pouvoir Péquiste" within the institutions. Still, such a decade was definitely also one of dissent, but not,

as Pelletier seems to believe (1991), on the exclusive grounds of feuds in the nationalist ranks, or of growing discomfort among Marxist and unionist forces.

The 70s witnessed the rise of militant feminist literature in Québec, increasingly disenchanted with its marginal position in the national polysystem during the previous decade. Since it entailed the decay of nationalist consensus, and therefore that of its literature, the 80s is a decade generally overlooked by patriarchal narratives. In general, anything after the 1980 referendum on sovereignty is considered as a sort of “décentrement”, presumably from nationalist matters, and, in the various cabinets sworn in throughout the decade, and therefore. However, those were years of splendour for Québécois women’s literature in general, and feminist literature in particular. For Biron, Dumont, and Nardout-Lafarge (2007), however, *all* feminism in literature is embodied by the figure of Nicole Brossard, and presented in an assorted group under the heading “avant-gardes and ruptures: 1970-1980”. Feminism is thus obscured under this epigraph with phenomena as diverse as the “nouvelle écriture” and the “Théâtre et québécoité”, or a pot-pourri of authors like Gilbert Langevin, Juan Garcia or Michel Beaulieu, accurately presented as “voix *fraternelles*” (*ibid*, my emphasis). For Pelletier, on the other hand, such movement simply does not exist, as his totalising, three-figure portrait of the “Roman National” does not consider any feminist, or, for that matter, feminine contributions.

Thus, the aim of the next section is to de-construct the periodisations previously discussed, all three essentially coincidental, in the means of unveiling the evolution of what I consider to be a mostly well-preserved thought community, only recently tempted by institutionalisation: the *écriture au féminin* (see Boisclair 1999), a complex notion encompassing different manifestations of feminisms and femininities within the framework of the constantly evolving, 20th-century Québécois society. As a result of more organic procedural principles, this thought community presents an even less stiff periodisation than Québécois literatures, combining a process of differentiation as old as that of the province’s with constant action. In the next few pages, it is my intention to prove that the seven procedural traits typical of these associative models are indeed present, with any potential variations, in the daily operational basis of this group of writers: non-stop dialogues with conservatism; a wide range of outlets and genres targeted; an interspersed practice of editing, writing and various forms of mediation with other entities or groups; cross-disciplinary goals; flexible hierarchies; and the integration of all degrees of commitment and social profiles. As we have seen both in this and the previous section, some of these characteristics may also be observed

in the first stages of the male thought communities presented here. As it often happens with female-centred communities, they rely on the most natural operational forms among individuals, underscoring the kind of simple but powerful cooperation which may move mountains. The male communities presented in this thesis, nevertheless, all strive for institutionalisation, which, in the logic of nation-making, means resolving intra-patriarchal dissent through imposition, and codifying the community’s behaviours as it is institutionalised. Conversely, I expect to argue how the female and feminist thought communities to be portrayed shortly have gone through similar evolutionary stages and matured as a movement without national institutional recognition.

More often than not, indeed, the same patriarchal counter-culture striving for political and institutional representation has tried to either marginalise, assimilate or even commodify their achievements once in control. While these patterns are consistent since the awakening of an explicitly Québécois identity, around the first decades of the 19th century, my analysis shall start in the 20th century, proving this combination of dissociation and operation in each of the periods already described, but with particular emphasis in the two generations with more or less explicitly militant goals: the female writers of the Quiet Revolution, who still thought to have a place in the new nationalist order, and the overtly feminist ones, quickly realising that they did not. Although a *continuum* exists between both generations, I think it appropriate to deal with them separately, in accordance with the official periodisations which I have just discussed. For the sake of clarity, the following table compares the *écriture au féminin* thought community with that of the Québécois literature invisible college:

Period	Québec Literature (Invisible College)	“Écriture au féminin” (Thought Community)
40s	Differentiation	Dissociation Operation
50s	Differentiation	Dissociation Operation
60s	Infection	Dissociation Operation
70s	Establishment Divergence	Operation
80s	Decline	Consolidation
90s		Overture

TABLE 6: A TIMELINE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ÉCRITURE AU FÉMININ THOUGHT COMMUNITY AND THAT OF THE QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE INVISIBLE COLLEGE.

4.3. *Le Québec du Terroir*: Literary Differentiation from The Grande Noirceur to the Quiet Revolution

“La Révolution tranquille chez les Canadiens français du Québec est surtout une révolte contre nous- mêmes.”

(Statement by politician Jean-Luc Pépin at *Le Devoir*, 28th November, 1963).

The history of Québec throughout the 20th century is, like that of any subject caught in between categories, double. While it was forced to engage in a combative dialogue with others for its self-definition, a simultaneous monologue on its own need for change would run as a backwater to the tiring contrastive operations of nation-making. A double discourse, indeed, is what characterises women, and particularly Québécois women, according to Godard (1989: 44), as “the echo of the self and the other”, the input of Québec’s alterity deepening such “form of redoublement” (Godard *ibid*: 50) to the point of inspiring assertions like De Lotbinière Harwood’s “I am a translation because I am bilingual” (1991: 89). While feminism has considered translation a useful trope for emancipation, patriarchal structures have based their monolingual approach on traditional considerations of nation-making, which generally employs translation as a means for assimilation.

In cases like that of Québec’s extraordinary resilience, language has understandably been subjected to protective policies, acting as a backbone to the decades-long process of identitarian definition, with the *Grande noirceur* and the *Révolution tranquille* as opposite poles in its discursive treatment. In traditional, see patriarchal, epistemology, opposites are represented through gender categories, masculinity expectedly meaning strength and superiority, and femininity, weakness and dependance. In contrast with the re-establishment of traditional gender symbolism in the Quiet Revolution’s cultural discourse, and the subsequent re-masculinisation of the Québécois nation, the Duplessis era, a long period under the rule of the Union Nationale, was marked by a frustrating, feminised self-perception. Maurice Duplessis’ (1890-1959) time in office, divided into two non-consecutive blocks of administrations (1936-1939/ 1944-1959) has been considered a particularly sombre period in Québécois narratives. A proud promotion of the same traditionalism which Anglophone Canadians found charmingly inferior kept the Québécois, and particularly women, away from modernity. Québec’s self-perception, as a consequence, was consolidated around the two main axes of France’s colonial rivalry with the British: rural life and catholic faith.

In this context, Québec's troubled relationship with the French language was to become the crucial canvas for the province's social portrait.



FIGURE 12: A CASUAL PORTRAIT OF MAURICE DUPLESSIS.

In effect, since their arrival, the first Francophone settlers were to inhabit and farm the fertile terraced lands along the Saint-Laurent river, discovered by pioneering explorer Jacques Cartier (1534). In short, an Ancient-Regime, agricultural society under a despotic monarchic rule was transplanted from France into the New World. Only 36 years after the Nouvelle France's annexation to the British Empire, the metropole's also majoritarian mass of peasants was driven to a bloody revolution precisely to annihilate such a failed system, hit as they were by famine and epidemics. Already disconnected from their metropole, French-Canadians opted, however, for preserving it with zeal, perceiving as cultural treason any attempts at an Anglophone-led industrialisation of their now small territory. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, a combination of blind respect for tradition and the Anglophone elites' appropriation of industrial development had allowed for little change in the Québécois' living standards, portraying the few prosperous Québécois entrepreneurs as servile lieutenants to Anglophone imperialism³⁹. Duplessis not only promoted an undisturbed rural life (he firmly opposed, like some romantic Anglophone writers, the construction of an efficient railway connecting Québec's main regions), but also a traditional state-church alliance through which to exert moral (and therefore political) control over rural parishes. Given the clergy's enormous power through the provision of education and health services in schools and hospitals, entrusted to them since the days of the French colony, the Québécois were sure to stay tied to their

³⁹ In their more complex critique of Québécois society as a patriarchal system opposed to modernity, the Quiet Revolution's (proto-)feminist writers would portray Québécois businessmen as responsible for the lack of social change in the province, especially regarding women's rights, on the grounds of their subservience to Anglophone financial elites. Such is the case of Françoise Loranger's (1913-1995) play *Encore cinq minutes* (1967), translated that same year by Louise Forsyth as *Five Minutes More* (see Coates : 84).

traditional mores and land. As vulnerable citizens, and therefore voters, the overwhelmingly majoritarian rural populations were constantly exposed to electoral fraud thanks to their precarious lifestyle across Québec's poorly communicated farms.

Traditional gender roles, and therefore politically-utilised gender metaphors were surely in place in the rancid nationalist discourse on which the population was being fed. The French language was to become a two-edged sword for the Québécois, with the kind of invisibility in the prestigious French book industry which precarised it as a source of reminiscing pride for French-Canadians. A pervasive, tacit dilemma in the Québécois society of the time was therefore whether the so-called *joual* had to be praised for its extraordinary resilience, or either subsumed into the more prestigious, metropolitan French, leading to what Bouchard (1998) describes as a linguistic "inferiority complex" which would surely backfire in the years to come. However, as this same author explains (*ibid*), the winning strategy in order to reach a population mainly composed of poorly instructed farmers was to extol the *joual* in its most autochthonous forms, as the code bravely kept alive by the glorified *paysan*, the French-Canadian peasant. French, at the same time, was proclaimed a "*langue gardienne de la foi*" (Bouchard *ibid*: 101), exerting a much-needed protection on catholicism as a crucial identity trait in Québec.

Traditionally known as the *Belle province*, Québec was believed to be feminised by constant humiliation on the part of powerful Anglophone imperialism, consequently perceived as strong and clearly masculine. By reinforcing the traditional, caretaking role of feminine identity traits like language and religion, the Québécois nation was expected to recover its own masculine role as purveyor, therefore re-establishing the symbolic balance disturbed by Anglophone interference. As the Clio Collective have meticulously illustrated (Clio 1982), strictly traditional gender roles in the Duplessis era would converge with the prevailing concept of nation at the time, with classical anti-feminist notions like that of the "separate spheres", and especially the Catholic "complementarity" principle, which, considering the extent of religious devotion in the Québécois society at the time, was especially difficult to overcome, even for the province's first self-denominated feminist organisations. Here, especially as we approach the 50s consolidation of urban lifestyle, two coexisting axes of feminist thought must be discerned: the rural and the cosmopolitan lines of argumentation.

As the perks of city life became more and more apparent to the new generations of farming families, the struggle to maintain an anachronic rural society became increasingly difficult. Since 1916, was the aim of the Ligue nationale de la colonisation, which would encourage the creation of a Comité de retour à la terre in 1932, in the means of fighting against a progressive rural exodus and the subsequent loss of traditional moral and social values. As emphasised by the Clio Collective (*ibid*), contradiction is a constant in patriarchal policies of self-conservation. While the economic value of women's farming work remained unacknowledged, traditionalist positionings extolled their role in the conservation of a specifically Québécois lifestyle and requested "qualified wives" in their subsidised promotion of pioneer settlements in thus-far uncultivated lands. Even if the Comité's campaigns offered limited results when competing with the more appealing urban areas, rural lifestyle succeeded in surviving through a series of persuasive policies and a certain tolerance to calculated change, a great deal of which concerned women.

Divided between an exhausting rural household, their collaborative farming work (widows had to keep farming on their own to sustain their numerous offspring); state-promoted domestic economies; and often, if they lived in isolated lands, autarchic restrictions, women farmers started to benefit from gender-specific training. Thus, the church-controlled "écoles ménagères" (Clio *ibid*: 316) were especially devised to keep them tied to farming areas as an indispensable figure of rural life. Given the extreme difficulties to access proper education in urban cores (Clio *ibid*: 15), domestic training was for decades the only female-targeted learning available, and therefore able to compete with the poorly-paid maid or factory jobs awaiting rural girls in the cities. Soon, however, a need was sensed for more structured, collaborative action, founding the first Cercles de Fermières in 1915, partially inspired by the Anglophone Homemakers Clubs (1902, see Clio *ibid*: 307). According to their promoters, these cercles, which acquired a considerable amount of power and sent frequent delegates to the Québécois Ministry of Agriculture, were defined as follows:

Dans une paroisse, un *Cercle de Fermières* est une véritable école publique d'enseignement ménager-agricole. C'est aussi un milieu favorable à la pratique de la charité (...). Le *Cercle de Fermières* est une oeuvre éducative rurale qui embrasse toutes les autres oeuvres, telles que: charité, service social, mouvement d'action catholique, hygiène, arts domestique, embellissement des demeures, organisation des loisirs, bibliothèque. (Constitution des Cercles de Fermières, 1928, in Clio *ibid*: 308).

As one may see, the Cercles de Fermières would by no means counteract, but certainly converge with the patriarchal project of a rural, traditional Québec. Inspired by the Ministry of Agriculture itself and predated by the Church, which soon created an alternative explicitly oriented towards catholic action, these Circles would generally operate according to patriarchal values. Despite the Clio Collective's enhancement of their organisational value, which suggests a prototypical form of "thought community", a capital notion for this thesis, a degrading perception of feminism as "charity" would underlie this and other Church-led examples of female "solidarity" in Québec during the first half of the 20th century.

As first-hand transmitters of language and faith to their offspring, Québécois women were expected to exert through them, as already argued, the role of ideological guardianship which linguistic and catholic values acquired by extension, subordinating their gender-informed, collaborative efforts to the patriarchal national project: "Définies essentiellement comme épouses, mères et ménagères, et présentées comme les gardiennes de la langue et de la foi, les francophones catholiques ne jouissent pas de la même liberté que les anglophones qui n'ont pas à faire face à un clergé hostile" (Clio *ibid*: 327). As opposed to the previously described "féminisme chrétien", a movement burdened both by catholicism and the so-called "question nationale", new forms of social feminism, especially in urban areas, shall nevertheless be presented by the Clio Collective as "healthier" alternatives to the Duplessis-approved ones: "L'action des féministes sociales devraient [*sic*], selon elles, permettre une organisation plus saine de la société et un niveau de moralité plus élevé" (Clio *ibid*: 327).

Québécois cities would certainly witness the foundation of various feminist organisations with different goals and profiles since the early 20th century. The first of them was the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean Baptiste, founded in 1907. This association, which exerted considerable influence till the 60s, may be proud of various first-row achievements. Since its foundation, civil-code amendments were considered a pressing matter by its board, especially as the association's scope was progressively narrowed down to encompass women's access to professional life. In 1929, as constantly requested by the Fédération, the Commission des droits de la femme, also known as Commission Dorion, was celebrated, based on several reports prepared by this and other feminist associations operating at the time, like the Montreal Local Council, the Association des femmes propriétaires, the Alliance Canadienne pour le droit des femmes, and the Ligue des droits de la femme (see Clio 1982: 334).

An essential request made to the Commission concerned married women's rights and, in particular, working women's right to take full control over their salaries, as well as to have a say in the administration of matrimonial assets. Although mocked as a group of "bourgeoises intellectuelles" (Clio *ibid*: 336), the proposals brought forward by conservative lawyers like Marie Gérin-Lajoie were generally listened to, and the financial autonomy of married women with salaries was improved (1890-1971). A constant fight in decades to come, any amendments to the Québécois civil code were distrusted by patriarchal elites as potential attempts at Anglophone interference, a perception unfortunately reinforced by the number of Anglophone philanthropists, wives of Governors and businessmen who led many of the Montreal-based feminist associations. Considering the difficulties faced in order to preserve it, especially around the times of the Confederation, the immutability of this body of laws, which had barely changed since colonial times, had become an obsession for the supporters of the "question nationale". The extent of Québécois elites' reluctance in this matter was such that, already in the times of the Quiet Revolution, when the support of the increasingly powerful feminist associations was capital, it kept backfiring at nationalist leaders. As it seemed, their plans for a more modern, theoretically because more autonomous, Québec hardly ever relied on the valuable feedback provided by feminist groups regarding the differentially poorer condition of Québécois women's rights within the Federation. The race for women's suffrage, as a result, was sure to be tumultuous.

Throughout the history of Québec women's fight for the right to vote, Marie-Thérèse Casgrain's (1896-1981) initiative and persistence proved essential. Besides leading the Alliance canadienne pour le vot des femmes, Casgrain, whose husband was in turn the Liberal Party's majority leader at the House of Commons, also coordinated a mirroring association, Femmes Libérales du Canada. While she was skilled in dealing with the outright opposition of the Church, and especially of Cardinal Villeneuve (1883-1947), the Grand Noirceur's short liberal interregnum was also reluctant of granting such right to the half of Québec's population supposedly most vulnerable to the clergy's influence. This standpoint was unfortunately shared by rural feminists like Françoise Gaudet-Smet (1902-1986), who would excuse herself decades later, in the 60s, by arguing that "(...) la Québécoise, surtout dans les campagnes, n'y était pas prête. Elle ne s'en faisait pas sur son influence" (1965, in Clio *ibid*: 347). Be as it may, in 1940, after threatening the clergy with his resignation and the nomination of an anticlerical substitute,

Liberal Premier Adélard Godbout (1892-1956) finally granted Québécois women the right to vote. Whether Gaudet-Smet and a substantial part of the Parti Libéral were right, and they were to vote according to the rural clergy's instructions, we shall never know. What is certainly true, however, is that, in 1944, Duplessis was back in office, and would remain Québec's Prime Minister till his death, in 1959, the Grande Noirceur perishing with him.

4.4. Distorting, Emerging Voices: Women between Traditionalism and Nationalism

For Gilbert Lewis (1985), Québécois women's writing since the 19th century has been caught between three three fields of action: traditionalism, nationalism, and feminism. Therefore, the materialisation of these three axes in their literature implies that, even when their literature was promoted by patriarchal eliters, because supportive of nation and tradition, camouflaged emancipatory action was involved. In my view, the embodiment of such action is in the search for a politicised literary voice, a narrator producing a liberating metadiscourse under the patriarchal radar. As Smart has argued (2005), this search dates back from the times of the *roman de la terre*, a genre illustrating the Nouvelle France's colonial life. where deep connections between the possession of women and that of farmland, representing the French-Canadian lifestyle, invite to think once again about the objectifying gender metaphors of patriarchal colonial logic. As Smart explains, "(...) l'observateur mâle immobilise l'objet à connaître [woman or piece of land indistinctly] et le découpe en morceaux afin de le "posséder", therefore establishing "(...) correspondances entre cette appropriation de la femme et celle du monde extérieur" (Smart *ibid*: 142). What is more, a central topic in this genre is the traditional patriarchal triangle composed of two men (father- and son-in-law to-be) exchanging women for land through marriage, which, according to this author, symbolises the passage from wilderness to civilisation. However, when these usually silent characters, "[f]emmes passives, obéissantes et silencieuses, bêtes de travail et de reproduction" (Smart *ibid*: 90), speak out to retell the colonial experience, such triangle, deemed essential for national survival, breaks:

Ce triangle a de résonances spécifiquement québécoises (la transmission de l'héritage national en dépend, par exemple), mais derrière elles on décèle une structure plus universelle--celle de l'échange d'une femme entre deux hommes que Lévi-Strauss a identifié comme la marque du passage d'un groupe de l'état de "nature" à celui de la "culture". (Smart 2005, 32)

It is through the early initiative of Laure Conan's *Angeline de Montbrun* (1887) or Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (1917), or Germaine de Guèvremont's *Le revenant* (1945) that a sacred form of patriarchal national literature is subverted from the margins, laying the basis for revolutionary female narrators in the new urban landscapes of 40s and 50s industrial Montréal. While those years' genre *par excellence*, the *roman social*, often had seemingly more neutral, third-person narrators (Michon 1981: 69), one woman writer excelled by offering a female standpoint to a newly-inaugurated urban lifestyle, and a now increasing urban working class: Gabrielle Roy (1909-1983).



FIGURE 13: LAURE CONAN (1845-1924).

Interestingly enough, as Gilbert Lewis has pointed out (1982), Roy has both male and female protagonists, whose different attitudes towards the Montréal working-class lifestyle are extremely revealing from a gender perspective. In Roy's masterpiece *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945), staged in the Francophone, working-class neighbourhood of Saint-Henri, "male characters (...) do escape from the city, rather than trying to dominate it", in the means of "conquer[ing] [their] destiny" or "escaping from [their] misery" (Gilbert 1982: 75), only to return in order to close the circle and die. Women, however, may not leave behind the modern mess to which patriarchy subjugates them: "Caught in the round, female structures of motherhood, crowds, and hereditary misery, therefore--created by men--these female protagonists will be forced to remain, as well, within the ironically female urban sphere of Montreal" (Gilbert *ibid*: 75). For Roy, curiously enough, going back to a state of nature entails true happiness, something which only men are able to obtain in her fiction. Her innovative

focus on Montréal urban life, with the city portrayed as clearly female, to dissect female existence shall be capital for the feminist literature to come in the next decades, which often displays a metaphoric between the female body and urban spaces. Additionally, the impact of a linguistically culturally divided city, and the resulting social class differences is crucially analysed from a gender perspective:

Il [Montréal] est français dans son exubérance et sa confusion politique, anglais dans les affaires, cosmopolite au port, américain dans la rue Sainte-Catherine, provincial dans l'est, puritain à Westmount, snob à Outremont, nationaliste au Parc Lafontaine, canadien-français le 24 juin, saxon à Noël...bilingue quand il le faut et profondément hybride dans l'âme. Nul doute que cette ville étonnante ne soit l'œuvre de deux nations (Roy 1945 in Gilbert 1985).

Nevertheless, the most accomplished aspect of Roy's fiction is probably the portrayal of the *Québécois* "mère souffrante". It is through such portrayal that her typically realist narrators prove most effective: by acting as cold-blooded witnesses to the "femme-martyre" (Smart 2005: 225). As Smart argues (*ibid*: 225), *Bonheur d'occasion's* mother, Rose-Anna Laplante, is "à la fois l'icône de la négativité maternelle et l'incarnation parfaite des enseignements de l'idéologie dominante". Thus, present in Roy's work is the seed of female awareness of patriarchal oppression, leading Rose-Anna to "(...) la tentation d'être "tueuse" et non plus "engendreuse" de vie pour ses enfants" . Women, in Roy's fictional universe must constantly fight against death and resignation.



FIGURE 14: GABRIELLE ROY (1909-1983).

4.4.1. Contagion and Establishment: Québécois Women and the Roman National

Although the timeframe for the Quiet Revolution traditionally comprises between 1960 and 1966, prominent experts like Léon Dion (1998), besides questioning the actual impact of those first years, support wider periodisations, encompassing the truly decisive social change of Québécois society throughout the 70s. Dion's proposal in particular goes from the generally accepted starting point of 1960, marked by Libéral Jean Lesage's (1912-1980) oath of office, till 1976, with the Parti Québécois first victory. While the author mostly leaves out the province's feminist movements, for which 1975 was only one of many milestones, it may be considered a counter-narrative insofar as it explicitly excludes the Parti Québécois first legislature from the kind of social, political, and financial reform required from a true "revolution".



FIGURE 15: PRIME MINISTER JEAN LESAGE.

Lesage's cabinet, known as the *Équipe du tonnerre* (Thunder cabinet) was innovative both in form and content. In terms of its composition, it was utterly more qualified than any of the previous governments, in the means of ensuring the execution of its very ambitious projects of modernisation. It is in this *Tonnerre* administration that the province's most decisive political actors of the next decade were made known. A key member was René Lévesque (1922-1987), founder of the Parti Québécois (1968) and future Premier, Minister of National Resources from 1961 to 1965. Similarly, deputy Premier to-be Pierre Laporte, kidnapped and assassinated by the Front de Libération du Québec in the 1970 October Crisis, ran the brand-new Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Lastly, since the *Équipe du tonnerre* wanted to convey an

image of modernity and social progress, women's ground-breaking access to the cabinet was announced with great ceremony. Such was the case of Marie-Claire Kirkland-Casgrain (1924-2016) a U.S. born politician who became Québec's first woman legislator (and, for a long time, the only one), as well as the first woman judge in the Québec Provincial Court. One may see that Casgrain's cabinet appointments by the Parti Libéral were essentially esthetic in that she was initially appointed Minister to Lesage's cabinet without any particular portfolio (1962-1964). Later during Lesage's time in office, and in a consecutive Libéral term under Robert Bourassa (1970-1976), she carried out a variety of functions, from Ministry of Transport and Communications (1964-1966), to Tourism, Game, and Fishing (1970-1972), and Cultural Affairs (1972-1973). In 1973, Casgrain would resign to pursue her career in the judiciary. Rather than the technocrat she could have been, it is my perception that she was treated, to a certain extent, as a symbol, and therefore somehow commoditised.

All in all, these three Ministers indeed embodied the lines of action guiding the Liberal cabinets throughout the sixties, and for which Lesage's years, much more indeed than Bourassa's, have been considered a highpoint of the Quiet Revolution. Under a most appropriate motto, "maîtres chez-nous", Lesage's aim was to abandon sterile nationalist preaching, and take action instead, which implied the province's long-awaited modernisation process. For such purpose, the clergy's predatory attitudes both in education and healthcare had to be terminated, attaining secular institutions and legislating for an effective operation of the public sector in those areas. With the so-called Parent Report (1961 onwards), and a subsequent *Projet de loi 60*, Minister Paul Gérin-Lajoie (1920-2018), son of Feminist lawyer Marie Gérin-Lajoie (see 4.3.)⁴⁰, undertook an ambitious reform of the educational system leading, among other things, to increasing equality for men and women, even if that paradoxically implied removing women, particularly nuns, from the only responsible positions to which they had had access so far: schools (see CLIO 1982).

Similarly, in 1966, the Parti Libéral launched a cost-sharing programme for health expenditure and articulated the Castonguay-Nepveu Report (1967 onwards). Lésage's efforts in this direction culminated in the 1970 *Loi d'assurance maladie*, which not only improved, but also guaranteed access to public healthcare. Liberal plans for the public sector were topped

⁴⁰ This proves how traditional *bourgeois* elites were far from disappearing in Québec after Duplessis' death, despite Lesage's modernising project, or even the Parti Québécois' expectably clearer connections with the working class.

with the nationalisation of certain strategic sectors, still demanding effective independence from high-profile Anglophone corporations. This was specially relevant in the case of hydropower supply, which led then-Minister René Lévesque to monitor the expansion process of public supplier *Hydro-Québec* through the acquisition of private, Anglophone-led ones. Indeed, the strong connections encouraged at the time between this nationalisation process and the reinforcement of Québécois independence and identity have led some theorists to humorously state that “On est Hydro-Québécois” (see Perron 2003).

Certainly, however, the most relevant change considering the scope of this thesis was a personal victory of Marie-Claire Kirkland-Casgrain: the so-called *Loi 16, Loi sur la capacité juridique de la femme mariée*. Passed in 1964, this bill modified that established by Art. 177 in the *Code Civil du Bas Canada* (1866): “La femme mariée a la pleine capacité juridique, quant à ses droits civils, sous la seule réserve des restrictions découlant du régime matrimonial”. This is the reason, according to the Collective Clio (1982), why women in Québec had a tendency to delay their marriage, or even opt for a life at God’s service, in the means of enjoying independence and promotion prospects. In essence, as already indicated (see 3.1.3.), the Québécois Civil Code amounted to the well-known “*Code Napoléon*”⁴¹, plus a certain *vernissage* from the ancient *Coutume de Paris*. An essential asset of Québécois identity, any significant amendments to it have been powerfully resisted till very recently.

As a result, Kirkland-Casgrain’s bill only performed symbolic changes in married women’s status. From that moment onwards, women were not to owe men obedience anymore, they could act in their own name in civil procedures, decide whether they wanted to work outside home, and enjoy their self-earned assets. However, many of these changes had already been achieved in practice with the Dorion Report (1929), on the initiative of conservative feminist Marie Gérin-Lajoie (1890-1971). Their husbands remained the main legal decision-makers in every household, theirs being a complementary role in the decision-making process. As much as her appointment may have been a marketing twist, Kirkland-Casgrain’s

⁴¹ As part of the settlement between Britain and France upon the latter’s waive of its colonies (1763), former French territories would continue to abide by the “Code Napoléon”. Its archaic conception of married women’s underage status anachronically survived in Louisiana by the mid-20th century, as Tennessee Williams’s play *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) proves.

meritorious efforts would constantly meet the glass ceiling of Québec's very conservative legislators.



FIGURE 16: MARIE-CLAIRE KIRKLAND-CASGRAIN SURROUNDED BY COLLEAGUES, CA. 1967.

With the benefit of hindsight, one could confirm Lesage's overall aim of implementing, to a certain extent, the European, and particularly the French model of welfare state as one key aspect of its Francophile approach. An essential part of Lesage's foreign policy was indeed to strengthen links with the ancient metropole, whose citizens were shocked on realisation that they had a long-forgotten Francophone cousin from overseas. In France, Lesage was welcomed with head-of-state honours, a defying attitude reinforced by Charles De Gaulle's (1890-1970) provoking, legendary shout-out "Vive le Québec libre!" in 1967, on his own visit to Québec. Federal Premier Lester Pearson (1897-1972) was outraged. While De Gaulle's aversion to British influence is well-known, and his behaviour probably had more complex motivations than Québécois affairs, he powerfully propelled the "Je me souviens" spirit ruling the province's cultural politics till the 70s, as the previously discussed "Querelle du joual" (Bouchard 1998) gained momentum. Therefore, although mainly of practical consequences, the project of being "maîtres chez nous" had understandably clear cultural implications, which encouraged the already mentioned creation of a Ministère des affaires culturelles, entrusted with protecting autochthonous culture, particularly music and theatre. However, as much as culture remained a sphere of the Montréal bourgeoisie, much of which was Anglophone, and still perceived as the remains of the old British Empire, Québécois finances were still under the control of Anglophone creditors. This time, nevertheless, it was the new Wall Street Empire which was paying for Québécois modernity. *Maîtres chez nous?*

The ultimate limit of the model of welfare state pursued by the Quiet Revolution's Libéral cabinets was, however, its paradoxical relationship with Québécois women. For political scientist Diane Lamoureux (2001: 145), welfare state projects entail a "(...)

convergence entre féministes et nationalistes” in as much as both groups benefit from its implementation. The public sector, on its part, aims to protect nation-states’ basic functional units, families, by assuming some of the care-taking roles usually undertaken by women. As a result, female citizens are believed to access for the first time their longed-for individuality, being freed for their unpaid domestic jobs, and therefore available for paid ones outside their home. It is Lamoureux’s contention (2001: 147), however, that this led in Québec to what she defines as “patriarcat public”: “ L’État providence (...) a pris en charge des activités autrefois assumées privément dans le cadre de la famille, développant ce qu’on peut qualifier de patriarcat public, lequel veut soutenir – mais en même temps mine – le patriarcat privé”. The suggestion, therefore, is that welfare states, the ultimate modernisation of patriarchal nation states ensuring their survival, do not actually intend to modify the standing patterns of gender relations, but simply institutionalise them, to the point that women, for the first time allegedly treated as “individuals” with personal aspirations, nevertheless end up carrying out the type of care-taking jobs in the public sphere that the state was supposed to free them from in private domains. The difference, yet, lies in the fact that such jobs are paid. According to Lamoureux, during the Quiet Revolution it became common even to subsidise the feminist associations’ resources, operational networks and workforce in order to sustain this "patriarcat public", which entrusted humanity’s caretakers *par excellence* with what they knew how to do best. While feminism was starting to be seen as a commodity for effective politics, no real changes, in this scholar’s view, were effected regarding women’s condition in this modernising period.

All in all, the radicality of this supposed “revolution”, a tag kept by the Québécois in order to aggrandise its outcome, has equally been challenged by Dion (1998), who deems the decade and a half between 1960 and 1976 a “révolution déroutée”, where most alterations brought about by Lesage’s liberal, timidly nationalist cabinet were blurred by the next decade’s essentially political turmoil, unbothered by the technocratic achievements of his administration. A generally agreed-on, pivotal year in Québec’s slow awakening, nevertheless, is that of October, 1970, with one of the hardest events in Canada’s recent history, inaugurating, as we shall discuss shortly, a debate on the appropriateness of certain methods in order to achieve sovereignty. Pro-independence terrorism, sadly hitting the lines both at home and abroad, was to be annihilated by Québécois Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s also sad enforcement of the War Measures Act, in October of that same year. From then, political action would become the preferred means to challenge Québec’s model of integration in Canada. In response to the subsequent limitations of civil rights, feminist writers like Nicole Brossard, or

then novel translators like Sheila Fischman (1938-) became involved in the protests after the arrest of nationalist intellectuals and leading figures of a polysystem in the making (see 4.2.). These two thought communities, still converging at the time, were about to part ways in their radically different perception of Québec's social needs.



FIGURE 17: THE PARTI LIBERAL'S "MAÎTRES CHEZ NOUS" SLOGAN.

4.4.2. Dissociation: Québécois Women Write Themselves Out of the Margins

The end of the province's first nationalist period marked the beginning of a committed national literary polysystem, with early examples of the so-called *roman social* as a prelude to the *roman du cas de conscience* (Michon 1980), crucial in the decades to come. The second, as already contended, brought about the consolidation of the *roman national* (Michon 1980), by then at a stage of "infection", with an indisputably male canon of writers, essentially represented by Jacques Godbout (1933-), Victor Lévy-Beaulieu (1945-), and André Major (1942-) (see Pelletier 1991). Certainly, Roy and Hébert had by no means disappeared, and kept publishing and winning awards at a regular pace. By then, they constituted indisputable members of the literary canon. Their lack of an explicit political commitment with the nationalist cause in their work momentarily pushed them away from the avant-garde. However, a predominantly social scope, like in Roy's *roman social* (Michon 1980: 69) or the cultivation of key genres in Québécois literature, like Anne Hébert's modernist poetry and historical fiction, granted them sustained literary success throughout the 20th century.

Across time and space, female-centred communities, as well as other marginalised groups, have found themselves divided between efforts at dissociation from dominant

patriarchal structures and their own operations, understandably hampered by the former. This has often entailed some difficulty for theorists in order to discern truly gender-aware agencies from simply female ones. While combat is essential for any marginalised group's survival, signs of specifically gender-aware opposition are a requisite for feminist attitudes to be identified. Studying the Québécois polysystem certainly implies this kind of difficulties. From the early 19th century, with events as the *Rebellion des Patriotes* (1837-1838), the Québécois adopted a defensive attitude against an immediate source of threat for their survival: the British administration. This, however, does not mean that they felt *Québécois* in the modern sense of the word: they essentially sensed to be defending their cultural and linguistic belonging to their metropole: their Frenchness. Throughout the century, early signs of differentiation arose, especially in cultural and linguistic domains (the "*conflit entre ici et ailleurs*", see Biron, Dumont et Nardout-Lafarge 2007), a certain notion of being *something other than French*. However, cultural dissociation did not entail an open conflict till the first half of the 20th century, with first-wave nationalism, bearing an impact on the already mentioned linguistic (and cultural) "inferiority complex" felt by the Québécois (Bouchard 1998). Already in the 70s, with what many identify as *néo-nationalisme* (see Pelletier 1991), the "*Querelle du joul*", pursuing an official-language status for the Québécois French variety, evinced that Québec's national identity was fully mature.

In another display of the traits which Québécois nationalists and feminists believe to have in common, feminist thought, and therefore feminist literature has been in a permanent process of dissociation as a requisite for any kind of operation, with increasing self-awareness regarding its conflicted, combative condition. As a result, Boisclair (1999: 100) claims that "(...) [j]usqu'à il y a peu de temps, l'appareil critique en place ne pouvait déterminer avec exactitude le moment d'émergence du mouvement de l'écriture des femmes." It is this author's contention (*ibid*), nevertheless, that the *roman national* acted as an institutionalised matrix for the exuberant emergence of female voices which she has detected in the 60s', the first self-considered Québécois literature. A new thought community, which we shall identify under the far-ranging term "écriture au féminin" (Boisclair 1998), emerged precisely as Québécois female writers, in trying to re-create the same political metadiscourse which Michon (1981) names "vision carnavalesque", and therefore build up female *héros* for their novels, took the final step towards dissociation from patriarchy. Through this apparently convergent literary action, supporting the patriarchal nationalist project, they realised that no form of intra-patriarchal dissent was against the basic forms of female oppression. Quite conversely, as the

roman de la Terre illustrates, such oppression had crucially contributed to the survival of Francophone-Canadian culture under British rule, to the point that nationalism would fuel anti-feminist attitudes among the Grande Noirceur's cultural elites. In effect, as journalist Henri Bourassa claimed, "(...) le rôle traditionnel de la mère est le fondement même de la société canadienne-française (...)", féminisme being "(...) une importation des pays anglo-saxons (...)" (Smart 2005: 29).

When does literary feminism start, then, in the province? Again, Boisclair (1999) offers a survey on different approaches. For her, as I have already argued, the *écriture des femmes*, as she refers to the movement in general, implies turning (different degrees of commitment with) female oppression into a valid literary topic, while a specific feminist sub-genre shall be combative, performative, and attempt to effect explicit changes. Similarly, Both for Hélène Ouvrard (1977) and Anne Brown (1987), a series of what Ouvrard calls "proto-feminist" texts started to appear in the more liberating context of the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966), which I have already described. Gabrielle Frémont (1985), on her part, argues that what she identifies as *roman des femmes* comprises only explicitly *feminist* literature from the 70s onwards, leaving, in my view, multiple pioneering contributions out of her scope. What remains clear, as Pierre de Grandpré (1985) has stated, is that combative feminism and its literature took off in Québec around 1975. Perhaps, this explains why the Parti Québécois, which had little intention to improve women's condition in the province, conquered institutions far too late to succeed, in 1976, overwhelmed by an unstoppable movement which was already being featured as a salient trait of Québécois modernity by others, particularly by Anglophone Canada. While these periodisations are essentially coincidental with the ones proposed in this thesis, the most exhaustive one is Boisclair's own proposal, enriched by crucial sociological background like Bourdieu's notions of "habitus" (1971) and, especially, "champ de pouvoir" (1971), "champ intellectuel" (1971), and "champ littéraire" (1991). These now classical concepts constitute widespread, institutionalised alternatives to the one I have formulated for this thesis, "thought communities", based on feminist, pro-LGBT rights activist (Stein 2006). However, they also render homage to the short list of male, essentially French philosophers and intellectuals, which seem to have become a notional requisite for any feminist strand pursuing the establishment's recognition, a form of notional tyranny affecting the so-called "French feminisms" in particular (see 2.2.2.ff).

On the other hand, they somehow obscure the operational perspective which I would like to emphasise when describing female practices of cultural association. Be as it may, Boisclair's periodised account of "le processus constitutif d'un sous-champ littéraire féministe au Québec" (1960-1990) is the most clarifying antecedent to my research which I have been able to find:

I. Préféminisme	II. Féminisme	III. Métaféminisme
1960-1973	1974-1979	1980-1990
Roman des femmes	Textes radicaux	Féminisme intégré
Claire Martin (1914-) Anne Hébert (1916-) Yvette Naubert (1918-1982) Andrée Maillet (1921-1995) Madeleine Ferron (1922-) Paule Saint-Onge (1922-) Monique Bosco (1927-) Louise Maheux-Forcier (1929-) Michèle Mailhot (1932-) Diane Giguère (1937-) Marie-Claire Blais (1939-)	Louky Bersianik (1930-) Marie Savard (1936-) Madeleine Gagnon (1938-) Jovette Marchessault (1938-) Hélène Ouvrard (1938-) France Théoret (1942-) Nicole Brossard (1943-) Louise Cotnoir (1948-) Jocelyne Felx (1949-) Carole Massé (1949-) Yolande Villemaire (1949-) Anne-Marie Alonzo (1951-)	Anne Hébert (1916-) M. O-Michalska (1935-) Marie-Claire Blais (1939-) Louise Desjardins (1943-) Suzanne Jacob (1943-) Francine Noël (1945-) Claudette C.-Tissot ²⁸¹ (1947-) Arlette Cousture (1948-) Louise Bouchard (1949-) Hélène Rioux (1949-) Pauline Harvey (1950-) Marie Laberge (1950-) Maryse Pelletier (1950-) Madeleine Monette (1951-) Monique Proulx (1952-) Élise Turcotte (1957-) Chrystine Brouillet (1958-)

FIGURE 18: THE THREE PHASES OF QUÉBÉCOIS WOMEN'S WRITING, *APUD* BOISCLAIR 1998: 210.

The previous proposal, while pivotal for this thesis, certainly has limitations. First of all, many of the authors compiled in Boisclair's corpus are either known by a single, perhaps casual publication at the "feminist" stage, or never saw their work published till subsequent decades, precisely in the 80s and 90s, on the arrival of "metafeminism", a metadiscourse organising and criticising feminist literary praxis". In my view, as shall be observed in the next section, the "metafeminist" stage, which portrays the progressive commodisation (and therefore institutionalisation) of women's writing by patriarchy, is crucially marked by Barbara Godard's translational and academic work. Her inauguration of a resulting academic field, Canadian Feminist Translation Studies, is indeed responsible for much of the current interest in Québécois feminist literature, essentially academic. As a result, this literature's standing canons respond quite accurately to Godard's, and, to a lesser extent, to other Anglophone translators' projects. Many of the authors left out by the latter (and some of the recently-canonised ones),

in fact, have not been translated until the "metafeminist" stage, or even until the early 2000s. Such is the case of first-row feminist novelist France Théoret, who shall be introduced shortly (see 4.4.5.). A doubtlessly relevant factor, nevertheless, is the success and overall quality of each novel, which is considerably variable in Boisclair's corpus. Additionally, in the 60s, many of these female authors would publish their work in the most conservative Québécois publishers, some of them, like the Cercle de Livres de France, with an explicitly colonial mentality. A number of them emigrated to France, from where they wrote part of their work. As far as I am concerned, this points to a certain immaturity not only of the female-conscious/protofeminist movement in Québec, but also of the province's book industry toward female and feminist literature, partially questioning, perhaps, the "(sous-)champ littéraire" thesis. As argued throughout this chapter, feminism has ultimately become a commodity of Québécois identity, partially encouraged by a systematic promotion of Québécois feminist literature on the part of Anglophone Canadian cultural institutions. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the effort made by the province's current feminist scholars at sustaining literary feminism almost as a marketing product. Institutionalisation, as already said, often starts, or ends, in academia, and feminisms are by no means immune to the establishment's attraction.

In essence, if the previous three periods are to be compared with my own proposal, a predominantly procedural approach is observed in the notion of "thought communities". In my view, it is precisely the underscoring of this procedural aim what evinces the *continuum* between the two essential generations of writers generally considered feminist, as part of an evolving, but cohesive thought community. The first, which shall be presented below, comprises a literary production launched throughout the 60s, particularly in the liberating context of the Quiet revolution. It includes a variety of authors, from pioneering writer Claire Martin (1914-2014) to by-then recognised author Anne Hébert (1916-2000), with her new turn toward prose, including Louise Maheux-Forcier (1929-2015) and Marie-Claire Blais (1939-). The second, accounted for in the next section, is believed to have started around 1975, Women's International Year, but had early proponents in Nicole Brossard's (1939-) first poetical anthologies (see *Centre Blanc*, 1970 or *Mécanique Jongleuse*, 1974) and novels (*Un livre*, 1970), as well as in less known works like Huguette Gaulin's *Lecture en Vélocipède* (1972, see Boisclair 1999). It includes the radicalised sisters of the aforementioned, 60s writers: a long list from Jovette Marchessault (1938-2012) and Madeleine Gagnon (1938-) to Yolande de Villemaire (1949-) and Carole Massé (1949-). However, the now-classic canon, considerably

indebted to a steady promotion on the part the Canadian Feminist Translation movement, is usually limited to the triad Brossard-Théoret-Bersianik.

Disturbing Voices: Claire Martin, Louise Maheux-Forcier, Marie-Claire Blais...and Anne Hébert

It is my contention that what both Michon (1981) and Pelletier (1991) identify as *roman de cas/prise de conscience*, portraying the *héros'* ideological coming-of-age, would have a certain correspondence with the first generation of female writers, falling into Boisclair's "préfémiste" category. Somehow, in the manner of Bealieu's initial *roman du constat* (Pelletier 1991, see 4.2.), these first writers report Québécois *héroïnes'* unfair reality without nevertheless acting politically against it. This fact, together with the lack of the explicit associative adventures, a crucial operational trait of thought communities, from publishing houses and literary magazines to theatre companies, openly distinguishes them from the 70s generation.

These women authors are, in short, the *révoltées*, the *révolutionnaires* in the making which Pelletier (*ibid*) sees in contemporary male authors like André Major (see 4.2.). According to Boisclair, at this preliminary stage, the *écriture au féminin* community was characterised by taking one step further two lines of interrogation (Gilbert Lewis 1985), partly inherited from the female writers who preceded them: Traditionalism and Nationalism. Their fresh approach to such questions interestingly entailed a critical revision of traditional gender metaphors, of the symbolic roles of fatherhood and motherhood in the province's past literary and social values. Québécois writing before the 60s, as Smart contends (2005: 28), portrayed a "*patriarcat déguisé*", where the traditional mother's role as *gardienne de la foi et la langue* was crucial for Québec's survival, and therefore widely represented, but also completely passive. Among canonical nationalist writers like Major or Beaulieu, motherhood represents history (Pelletier 1991). A history of struggle and self-defense. Tradition, something fragile, needing protection. For Québécois women writers, however, infinite strength has been found in matrilineages of *héroïnes*, with colonial antecedents either real, like that of Madeleine de Verchères (see 4.4.1.), or semi-fictional, like Elisabeth d'Aulnières in Hébert's *Kamouraska* (1970). These women survived a double colonisation, both by Anglophone imperialism, and by the province's patriarchal order the father's figure representing in their novels a subjugating, Québécois archaism. Let us now delve further into their specific contributions.

Claire Martin's life (1914-2014) was quite conventional, ruled by patriarchal expectations. In 1945, on her marriage, Martin, whose real name was Claire Montreuil, quit her job at a radio station, CBV, and because of her husband's job as a chemist, the couple resided between different parts of Canada and France till 1982, when they ultimately moved back to Québec till the end of their lives. Interestingly, Martin worked as a literary translator throughout all those years, a job which she combined with literary creation. This, however, again, seems to reinforce the mostly feminised nature of translational activity. Her first literary success, a short-story anthology under the title *Avec ou sans amour* (1958), cautiously presents the reader with a series of female protagonists in the kind of recognisable and deeply unfair situations to which women are often subjected. Martin's first work was awarded the Prix du Cercle du livre de France. At this point, an important remark must be made regarding this prize and the publisher behind it. The Cercle du livre de France (1947-1959) was a Québécois, albeit clearly colonial initiative, through which editor Pierre Tisseyre would also re-print French novels on collaboration with several publishers from the ancient metropole. While committed, 70s feminist literature had no place at the Cercle, it remained loyal to first-generation women writers like Claire Martin and Maheux-Forcier, among others (Boisclair 1998: 182).



FIGURE 19: CLAIRE MARTIN (1914-2014).

However, it is by her long fiction that Martin is best known. In *Doux-amer* (1960), perhaps a distant cousin to the already discussed *roman de l'écriture* (see 4.2.), protagonist Gabrielle is a famous writer whose husband takes advantage of her popularity. After failing with various other lovers, all she has left is her years-long, on/off romance with her editor.

Doux-amer is a perfect example of the metropolitan *roman français*, timidly updated with a female perspective so fashionable those days, with proponents like Françoise Sagan (1935-2004). Yet, her ultimate autobiographical work is the two-volume novel *Dans un gant de fer*, including both the homonymous *Dans un gant de fer: La joue gauche* (1965) and *La joue droite* (1966). For *La joue droite*, indeed, Martin was granted the 1966 Governor General's Award. There certainly is religious symbolism in the author's choice of title, as the two volumes portray her childhood in the interwar period, under Duplessis' dark, priest-ridden rule. Besides a critique of the catholic mores dominating school education back then, the figure of the abusive Québécois father is another classical trait of late-50s and early-60s fiction by women. Both novels were translated by translator and scholar Philip Stratford (1927-1999), Barbara Godard's mentor, in 1975.

As was customary at the time among bourgeois youngsters (Jacques Godbout is another example), Louise Maheux-Forcier (1929-2015) left for Paris to study piano, after her preparatory studies at the Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique du Québec. It is there where she started to publish her first novels, ultimately abandoning her piano studies for a literary career. Her first novel, *Amadou* (1963), published by the Cercle du Livre de France, was not translated till 1987 by David Lobdell, also a translator to Marie-Claire Blais' novels. In this first work, Nathalie, trapped in a conventional life and an anguishing marriage, reminisces about her first love, a young woman by the name of Anne. By the "cosmic", "mythical" tone of the protagonist's remembrance, "(...) Anne may or may have not existed; she might, in fact, be a necessary figment of Nathalie's fertile imagination (...) that would repel her restrictive moral and religious upbringing" (see Cagnon 1985: 95). For Québécois female writers, domestic spaces (the "maison du père", as expressed in Smart 2005) are a symbol of patriarchal oppression, first by the father, later by the spouse. Thus, as she kills her husband and sets their house on fire, Nathalie is physically erasing all traces of her suffocating background, the mythical, *Grande noirceur* past shared by all these women writers. Lost in the fire are also the letters of a tangible, real-life female lover, Sylvia, which suggests a complex love triangle where remembrance and reality become mixed up. Importantly, however, despite the images full of desire displayed by Nathalie's imagination, the novel was given a certain moral vernissage: "Compensating for the pernicious influence of religion's notions of good and evil and desirous of justifying homosexual love, *Amadou's* heroine makes of sexuality a poetically moral sensuality" (Cagnon 1985: 97).

After *L'Île joyeuse* (1964), *Un forêt pour Zoé* (1969) won Maheux-Forcier the Governor General's Award. In this last novel, Maheux-Forcier offers the psychological portrayal of Thérèse, the writer structuring the narrative, a young woman sharing her life with other women, Zoé, Marie, Mia, and Isis, in a mythical, fairy-tale world. While Isis represents adult sexuality for Thérèse, Zoé embodies adolescent sexual instincts, and is immersed in becoming "une vraie femme" despite, once again, moral and religious pressure. Love and friendship, as may be seen throughout Maheux-Forcier's world, are somehow entangled and mixed up in her narrative, which seems consistent with the sociohistorical context in which the author's novels were published: the timidly disruptive, "Quiet Revolution". In 1974, Maheux-Forcier was appointed writer in residence at the University of Ottawa, which seems to point at a certain degree of connivence with the establishment. Her literary endeavours, she would combine with a career as scriptwriter for Radio Canada, where her lesbian-themed fictions were not always welcome. However, Maheux-Forcier successfully found her way in the system.



FIGURE 20: LOUISE MAHEUX-FORCIER (1929-2015).

Marie-Claire Blais (1939-) is probably the most ground-breaking author of her generation. Against her working-class parents' will, who expected her to become a secretary, and start providing for the family soon, she combined her professional training with a literature programme at the Université Laval (Québec City). There, pioneering female scholar Jeanne Lapointe and priest Georges-Henri Lévesque encouraged her to continue writing. After obtaining a Guggenheim scholarship (1963) and spending a few years in the United States and France, Blais would move back to Québec, establishing her permanent residence in Montréal.

Blais' initial novels show little variation from her generation's main thematic axes: mother-daughter relations and matrilineages in traditional Québécois households. However, Blais' matrilineages are not a positive force: they are cursed, corrupted by patriarchal values. In *La belle-bête* (1959), as much as in Maheux-Forcier's *Amadou*, female appropriations of patriarchal systemic violence seem to confirm Gilbert Lewis' thesis about a generalised portrayal of female-exerted violence in contemporary Québécois fiction by women. Blais' protagonist, the thoughtful Isabelle-Marie, is constantly shamed by her empty-headed, widowed mother, Louise, on account of her ugliness. Patrice, her brother, is nevertheless as beautiful (and empty-headed) as Louise. Each gender's classical attributes, therefore, seem to be reversed here, and Isabelle-Marie proves incapable of living her patriarchal mother's oppression down. Quite conversely, she abandons her daughter, who has inherited her ugliness, but takes revenge against the oppressive order under which she lives by disfiguring her brother and setting her childhood home on fire, killing not her father or husband, but her mother. As experts like Lucien Goldman have indicated (see Green 1985: 126), the sterile conflict between Isabelle-Marie and her mother represents the endeavours those years' *révoltés*, "angry young men" (and women) against traditional Québec, incapable, nevertheless, of effecting real change in society.

On the other hand, her Governor-General awarded trilogy *Les manuscrits de Pauline Archange* (1968/1969/1970) is, to a certain extent, a female-centred *roman de l'écriture*, narrating Blais' alter ego's literary coming-of-age throughout her school years, marked by the anguishing pressure of the Catholic education received by her generation during the Grande Noirceur. However, since the three novels cover from Pauline's childhood till her adult life, this saga may also be seen as composed of *romans d'apprentissage*, the process of social learning playing a major role in her emancipation as a woman. Her later novels, *Un Joualonnais, sa joualonie* (1973), or *Visions d'Anna* (1982), among many others, portray 70s Québec as a deeply backward society, defying the Parti Québécois' era of promise, where marginalised individuals struggle to survive. Her own homosexuality, often insinuated in her early novels, is ultimately subject to introspection in novels like *Les Nuits de l'Underground* (1978). Here, Blais portrays a group of women, including her protagonist, Geneviève, as "disciples de Sappho", a community revealingly known as "*l'Église*", packed with distorting religious metaphors. Regarding the widespread English translations of her work, Sheila Fischman has

probably been Blais' fetish translator, especially in English versions of her novels by House of Anansi Press⁴².



FIGURE 21: MARIE-CLAIRE BLAIS (1939-).

Certainly, however, the most prolific author of this generation is poet and novelist Anne Hébert (1916-2000). Indeed, Hébert embodies the necessary *continuum* between the Grande Noirceur's incipient female voices and the increasing commitment of the 60s generation. Her early winning the Governor General's Award for *Poèmes*, launched by French publisher Éditions du seuil in 1960, witnessed, nevertheless, a major shift in her career. Till that decade, Hébert's literary production, mostly focused on poetry, had been entangled with that of her male counterparts, a group of modernist poets among whom her own cousin, Hector de Saint-Denys Garneau (1912-1943), held a prominent place. His premature death encouraged an early consecration, despite a fast decline of the modernist current in Québec. Unfortunately, as often happens with female creators, constant comparative analyses of hers and Garneau's poetry, both original (Rosenstreich 1985) and in translation (Whitfield 2015), often suggest a sort of permanent creative debt to, or of dependence on, her cousin's genius.

Having given short fiction a try through the 50s (see, for instance, her 1950 anthology *Le torrent*), by the end of such decade, Hébert's passage to prose was already completed. With *Les chambres de bois* (1958), she inaugurates a long tradition of female psychological

⁴² One of these translations by Fischman for Anansi is the celebrated *These Festive Nights*, a translation to *Les soifs* (1995).

portrayal, reflecting an abusive patriarchal society of which Québec women were increasingly aware. In this novel, the classical triangle between father-in-law, husband-to-be, and the woman in question as the object of exchange is still present. However, Catherine, the protagonist, rebels against an imposed fate, of which her aunt and sister-in-law are nevertheless accomplices, leaving her husband Michel's home with her maid. With *Kamouraska*, again, one may observe an intermediate articulation between literary tradition and gender-informed disruptiveness. Published in 1970, with an already heated political climate escalating, *Kamouraska* is nevertheless an apparently elusive, historical novel. Set in 19th-century rural Québec, this work creates a fiction out of the real-life murder of abusive husband Achille Taché, lord of Kamouraska, by a U.S. doctor, George Holmes, who had an affair with his wife, Josephine-Éléonore d'Estimauville. An example of white-settler feminism similar to that of Margaret Atwood's *Alias Grace* (1996), although with a more dissipated display of female violence, Hébert's *Kamouraska* takes place in 1838, around the time of the

Rébellion des Patriotes, and the opposition between Elisabeth's Anglophone lover and her abusive, Francophone husband. This dilemma between the so-called two solitudes was often expressed at the time through the difficult choice between a Québécois and an Anglophone lover, as Jacques Godbout's *Salut Galarneau* (1967) also shows. Already a consecrated writer, Hébert would continue to publish successful novels till the turn of the century, among which *Les enfants du sabbat* (1975) was granted the Governor General's Award.



FIGURE 22: ANNE HÉBERT (1916-2000).

All in all, this first generation of writers shows initial signs of awareness regarding the gender-based oppression to which Québécois society, as much as, or even more than Anglophone imperialism, subjected them. Non-stop dialogues with conservatism, and especially with literary tradition take place in their writing and, while most genres targeted at the time were literary, a certain variety thereof may be observed. However, none of its members has proven to have hybrid roles, including editing, writing, and any forms of mediation. Since no associative projects or relevant political initiatives are carried out among these authors, organisational structures are missing at this stage of their consolidating process, and most members, although not all (see, for instance, Marie-Claire Blais) belonged to the petit-bourgeoisie, which seems to indicate that, just like the Quiet Revolution itself, their movement was predominantly elitist, and therefore unable to lure the working classes into their projects. It is from the mid-70s onwards that we shall start to see the kind of bonding activities and collective action which may point to a mature thought community.

4.4.3. Divergence and Decline: “*Des grandes espérances aux Lendemains qui déchantent*” (Pelletier 1991: 85)

"Ten months after the election of the Levesque government and four years after the inception of activities by the CSF, women of Québec still live their daily lives in feudal insecurity" (*Room*, 4, 1-2).



FIGURE 23: A PRO-ABORTION DEMONSTRATION, WITH ONE OF THE PROTESTSTERS SHOWING THE MOTTO "LES FEMMES LIBRES DANS UN QUÉBEC LIBRE".

The aim of this section, in line with the social history premises supported in this thesis, is to illustrate the social, and therefore literary evolution between the 70s and the 80s in two different lines. A first line would be that of the growing divergence of the various groups of Québécois society pursuing different projects for equality. As Diane Lamoureux states, in mid-70s Québec "[i]l n'y a pas qu'une seule 'cause', le 'projet' ne cesse de se ramifier: que ce soit à

travers les luttes étudiantes, la radicalisation du mouvement syndical, le développement du féminisme ou l'apparition d'un mouvement gai, le Québec vit à l'ère des nouveaux mouvements sociaux et des luttes partielles" (Lamoureux 2001: 131). Unfortunately, it is in 1976, and not in 1971, when the Québécois society was less divided and the pro-independence movement fresher, when the Parti Québécois finally wins the elections, seeking to lead an intersectional emancipation of the province through its "sovereignty-association" ideal. In effect, Lévesque's party had been wise enough to portray an independent Québec as the essential precondition for equality in all of its potential forms. However, its political discourse nurtured from an inconsistent, bifold line of argumentation. On the one hand, it would blame the Federal system for Québec's "retard historique", pointing at an independent Québécois state as the only possible way out. On the other, it would reinforce the "égalité=indépendance" equation through a superficial reform of the Civil Code, which the province had always been at liberty to amend, luring into its ranks both the LGBT community and, more specifically, feminist groups. Thus, the Loi 10 was passed as early as in 1977, granting the Québécois the right to officially alter their sexual identity. The Loi 89, regarding the status of married women, would come as late as in 1981, in the aftermath of a lost referendum.



FIGURE 24: PRIME MINISTER RENE LEVESQUE.

By 1989, and after another set of cosmetic alterations through the loi 146, "(...) le travail de modernisation de la situation des femmes était tellement avancé que l'on avait atteint ce que revendiquait la Fédération nationale Saint-Jean Baptiste en 1907 (...)" (Lamoureux 2001: 141). With such partial victories, the Parti Québécois intended to right the great wrong of a Québécois modernity thus far sought without its women. As Lamoureux acknowledges (2001: 141), "(...) la soif de modernité des gouvernants de l'époque a été largement entretenue par les

pressions de tous ces groupes qui ne voulaient pas que les livres d'histoire s'écrivent en faisant des femmes les 'oubliées' de la révolution tranquille". Such was the Parti Québécois' way to project an "(...) aura pro-féministe et pro-gais" (Lamoureux 2001: 120). Therefore, and in connection with the first, a second line of inquiry regards the blatant failure to integrate the same marginalised groups which, having shared the pro-independence circles' existence in the counter-culture, were also responsible for their rise to power. In particular, I intend to assert that an outright disregard for the most powerful of such groups, feminist federations, is precisely what led the "souveraineté-association" project from the "grandes espérances" to the "lendemains qui déchantent" (Pelletier 1991: 85).

Between the 70s and the 80s, Québec was once again immersed in a period of self-inquiry, its nationalist historians resorting, according to Lamoureux (2001), to the classic gender metaphors pulled by nationalisms in order to rationalise their past. The province, now seen as a male young adult (see Dumont 1996), had reached its coming of age after an indentarian childhood, reflected in the insurrectional movements of 1837 and 1838 (the aforementioned Rébellion des Patriotes/ Lower Canada-Rebellion), and a 60s adolescence throughout the Révolution Tranquille, with the literary *héros* as a projection of the province finally taking the lead of its own destiny. In a vital phase of self-definition, a young and male Québécois society felt feminised, once again, by Anglophone oppression, and claimed to be treated like an under-age, like married women under the Québécois Code. In short, this increasingly rebellious teenager was being kept under a sort of protectorate, in the colonial terms so fashionable at the time. National poets, at the time, expressed this feeling of feminising domination in the clearest terms, from Paul Chamberland's famous verse, "je suis un homme qui a honte d'être un homme/ Je suis un homme à qui l'on refuse l'humanité (...)" (1964), to Michèle Lalonde's aforementioned *Speak White*, performed precisely at the "Nuit de la poésie" in March of 1970: "nous savons que la liberté est un mot noir/ comme la misère est nègre/ et comme le sang qui se mêle à la poussière des rues d'Alger ou de Little Rock". After the *constat* that the Québécois have the potential to become "(...) héros de leur propre libération" (Létourneau 1996 in Lamoureux 2001: 125), the province is bound to reach its adulthood, and therefore become a responsible father to future generations. After two lost referenda (1980/1995), a suspected "gender gap" in vote choice awoke the same past suspicions which prevented the Parti Libéral from acknowledging female suffrage (see 4.3.), portraying Québécois women as the classic "mauvaise mère" (Lamoureux *ibid*). Following tradition, such evil

mother" shall be to blame for a feminised offspring, for another generation of "hommes qui ont honte d'être hommes". An uncertain future.

As a matter of fact, Québec's passage to adulthood was as abrupt as the inauguration of 70s decade. Once again, literary production illustrates, perhaps more accurately than the self-interested discourses spread by patriarchal nationalism, the reality of the province. Nicole Brossard's inaugural novel *Un livre* (1970), for instance, offers an accurate portrayal of the atmosphere in late-60s Québec which clearly anticipates a traumatic turn of decade. By rescuing the "question nationale" from the oblivion of her previous, abstract poetry, Brossard is inaugurating the *modernité* in Québécois literature (see writer Claude Beausoleil's remarks in Dupré 1990: 41), which shall turn from poetry to the novel. More important, perhaps, is the characters' struggle for their individual freedom in a context when "(...) le nationalisme montant trouve sa solution dans la cause du F.L.Q. (...)" (Dupré *ibid*: 42). Interestingly, a precocious critique of the solitude which many dissident groups found under the Neo-nationalist era proves women's literature as the most accurate diagnosis of a failed project: "Ces personnages marginaux, inscrits dans la contre-culture, se situent en dehors des groupes qui, à l'époque, veulent hâter l'histoire (Dupré *ibid*: 43). Thus, while gatherings like *La nuit de la poésie* (27th March, 1970) may have acted as a prelude to a convulse decade, the kind of brave, independent critique present in (proto-)feminist literature from its inception has enormous value as a historical metadiscourse.

Not too late afterward, the peak of Québec's discomfort with Federal impositions (and its own backwardness) was reached during the October Crisis of 1970. From the 5th October to the 28th December, 1970, a series of tragic events condemned Marxist pro-independent movements to extinction, seriously damaging all strands, radical or not, of the sovereignist cause. Since its foundation in 1963, the Front de Libération du Québec had inflicted only very limited harm to the Anglophone forces which still ruled Québec, despite the endeavours of the Quiet Revolution. Under the premise that Québécois workers were treated as cheap labour in their own land, exploited by Toronto-based patrons, the terrorist branch of the Marxist pro-independence movement decided to kidnap James Richard Cross (5th October), a Montréal-based British trade commissioner abducted by the Libération cell, and deputy Premier Pierre Laporte (10th October), then in the hands of the Chénier cell. A prestigious figure of the Parti Liberal in Lesage's cabinets, following the elections of May, 1970, Laporte had also been appointed Minister of Immigration and Minister of Labour and Manpower by then Premier

Robert Bourassa. The Front, whose aim was to start a negotiation with the Federal and Provincial institutions, encountered a Québec Premier open to dialogue, and the designation of a special commission for such purpose, including *Parti Pris* poet Gérald Godin, by then already a member of the Parti Québécois. However, as he expressed in a famous encounter with journalist Tim Ralfe, Federal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a long-time forerunner to the Parti Libéral, had a different position. Not only would he not yield to the will of a terrorist group, but he was ready to quail what the Parti Liberal perceived as a potential insurrection on the part of the province:

-(...) Yeah, well, there's a lot of bleeding hearts around, who just don't like to see people in helmets and guns. All I can say is "go on and bleed". But it's more important to keep law and order in this society than to be worried about... weak-neck people who don't like the looks of ... [interrupted/incomprehensive]

-At any cost? At any cost? How far would you go with that? How far would you extend that?

-Well, just watch me.

(Anonymous testimony, Spry 1974, transcript)



FIGURE 25: PIERRE TRUDEAU PRONOUNCING HIS FAMOUS WORDS: "JUST WATCH ME" (OCTOBER CRISIS, 1970).

Such was the Premier's response to journalist Tim Ralfe's question regarding what seemed to be a preventive measure: the noticeable presence, since the 12th October, of the Royal 22nd Regiment troops in Montréal. On the 16th October, after a formal request by both Bourassa and the recently elected mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau (1916-1999), who both

feared losing control of the situation, Pierre Trudeau invoked the War Measures Act, which entitled him to station various other Federal troops in Québec till January of 1971, and justified hundreds of searches without warrant and detentions without prior trial. All parties in the opposition, including the Parti Québécois, supported Bourassa in his request. Especially in Montréal, the resulting situation of siege was unbearable even for Anglophone citizens, who, indeed, were starting to question whether the troops' presence was not indeed worse than the threat of terrorism: "Well, what's the lesser of two evils? The War Measures Act or the FLQ? Which one would you rather have breathing down your neck?" (Anonymous testimony, Spry 1974, transcript). By his famous sentence "Just watch me", Trudeau made it clear that he intended to resist the Front's extortion. On the 17th October, Pierre Laporte's corpse was found in a car trunk near the Saint-Hubert Airport, and a communiqué was released confirming the FLQ's responsibility for the murder. The reaction of the recently-founded Parti Québécois came swiftly through his leader, René Lévesque, probably as he understood the implications which the use of violence would have for the pro-independence movement. His intuition was most accurate. Discredit followed the FLQ's disgraced plan, which had ended up with the assassination of a Québécois politician and the release of a British diplomat, in exchange for a short Cuban exile for members like Jacques Lanctôt, Beaulieu's former editor and an important figure at the *Journal de Montréal*. While conspiracy claims have often emerged regarding an Ottawa-led *coup d'effet politique* through Laporte's death (see, for instance, Clément 2007), Francis Simard, one of the members of the Chénier cell with direct knowledge of the events, has always denied the existence of a secret plot orchestrated from the capital (see Simard 1982). What is more, besides the confusion surrounding Laporte's cause of death, the rapid rehabilitation of Simard and other members of the group has also been subject to controversy, after serving much less time in prison than the life sentence to which they were condemned (Simard, for instance, served twelve years).

Anyhow, the so-called "Procès des Cinq" (see Chartrand, Vallières, *et al.* 2010), among other legal procedures, would place the focus on the FLQ despite the multidirectional violence in which many social groups engaged during the crisis (see Vallières' remarks in Lafond 1994). As the fresh face of nationalism after founding the Parti Québécois, in 1968, Lévesque seized the moment and took a step forward in the events of October, 1970, condemning violence on television in the means of detaching himself from it. The 1971 elections constituted, after the 1980 referendum defeat, the greatest disappointment of his career (see Lévesque 1980), as he saw Trudeau's, Bourassa's and Drapeau's Parti Libéral enjoy a victory which he had almost

touched with his fingertips. Most definitely, a great chance of success was lost with the election, which may have changed the course of events in the Parti Québécois' search for independence. By 1976, on the Parti Québécois' first electoral victory, feminism was no more an optional approach for a pro-independence project. However, on the almost exclusive basis of the 1980 referendum, Lévesque ruled Québec for a first legislature with little care for the province's forms of internal oppression. The burden of unemployment and financial precariousness of those years acted, furthermore, as another negative force. The government's inability to see Québec's demographic future in immigration only made things worse.

On the day prior to the 1980 referendum, as was almost customary in Québécois nationalist discourses, a series of unfortunate remarks predicted a suspected gender gap in vote choice for the pro-independence forces' defeat. Accompanied by influential female figures like liberal politician Claude Ryan's wife, 14,000 women assembled at the Forum Montréal in order to defend the "no" option at the referendum. Infuriated, Lévesque's *Ministre d'État à la condition féminine*, Lise Payette, referred to these women as "Yvettes", a stereotypical character often featuring in the female code-of-conduct handbooks of the *Grande Noirceur*. Payette, a very influential journalist and feminist figure in the province, had been strategically appointed by Lévesque as late as in 1979, in a desperate attempt of damage control with feminist circles as the referendum date approached. By identifying the "Yvettes" as housewives, Payette was clumsily connecting such activity, majoritarian among Québécois women, with anti-feminism, but also denying the compatibility of feminist positions with federalism, a claim which has been lately challenged by authors like Godin (2004). While the first element in the political equation defended by the *Front de Libération des Femmes'* motto was "Pas de libération des femmes sans un Québec libre", the second was "pas de Québec libre sans libération des femmes". The Parti Québécois' serious miscalculation regarding feminism, eloquently reflected by Lise Payette's late and short appearance in the Québécois political scene (she would resign in 1981), has been most clearly expressed by Lamoureux (2001: 132): "(...) 'L'édification d'une "société globale" francophone depuis la révolution tranquille permet de comprendre la montée au Québec d'un discours identitaire pluriel'. Les autres affiliations identitaires se situent à l'intérieur du projet national, mais absorbent pour leur propre compte la demande de libération. Ce sont, par exemple, d'abord les femmes qu'il faut libérer pour produire un Québec libre et il n'est pas question de remettre le combat pour la libération des femmes entièrement aux lendemains qui (dé)chantent de l'indépendance, d'où le slogan du Front de Libération des femmes". Acknowledging women's individuality while asking them to

give it up in order to yield to a form of intra-patriarchal dissent; or making empty promises without demonstrating what an independent Québec would look like for them convinced some feminists, and not just the "Yvettes", that their rights were further protected by a federal order, where the pressure of other regions' initiatives had always counteracted Québécois conservatism.

Anyhow, after the *fiasco*, with a 40.44% to 59.56% defeat of the sovereignist movement, and while most of his cabinet wished to pursue the path to independence further, Lévesque opted for a change of strategy, negotiating in vain several constitutional amendments with the federal government (1982). Although he achieved victory again in 1981, various feuds in his own party and an aggravating economic crisis led him to resign in 1985, dying of a heart failure only two years later. A brief return of the Parti Libéral's Robert Bourassa (1933-1996), well-known to the Québécois as he had conducted the October crisis of 1970, brought about new unsuccessful negotiations within the constitutional framework, marked by Québec's opposition to the Lake Meech (1987) and Charlottetown Accords (1992). While the Parti Québécois was able to identify feminism as an important civic movement in a nascent Québécois society, it systematically failed its promise to actively engage in it. Firstly, in 1976, Lévesque "forgot", as Lamoureux puts it (2001: 149), to appoint a Minister in charge of the Conseil du statut de la femme, which forced him to apply corrective measures by trusting the Conseil, presided by Claire Bonenfant (1925-1996), with a thorough study of women's condition in Québec. The resulting report, under the title *Pour les Québécoises: égalité et indépendance* (1978), was aligned with the belief that independence was an essential precondition in order to ensure women's rights. Considering the limited results to which the Conseil's efforts led, the same feminist circles having propelled Lévesque's race to commander-in-chief were apparently condemned to eternally inhabiting the counter-culture. By the mid-80s, while political and literary feminism was at its highest, faith in the pro-independence movement which Lévesque had originally envisioned appeared to be quite worn out. In contrast with his attempted conciliation with federalism, which he thought to be sanctioned by the disappointing results of the 1980 referendum, his successors were to take a different path.

4.4.4. "L'amère Patrie" (*Lamoureux 2001*): *The Consolidation of Québec's Radical Feminist Writing*

Until recently, Québec women writers do not seem to have played as dominant a role in national culture as have their English counterparts. From the distance now gained through the feminist perspective, they are turning a discerning eye to the government they helped into office to see in fact what is being done for them. Not, it turns out, all that much. (Preface, *Room*, 2, 3-4)

Québec's traumatic turn to the 70s hastened the rise of the nationalist forces which had progressively gathered around the project of a national literature. Its protagonists' counter-cultural experience was considerably ephemeral, effectively evicting Anglophone elites and their compliant Francophone lieutenants from dominant political and cultural positions in less than a decade. It is my contention that the urgency with which the Québécois polysystem was consolidated by its leading patriarchal forces, self-identified as "the nation", was a product of the also quick advancement of a Federal-scale translation project of political and cultural cohesion. Divided between leading an egalitarian, bicultural Canadian polysystem and ultimately subsuming Québec as an official sub-culture, Anglophone Canada's process of differentiation posed a threat to an equally nascent Québécois identity. In this context, Québécois Premier Pierre Trudeau (1968-1979/ 1980-1984) and his team, known as the "French Power" for their promotion of ground-breaking Francophone leadership in Ottawa, paradoxically had a leading role, developing an antagonistic relationship with the then also emergent Parti Québécois. Trudeau's efforts at formalising bilingualism (1969) and multiculturalism (1971) as the defining traits of a "Canadian" nation were mirrored, in praxis, by a virulent institutionalisation of the Québécois patriarchal counter-culture, leaving aside their main partners on the margins: feminists.

Although a movement with political aspirations, which constitutes an essential trait of thought communities, the core of the Québécois-feminist thought community is found in experimental cultural creativity, particularly literature, speech being the first and utmost space where human affinities naturally arise. More than a definable, uniform concept of praxis, female thought communities usually gather around synergies and the generation of the so-called "affective economies" (Milne and Eichhorn 2016), focusing not on the product, but on the process of their creativity: collaboration. As a result, the phenomenon which we shall identify here as "Écriture au féminin", but which has received a variety of names throughout the last decades, is by no means recent: it refers to the constant female operations from the margins of

patriarchal political and cultural systems, which makes it, as Verduyn argues (1987), impossible to define. Indeed, several works placing the focus on Québécois literature underscore a distinctive national current of the *roman des femmes* since as early as the turn of the 19th century (see Roberts 1999), in an attitude, perhaps, which we could identify as the outcome of white settler feminism. However, the first conscious, combative and *collective* production of this writing dates back from the mid-seventies, when the impact of "language" on the perpetuation or reversal of gender differences was under debate.

When did, then, this conscious, combative, and collective praxis of the "Écriture au féminin" start? While the main proposals for periodisation have already been discussed, an unequivocally pivotal year was 1975: Women's International Year. The first half of the decade had certainly witnessed an emergence of female-driven associative ventures across the different domains of the Québécois cultural system, as well as, particularly, across its already solid book industry, as I am to discuss shortly (see 4.4.5.). However, it is on that year that Nicole Brossard, already known as a prominent modernist poet, literary theorist, and cultural editor, asserts for the first time, at an interview with France Labbé, her "prise de conscience féministe": "Il y a une recherche à faire actuellement sur les possibilités du langage qui a toujours été utilisé d'une seule manière, en général par les hommes..."⁴³. Only one year afterwards (1976), the first polyphonic, co-authored feminist work appeared in the province: *La nef des sorcières*, a play staged for the first time at the Theatre du Nouveau Monde, gathering feminists of different artistic fields, and combining fresh faces of the milieu, like Brossard herself and France Théoret, with established ones like Marie-Claire Blais, exerting the necessary *continuum* between both generations.

A decisive aspect, then, is certainly Québécois women's passage from cultivating a *bâtard* form of the *roman national*, whose female characters exposed their oppressive experience of "*québécoisité*", to progressively abandoning the patriarchal Québécois universe for an utopian, female-centred one, allowing them to subvert the existing conventions on literary language and form. The extent to which this literature would take the fantastic in the

⁴³ Interview available at the Radio-Canada archives: <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/info/videos/media-7889537/conscience-feministe-selon-ecrivaine-nicole-brossard&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true>

male "vision carnivalesque" (Michon 1984) to previously unexperienced dimensions is observed in the embraced disfunction of an "écriture de la folie" (Verduyn 1987), a vindication of female hysteria. While Godbout and others would re-produce the *joual's* orality as a political statement in their novels, Women writers' use of baby talk and babbling was intended to extoll those forms of speech closest to the true *mother* tongue (see Godard 1989).

In the same line, a defense of the so-called *bavardage* (Lamy 1979) or chatter, anesthetic repetitions and typically female mimicry, discarded by patriarchy as a form of hysterical, non-verbal communication, sought to reflect not an inability to speak, but the futility of female speech against patriarchal forms of society (see Dansereau 1996), more comfortable with unidirectional and monological relationships than with the dialogical dynamics promoted by women. This non-linear, tridimensional effect of female characters' speech was also reinforced by challenging classical narratological chronology, which successfully underscored the futility of patriarchal logics, as well as, in some instances, the faithfulness of history as an instrument constantly manipulated for nation-making purposes. By the mid-70s, the novel had already become an essential product for patriarchal nation-making purposes, which entailed a certain canonicity of logical chronology in order to reinforce their indisputable historical value. Therefore, explorations of minor textualities, previously considered as private and typically female, like those of diaries, notes, or even internal monologues allowed for a de-construction of patriarchal periodisations and history, and therefore vindicated as valid literary genres.

Polyphony, on its part, was crucial in order to achieve this sense of dialogue, and therefore plurality, reinforced by strategies of discursive fragmentation like intertextuality (Voldeng 1987) and parody (Hutcheon 1985). The resulting instability of meaning aligns with the Derridean premises so closely followed by feminists, particularly, but not exclusively, French ones⁴⁴, between the late 70s and early 80s. With the strong antecedent of Québécois formalist poetics, especially in Nicole Brossard's case, the de-construction of etymological meaning undertaken through each novel's dialogues became a distinctive sign of the "Écriture au féminin", denouncing the progressive "semantic derogation of women" (Schultz 1975; see also Daly 1978) in which French, like all other national languages, had been engaged since its

⁴⁴ Beyond Cixous' well-known relationship with Jacques Derrida, it must be noted that Gayatri Spivak translated his *Of Grammatology* (1976). Much has been said about the potential inaccuracy of translations of both French feminism and French philosophy undertaken in the U.S. or in Anglophone Academia in general (see, among others, Spivak 1981). However, assimilation of popular foreign currents of thought by powerful systems is inevitable and deserves analytical attention.

origins. Finally, liberating metaphors between female bodily and creative experiences are found all across the Québécois-feminist literary spectrum, revolving around two interrelated axes. The first is the connection between the female body's sexuality and the female text, as well as female pleasure and the female writing experience, underscoring how "sexual" experiences (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991) allowed for women's much needed self-knowledge and the identification of natural female processes previously censored by patriarchy. As neologisms like the previous show, linguistic innovation constitutes another salient trait of this *Écriture*. The second is the link between female body and Québécois geography, particularly Montréal's urban and industrial geography as the setting where the province's forms of intra-patriarchal dissent arose, essentially channelled by the Québécois working-class's Marxist and unionist approaches to their oppression. Since the Quiet Revolution, the fact that the province's means of production were in the hands of Anglophone patrons, and that local workers had become a source of cheap labour, encouraged male writers to forget rural Québec as an oppressive, priest-ridden space, and see Montréal as a literary location inspiring self-critique. As Marie-Claire Blais' novel *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* (1965) shows, their female counterparts would not forget the province's obsession with protecting its traditional rural lifestyle as easily.

However, most representatives of the "Écriture" thought community were urban women, whose range of experiences generally concerned Montréal. Québécois urban society, as Blais would also demonstrate in later 70s novels, were still burdened by some of the archaic social conventions, marginalising not only independent women, but also the LGBTQ+ communities, and other non-hegemonic groups. It is essentially for this reason that Blais' work, once again, proves to have acted as a *continuum* between the first and second feminist generation of the "Écriture" thought community, discussing femininity in conjunction with other forms of marginality deeply feared by traditional forces. Homosexuality was one of those forms, with a great impact in Brossard's and Jovette Marchessault's (1938-2012) production, among others. In my view, such tropes are essentially challenging the so-called "coloniality of gender" (Lugones 2010), responsible for the metaphoric connections established by patriarchy between traditional gender roles and territorial domination. On the nature of the Québécois female experience, this colonisation is embodied by different lines of oppression, and crucially faced up via discourse, and therefore textuality. This explains why "translation", in the theoretical apparatus developed both parallel to, and through this "Écriture au féminin", is

understood as an act of discursive de-stabilisation entailing, or not, language shifts, is the space in which gender, territorial politics, and discursive politics productively encounter:

Ce je(u) d'entre est figure dans le discours féministe par le topoi de la traduction (traduction intralinguale ou intersémiotique, selon Jakobson) en tant que transcodage et transformation. C'est une traduction en deux sens: en tant que la notation du gesturale et de la parole des femmes inédits et en tant que répétition et de / placement du discours dominant par l'effet de l'étranger (Godard 1989: 42).

As a result of this, a new concept of fiction, interspersed with metadiscursive reflection, transforms the literary text into a theoretical and political canvas. Already in the metafeminist stage, the "afterlife" of Québécois feminism was, as the next chapter shall try to prove, in another form of collaborative, polyphonic venture typical of female thought communities, Québécois feminist writers join forces with Anglophone Canadian feminist authors and translators to define this ground-breaking "fiction theory":

(...) Nicole Brossard uses "fiction" negatively in *L'Amér* to imply that fictions or constructs created by the patriarchy and compliant women in which women are made into objects [*sic*]. But her "fiction théorique" is something else--the text as both fiction and theory--a theory working its way through syntax, language and even narrative of a female as a subject, a fiction in which theory is woven into the texture of the creation, eliminating (...) distinctions between genres, between prose, essay, poetry, between fiction and theory (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1986: 7-8).

As the previous quote underscores, a variety of genres and outlets, as well as of hybrid practices, from writing to editing, from critique to theory, were tackled by the members of the "Écriture au féminin" community in order to breach the barriers between their female characters' private, 1st-person testimonies, and Québécois women's real political progress. Combining, therefore, private and public projections of the political constitutes another defining trait of female thought communities, as much as developing hybrid roles, across different artistic domains and book-industry professions. It is on this last aspect of the group which I am describing here that I would like to focus in the next section.

Collaborative Ventures: A New Feminist Ecosystem within the Consolidation of Québécois National Literature?

It is Boisclair's contention that what she deems as *le roman des femmes*, a general term for multiple, literary forms of engagement with discussions on the female condition, generated,

and was at the same time nurtured by, the emergence of what she identifies as a "sous-champ littéraire féministe" (1998) in Québec. This label, besides suggesting the subordination of women's literary production with respect to patriarchal, nationalist one, is in outright conflict with other, milder terminological choices like "roman des femmes" also employed by the author. However, it succeeds in underscoring a certain variety of degrees and forms of commitment with the "Écriture au féminin" project, which is precisely why the notion of thought communities explicitly considers such variety as a defining trait. If we are to challenge the futility of absolute male definitions, we are bound to acknowledge the inconsistencies and irregularities which any human form of grouping entails. The ultimate emergence of political and literary feminism in the province, as has been already contended, was chronologically coincidental with the establishment of a patriarchal project in tune with the previous decades' decolonising movements: Québécois nationalism, embodied both by literature and activism. Surely not by chance, 1976 was more than the year of the Parti Québécois' first electoral victory. Besides marking Brossard's first collaborative project across creative domains, *La nef des sorcières*, it was also the year in which all nationalist publishers were absorbed by the new Québécois communications mogul: Pierre Péladeau (1925-1997).

Péladeau, who set up operations in the enabling environment created by the Quiet Revolution. After buying the *Journal de Montréal* (1964) and several other local newspapers, he founded Québecor (1965), today's biggest owner of written press outlets, and parent company to television producers, printers and publishers across Canada, the United States and Europe since 1999, when it became Québecor World. In 1976, his section Groupe Livre Québecor Media, through a sister company, Sogides Inc., it created *Ville-Marie Littérature* in order to cluster the previously rebellious *Maisons d'édition* having possibilitated the rise of the *roman national* throughout the previous decade. A particularly interesting operation was the acquisition of Éditions de L'Hexagone, which in turn had purchased the mythical, but now bankrupted, *Parti Pris* earlier, that same year. Under the Sogides umbrella, the mythical *Parti Pris* label would survive till 1984. Curiously, it was also in 1976 when Victor Lévy Beaulieu, after quitting Éditions du Jour the previous year, also purchased by Sogides, founded his own publisher: VLB Éditeur. This was a potentially rebellious act, especially considering the publisher's new non-fictional approach since 1975, and his disappointment at its new policies. However, as Beaulieu grew tired of fighting against the new nationalist establishment, he ended up selling VLB to Sogides, something which he had been considering since the early 80s (Lavoie 2010). It must be noted here that of his main editors, writer Jacques Lanctôt (1945-),

a convicted member of the Front de Liberation du Québec, tried in vain to purchase Beaulieu's publisher, and therefore prevent Sogides from acquiring it (Lavoie *ibid*). As the ultimate state toward institutionalisation, Péladeau's heir, Pierre-Karl Péladeau (1961-), was appointed leader of the Parti Québécois in 2015, resigning only one year later over serious controversies with the party's convictions.

Parallel to this process of establishment, the second half of the 70s also witnessed the emergence of the means of production, outlets, associations, and functional networks which the "Écriture au féminin" community required for its activity. Most importantly, however, a series of collaborative mechanisms essential to female thought communities were put into practice, progressively turning female and feminist writers into the multi-role agents required any movement operating on the margins of the dominant system. A favourite form of collaborative engagement, as suggested throughout the current section, was certainly the foundation of literary journals. It is perhaps here where the evolution of synergies between an emerging male literature with nationalist aspirations and a nascent female one pursuing feminist goals. Co-founded by a young, undergraduate Nicole Brossard with her fellow (all male) classmates Marcel Saint-Pierre, Roger Soublière and Jan Stafford, *La Barre du jour* (1965-1977) is one such example. The original scope of this outlet was between theoretical and experimental, encouraging both creative works and critical insights falling into a new autochthonous poetical current: modernism, to which Brossard, a poet before she was a novelist, belonged from its origins. The evolution of the journal, which would be reorganised under Brossard's direction and a new title, *La Nouvelle Barre du Jour*, in 1977, once again confirms the mid-70s as a turning point for the Québécois polysystem, with the very first signs of dissent already on the horizon. While previous issues had provided mere hints to the unstoppable rise of feminism, the 1975 publication celebrated Women's International Year by delving into the most recent developments in gender-informed linguistics, nurtured, nevertheless, by Brossard's and other emergent authors' experience with fiction. This *mélange* of different genres and text types is a constant in the movement's theoretical reflections, which accompanied its production from its inception, and were often inseparable from it.



FIGURE 26: COVERS OF LA BARRE DU JOUR'S 1975 AND 1977 ISSUES, BOTH DEALING WITH GENDER-RELATED ASPECTS OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE.

It is on that same year that Brossard's ultimate consecration takes place, with her appearance in the U.S. documentary *Some American Feminists*, side by side with Betty Friedan, Kate Millet, or Gloria Steinem. As a result, it is hard to detach her appeal among U.S. feminists from a strong Québécois and progressively Canadian leadership, especially thanks to an already initiated translational collaboration with Barbara Godard. In 1977, as its new director, Brossard re-structures the journal, with that year's issue featuring reflections on female body and language through the latest work of enshrined figures like France Théoret, Louky Bersianik, and Madeleine Gagnon, as well as of new contenders like Monique Bosco, Yolande Villemaire or Geneviève Amyot. Brossard's collaboration with Michel Gay and Jean-Yves Collette for the journal's afterlife would nevertheless do little more than delaying her ultimate rupture with the male literary establishment. By 1979, she left the outlet, which would nevertheless survive till 1990, in order to pursue other publishing projects.

From the early 70s, there had been several attempts to create specifically feminist journals in Québec. After the October Crisis of 1970, and with new restrictions to free speech imposed by Montréal Maire Jean Drapeau, the new feminist association Front de Libération des Femmes du Québec, clearly mirroring the male-nationalist Front, founded *Québécoises Deboutte!*. Since the lifespan of the feminist Front was even shorter than that of its male counterpart, the Centre des Femmes quickly took control of the journal, which remained active from 1972 to 1976. Its inheritor was *Les têtes de pioche* (1976-1979) a new initiative by Brossard in collaboration with runner-up author France Théoret, and supported by purely

political associations: the Comité de lutte pour l'avortement et la contraception libres et gratuits, and the Centre de documentation féministe.



FIGURE 27: A COVER OF *LES TÊTES DE PIOCHE*.

In short, the multiple journal ventures started by the "Écriture au féminin" thought community prove that its main agents were indeed undertaking hybrid roles which encompassed editing, writing, and other forms of mediating, especially with the political side of the movement. The participation in these literary projects of the Comité de lutte pour l'avortement, committed to turn what by then was a private and shameful dimension of female experiences into a political debate, also points toward the connections, through writing, between the political and the literary, between public and private dimensions of the feminine. In a similar vein, creative associations and projects from other artistic domains would team up not only with those political groups, but also with emerging feminist novelists. With the foundation of the so-called *Théâtre des cuisines* (1973), supported by civil movements like the Centre des Femmes, a new intersectional space was created, where all degrees of commitment and social profiles would cooperate under simple, almost childish discourse standards: "Le Théâtre des cuisines est un groupe de femmes. Le Théâtre des cuisines est un groupe de femmes qui ont envie de parler avec d'autres femmes. Le Théâtre des cuisines est un groupe de femmes qui ont envie de parler avec d'autres femmes des problèmes spécifiques aux femmes." (Manifesto, 1975: 72). This *troupe* was indeed known for engaging male and female factory workers on strike, without any drama training, in combative theatre plays. That theatrical productions inaugurated the first literary steps of Québécois feminism is clear, considering that the first manifestation of feminist literary collaboration was the polyphonic play *La nef des sorcières* (1975). This ambitious project, translated by Linda Gaboriau for the Toronto stages

in 1976, was composed of separate monologues by novelists Nicole Brossard, France Théoret, Marie-Claire Blais, and Odette Gagnon; as well as by director and comedian Luce Guilbeault; and theatre producer Pol Pelletier. Pelletier would also engage in other feminist projects for the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde, like Denise Boucher's anti-clerical *Les fées not soif* (1978). The resulting texts generally displayed interspersed artistic techniques and hybrid literary genres, as well as a metadiscourse on art with clear political connotations.

But most importantly, the editorial initiatives of the "Écriture au féminin" community were illustrative of how feminisms indeed nurture from dialogues with conservatism, and with patriarchal elites in particular, although the resulting synergies generally have a short life. The relationship between the "Écriture au féminin" agents and the book industry leads, indeed, to similar conclusions. Among the province's emerging publishing industry, together, perhaps, with Quinze, Éditions de l'Hexagone probably demonstrated the most interest in the 70s feminist literature. Well-known to this publisher on account of her modernist poetry, Brossard benefited with l'Hexagone's originally poetical scope. Additionally, feminist solidarity in the event of founder Gaston Miron's detention during the October Crisis of 1970 also had an impact in this synergy. However, openly feminist publishers run by women would also make an appearance around 1975 in the province. Éditions de la Pleine Lune was such an example, founded on that same year, and generally granted credit for opening up the book industry to feminist editorship (see Boisclair 2014: 41). However, the inconsistency of its commitment with the cause has ultimately positioned Éditions du Remue-Ménage, founded also in 1975, as the Québécois feminist publisher *par excellence*, with an unaltered commitment with gender-related matters to this day.

This section has illustrated the cooperative side of the "Écriture au féminin" agents, which entails a series of operations generally consistent with the kind of horizontal principles embraced by female communities more often than by male ones. However, even if institutionalisation or, for that matter, canonisation was not among their aspirations, the members of this thought community did not maintain a horizontal form of organisation at all times. While the first generation was poorly articulated, and had no experience setting up its own means for publication, relying on a certain compliance with patriarchal publishers to go by, Brossard's current already understood the need for collaboration across creative domains and publishing spaces. However, the flexibility of hierarchies for which most female organisations have strived is not fully achieved here. Especially on the grounds of the funded

translation phenomenon promoted by Anglophone Canada, and particularly thanks to Barbara Godard, Nicole Brossard has clearly ended up holding a prominent position in the movement. Additionally, this seems to have been possibilitated by her good relationships with male modernist poets like Gaston Miron himself or Paul Chamberland (1939-). It was this group of poets who encouraged the celebration of the so-called *Nuit de la poésie*, which took place on the 27th of March, 1970, and whose tone and theme clearly reflected the discomfort leading to the October Crisis. While the novel has been presented throughout this thesis as the nation-making product *par excellence*, modernist poetry in Québec is usually considered to have borne the first signs against the *Grande noirceur*'s backwardness, especially through Gaston Miron's efforts, both creative and editorial. Gathered around Éditions de L'exagone, and to a certain extent active in Godbout's journal *Liberté*, the strand initiated by Saint-Denys Garneau was perhaps less performative than the *Écrivains joul* in their political aspirations, which perhaps explains L'exagone's quick openness toward the *roman national*, but definitely constituted a symbol of the province's new cultural endeavours. Its accuracy as a reflection of Québécois national literature is seen in an almost exclusively male composition, with the exception of Michèle Lalonde (1937-), who, on the other hand, never expressed any clearly feminist concerns. As shall be seen in the next section, seminal translation projects edited by Frank Davey's co-founded *Coach House Press* relied on the personal friendship that he and D.G. Jones, among other poets self-converted into translators, had with the modernist clique, from Alain Grandbois (1900-1975) to Miron himself, or Jean-Marie Lapointe (1929-2011) (see Godbout 2009). It is probably on account of a lesser political projection, with Miron's exception, as well as an overall lack of hostility toward Anglophone-Canadian publishers (see Davey 1998), that this clique of poets was easier to approach for crucial agents for Canadian Translation Studies like Davey or D.G. Jones.

Interestingly enough, none of the members of the "Écriture au féminin" community were present that night, which proves their peripheral position in a nationalist movement about to leave the counter-culture. Finally, Brossard's overall relevance also seems to have nurtured from her influence over the province's emerging literary outlets, especially *La Barre du Jour*, where she had the power to decide which other feminist writers to give a voice. While the now traditional Québécois feminist canon relies on two more authors, France Théoret and Louky Bersianik, probably as a result of mirroring the French feminist triad Cixous-Kristeva-Irigaray, a certain hierarchy is perceived in the group, reinforced by the Feminist Translation school's reception.

4.4.5. Feminist Hierarchies? The Emergence of the Brossard-Théoret-Bersianik Canon

It is not by chance that the previous section has revealed a certain amount of detail on Nicole Brossard's endeavours, but very little on France Théoret's or Louky Bersianik's ones. Their roles were certainly less multifaceted, especially in regard with the decision-making processes which publishing positions entail. It is therefore Brossard's profile the most illustrative one of a female thought community's multi-role agencies. Unlike most members of the group's first generation (Blais was born in Québec and Hébert, in Saint-Catherine-de-la-Jacques-Cartier), the writers of this second generation were born in Montréal, in accordance with the social evolution of an increasingly industrialised Québec. Brossard, as her literary *prise de conscience féministe* demonstrated throughout the first half of the 70s, was no exception, problematising a new Québécois urbanity not from the Marxist perspective of the *Parti Pris* clique, or the overall, cultural-oppression standpoint of many male nationalist writers, but from the already inaugurated, gender-informed perspective of Gabrielle Roy's *roman social*.

The centrality of urban life is therefore a trait partially shared between the "Écriture au féminin" community and the "Écrivains *joual*", whose main figure, Jacques Godbout, somehow opposed Lévy-Beaulieu's ultimately embraced *paysan* past, suggesting that city and countryside still constituted two opposed poles in the search for a Québécois identity. Brossard's exploration of the *géographie montréalaise* took to a new dimension the line of inquiry inaugurated by Roy and Hébert, who attempted to rethink the then pressing urbanity vs. rurality equation under gender parameters. As Carmen Mata Barreiro (2003: 152) suggests, urban geographies and female corporality are deeply entrenched in Brossard's early works, from the inaugural *Un livre* (1970), to *French Kiss: Étreinte/Exploration* (1974). While her male counterparts saw in Montréal a crucial metaphor of Québécois colonisation, especially on the turning point of 1970, Brossard's exploration of metaphoric connections between the female body and the city's geography underscored the *other*, gender-based form of colonisation which only Québécois women had to suffer.

From incestuous relationships to homosexuality, increasingly central to her fiction as the 80s approached, Brossard's approach to urban life suggests revolutionary synergies between corporeal and geographical (self-)exploration, between physical (self-)pleasure or pain and territorial appropriation. Thus, sensorial perception, and especially vision, when

undertaken through reading and writing, metaphorises a female form of reality processing (Sequin 1979: 59). The "j'écris avec mes yeux" motto expressed by Brossard (2004, see Barreiro Mata 2003) identifies visuality, initially processing forms, colors, and depths, with a more profound apprehension, hence suggesting a return to corporal and physical realities in order to understand our most intimate self. As a result, a paradox imposes itself: the body, considered taboo and alien on (self-)exploration, because appropriated by patriarchy through a process of estrangement, is actually women's most immediate possession. The stolen perception of the senses becomes the purest form of being female, its depths being only understandable by processing the outside world through both writing and, importantly, through translation. The translation trope, indeed, has been commonly employed by Brossard, as well as by others, in order to reflect women's breach of their imposed silence, and subsequent disruption of patriarchal language, cynically known as *mother tongue* given the traditionally female role of language transmission.

But also, importantly, translation implies a subversion of the frontiers between bodily and discursive realities, between abstract theory and experimental fiction: "En tant qu'écriture féministe dissolvant la division entre théorie et création, «l'écriture comme traduction» constitue une pratique d'articulation de la subjectivité au féminin et une stratégie de poétique oppositionnelle" (Capperdoni 2007: 279). This meta-reflection on the theory of gender identity and oppression through linguistic performance finds perhaps an inaugural space in her work *L'amèr, ou le chapitre effrité* (1977), which encouraged one of the most celebrated feminist translations in Barbara Godard's career: *These Our Mothers, or the Disintegrating Chapter* (1984). On the verge between poetry and narrative, this anthology of texts was clearly aimed at breaking the conventions of narrative as a patriarchal, nation-making product. It tackles the kind of female bodily processes appropriated by patriarchy for its own perpetuation, from menstruation to maternity, de-constructing the discrediting function of an allegedly connected hysteria in patriarchal discourse: "Si *L'amèr* a connu autant de succès, c'est que pour les femmes ce texte s'avérait nécessaire: il correspondait à un fondamental besoin de voir, imprimée noir sur blanc, une réflexion politique sur la maternité dans le système patriarcal où la femme, comme mère, se retrouve flouée, ne pouvant devenir sujet dans le champ symbolique" (Dupré in Brossard 2013).

Taking her translation experience as a point of departure, which, in her view, required a re-construction of the writer's own creative strategies, it was Barbara Godard herself, together

with Daphne Marlatt, Kathy Mezei and Gail Scott, who would define as "fiction theory" (1987, see 4.4.2.). This proved that her own theorisations as a translator could be as illustrative of the feminist creative process as the author's own disquisitions. Similarly, it valorised her translational decision-making process as a visible form of metadiscourse through prefacing, a genre in its own right (Godard in Brossard 1986: 7), supplementing, footnoting, or hijacking (see Flotow 1991). In short, fiction theories entail the valorisation of the creative process of all agents involved, portraying the translation process as a universal form of disruptive literary creation, with its metadiscursive marks of sub-version as a form of ideological positioning: "C'est alors que, par la force du processus, j'entre à mon tour dans l'idéologie, Il m'est symbole, puisque maintenant j'écris, je puis le manipuler" (Brossard 1977: 34). The resulting hybrid, polyphonic genres challenge the eternal barrier between women's private stories and History as a collective project, their traditionally repudiated intimate experiences and a political, and therefore public account of them: "Théorie/ fiction, puisque le *JE* s'arrête sur ce qui relie au *NOUS*. Le précepte *LE PRIVÉ EST POLITIQUE* prend alors tout son sens_ le singulier appelle le pluriel, la petite histoire individuelle rejoignant la condition de toutes les mères" (Brossard 1977: 21). In another example of this "*Le privé est politique*" conviction, *Journal intime, ou, Voilà donc un manuscrit* (1984) was a visionary re-visit of a traditionally neglected genre, because private, under empowering premises. Besides generating a dense epistolary relationship between its translator, again Barbara Godard, and the author (see Godard in Simon 1995), fragments of the book were dramatised by Brossard herself on a radio special, which underscores the flexible use of different genres observed in female thought communities.

As an extension of the fiction theory phenomenon, Brossard's characters, and especially her protagonists' fictional creative writing becomes a space of political vindication in itself. Here, once again, a parallel may be drawn with the male writers' cultivation of the *roman de l'écriture* and their autobiographical *héros*, generally a writer (see 4.2.). Interestingly enough, in *The désert mauve* (1987), the role of the female writer protagonist becomes ultimately entrenched with that of the female fictional translator. Translated by Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (1990), and reissued in English by mainstream Anglophone Canadian publisher McClelland and Stewart, *Le désert mauve* constitutes a vindication of equality between two processes as traditionally opposed, via gender metaphors, as writing and translation. Both the figure of the writer and the translator, two long-established characters in Québécois literature (see Tremblay 1999 and Godbout 2010 respectively), are therefore re-conceived under feminist premises. Written at Québec's metafeminist stage, when Brossard's initial corporeal (self-

)exploration had already consolidated into a metadiscourse on sexual pleasure through writing, the novel narrates the story of Mélanie, the daughter of a writer, Maude, who owns a motel in the Arizona desert, and has started a relationship with another woman, Lorna. The first part of the novel accounts for Mélanie's search for her own identity, deeply influenced by her untraditional household and her mother's own liberating choices. The second, conversely, explicitly presents the previous narrative as a short story by a certain Laure Angstelle, whose authorship takes a new protagonist, Laures, to an obsessive quest, deep into the roots of a new, feminist form of writing, which encourages her imagination to start fictional dialogues with all the women involved in the story, either as characters or creative agents. This process of narrative, polyphonic de-construction, leads Laures to undertake the translation into English of Angstelle's short fiction, which constitutes the third part of her book, allowing, once again, for a fiction theory, a meta-fiction on translation which places it in equal terms with writing as a process of (self-)discovery.

This work constitutes a perfect example of how fiction theories politicise private female experiences, fictional transposition of Brossard's own life: besides being a writer, Brossard, who has officially introduced herself as a lesbian writer, has a daughter. may be perceived as an extreme experiment with meta-fiction, where the story in itself is explicitly presented as a manuscript for later publication, the authorship of which constitutes a constant struggle, and supplemented by its own translation into English, published as part of the original book. Creativity in its multiple forms is opposed here to the arid location of the novel, where the lack of water and vegetation are allegorical of infertility. Patriarchal language and textuality, subtly identified with this infertile landscape, are therefore subject to a "subversive" (Jill Levine 1991) intervention through visionary, nurturing female lexicon, often generated by English-French hybrids, or by etymological deconstructions. Indeed, throughout Brossard's career, language has been a constant source of experiment, the ludic alterations of which become an object of reflection in themselves. Although it would reach its peak in the metafeminist stage, from the 80s onwards, this preoccupation with the connections between language and ideology dates back from the second half of the 70s, when Brossard ultimately detached its work from that of the "*Écrivains joual*" male nationalist current. Nevertheless, such concern is equally present in the male, nationalist literature of the time, particularly through André Major's influence and his notion of *langagement*. Lise Gauvin, who has importantly revisited the concept from a feminist perspective (2000), defines it as a "conscience aigüe de la langue comme objet de réflexion, d'interrogation, d'enquête, mais aussi de transformation et de création" (*ibid*: 209).

For this feminist author, feminist writers do not contempt themselves with motivating the reader's metadiscursive reflections, but actually create etymological and morphological debates through their female characters' dialogues.

In this sense, Françoise Loranger has offered a comprehensive revision of linguistic interrogation in Brossard's career through one of Brossard's 90s novels, *Baroque d'aube* (1995). For her, the importance of double meanings in the writer's work is undeniable, through puns, polysemy or suggestive morphological alterations. One classic example is based on the polysemic word "langue". As Loranger explains (*ibid*), at the beginning of the novel, a sexual encounter between the protagonist, a writer, and a woman whom she has just met, where phrases like "rédouble d'ardeur avec sa langue" refer both to the human organ in the context of sexual intercourse and to the female linguistic capabilities explored both in and through the novel. A parallel is therefore suggested between the liberation of women's sexuality, hence their identity and desire, and the full exploration of a code repressed by patriarchy. Another example, underscored by Godard in her preface to the translation of *L'amère* (1983), is the use of puns in the means of referring to more than one reality of women's experience at a time. Such is the case of this work's title, where "l'amère" (literally "the sour" in English) sounds exactly like "la mère" ("the mother) when read out loud. This connection between sourness and motherhood is a constant in Québécois feminism, with scholars like Diane Lamoureux referring to the treason of male nationalism to feminism through their project of nation: "l'amère patrie" ("sour land"), a playful alteration of the classic "la mère patrie" ("mother land").



FIGURE 28: NICOLE BROSSARD (1943-).

Nicole Brossard's background, with her steady interest (despite a marginal position) in Québécois modernist poetry has surely set up the official creative parameters of the province's "Écriture au féminin". France Théoret, on the other hand, has remained at the canon's distinguished second row, only catching the attention of Anglophone feminist translators as their own thought community reached its matureness. Théoret's cooperation in Brossard's main publishing ventures forged a certain alliance in the early years of the movement. As a young writer, Théoret would discreetly join *La Barre du Jour's* editorial board, nevertheless quitting in 1969, after only two years of collaboration. According to Godard's preface in her translated anthology *The Tangible Word* (1991), the first one to target Théoret's work throughout the 70s, her decision responded to a firm rejection of the formalist premises defended by the journal's male founders. How may formalism be compatible with the "(...) understanding that 'language is not neutral' and that gender works to produce different relationships to the referent" (Godard in Théoret 1991: 7). Part of Théoret's mistrust of formalist principles relied on the obscurity of its poetics and the extreme complexity of its language. While various members of the "Écriture au féminin" advocated for a return to baby talk as the purest, closest form to a *mother tongue*, Brossard's neologisms, etymological and semantic traps and complex puns were not exactly aligned with the "nous parlerons comme on écrit" premise (such is the title of a 1982 work by Théoret).

For Brossard, as she explained in a recent interview (see Larose and Lessard 2012), formalism provided the basis for a meta-linguistic reflection through which she merges ideology with creation, theory with fiction:

“Ma poésie naît des mots eux-mêmes (leur résonance, leur charge symbolique, leur sonorité, leur agencement). Ce que j'appelais le « neutre » et qu'on aurait pu associer au formalisme était en fait cette liberté d'une écriture qui (...) s'appuie sur (...) les mots comme point de départ (...). On n'écrit vrai qu'en position de vulnérabilité, mais on n'écrit rare que dans le plaisir des mots. Avec le formalisme, (...) la langue avait de l'imagination pour moi. (...) Le formalisme, pour cette raison, a été important comme expérience d'une retenue dans l'acte d'écriture.” (Larose and Lessard *ibid*: 13)

In short, it is this conscious metadiscourse on language as it was being used by feminists in their work what justifies here the term "formalism". It is through this discursive layering that new readings of society and its dynamics may be appreciated. In Théoret's own approach, however, "translation", and not "formalism", is the conceptual trope shared with Brossard in her definition of writing as a feminist activity:

“writing is a praxis, not only an aesthetics but also an ethics and a politics, a signifying practice blurring the boundaries between them in fiction/theory. This “deterritorialization”, a transformative project of articulating the in/unarticulate(d), is an encounter with alterity and transcoding that Théoret terms translation” (Godard 1991: 9).

As the previous paragraph shows, Godard, who undertook a deep study of this group through her translational work, enters for the first time two crucial terms in the equation: "ethics" and "politics". On the basis of a *Foucauldian* logics, in which ethical reflections understandably require previous archaeological and geological work, an ad-hoc critique on the "ethics" of one's own generation is certainly impossible, for want of the necessary emotional and temporal distance with the object to be analysed (see Pelletier 1991 and Boisclair 1999). However, the sense in which Godard employs the term here aligns it more with an explicit political awareness regarding one's own work. Before Brossard's formalist norm, whose abstraction was dangerously close to blurring her political aims, Théoret focuses instead on the "deterritorialization", a challenge to patriarchal nation-state mapping which can articulate women's efforts into functional communities. Politics, in Théoret's work, are the explicit target of her prose, and not form as the surrogate of politics. Such was the principle expressed in her essay "Dépendances", featured in *La Barre du Jour's* 1975 issue, several years after Brossard and her parted literary ways:

Pour les textes féminins, pour les textes de femmes, pour les textes de luttes de femmes, je revendique ici et maintenant de ne pas parler le brouillamini poétique. Je revendique le langage clair, aussi clair que possible, celui dont on garde le sens, le fil à la ligne. Celui-là rend possible l'intromission du je de l'autre. C'est ce langage-là que je veux. Pour cela, je revendique d'en finir avec de nombreux avatars: celui du langage joualisant, du langage poétisant, des poncifs journalistiques du jeu citationnel, des slogans stéréotypés et même de l'expression de l'incommunicable solitude (Théoret 1975: 28).

An essential trait of thought communities, openness to different positions was a constant in Brossard's editorial work, despite her obvious status as norm-setter for the Québécois "Écriture au féminin". While Théoret criticised the extreme intertextuality (poncifs journalistiques du jeu citationnel"), "brouillamini poétique" was clearly referring to the generalisation of Brossard's formalist style as norm, the latter published this article together with works of fiction theory in that same line, by the group's best known contributors. Such contrast was underscored by the inclusion of Théoret's own writing via an excerpt of *Une Voix pour Odile*, which, like her other late-70s short stories, *Bloody Mary* and *Vertiges*, would be

published by the journal *Les Herbes rouges*⁴⁵ (1978, 1977, and 1979 respectively). From the late-80s, and particularly in her seminal work *Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation* (1989), a voracious intertextuality and a complex poetics were some of the most salient attributes which, in considerably homogenising terms, Godard would grant the entire "Écriture au féminin" movement. On the other hand, it would not be until the early 90s' metafeminist stage that Godard herself, of course, would translate these and other inaugural works as an anthology, and under a title of her choice: *The Tangible Word*. Théoret's 90s novels, on their part, would have to wait till the early 2000s to be translated, this time by a member of the Canadian-Feminist Translators' second generation: Louise von Flotow. Thus, the centrality of Brossard's poetics in the choice of source texts by Godard and other agents of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies was perhaps superior than the shaping function which she was willing to exert in her own community.

But Théoret's "deterritorialisation" of the feminist problematic would also make a difference among the woman writers of her generation, especially on her refusal of the *joual* as a language for fiction. For her, the level of distortion promoted by the "écrivains *joual*" in regard with Québec's linguistic variety was hampering the achievement of broader and more committed readerships. Yet, such a decision does not leave Québec out of the equation. The central concern in these short stories may well be "the problem of enunciation for the female subject, the problem of coming to voice and writing, of becoming a speaking subject when, as a woman, one has always been spoken for as the object of a discourse on woman." (Godard, 1991, 9). Nevertheless, the approach chosen is "(...) the politics of assuming the position of subject in the enunciation, when one is a woman living in Québec" (Godard *ibid*: 8).

Through different strategies, the three short stories usually featured in Théoret's work throughout the 70s showcase these underlying principles. Like *Bloody Mary* (1977), suggesting a carnivalesque parade of historical female characters, from Henry 8th's daughter to the Virgin Mary, *Une voix pour Odile* denounces the construction of women's identity as a "(...) 'negative other'", and often "(...) as the daughter in a working-class, Catholic household in pre-Quiet Revolution Québec" (Carrière 2016: 85). In particular, *Une voix pour Odile*'s main character's

⁴⁵ . Founded by the Hébert brothers in 1968, and originally focused on poetry, *Les Herbes rouges* would slowly open toward narrative, evolving from its original journal status to that of a *maison d'édition*. Not being a first-row choice for the "Écriture au féminin" community, the fact that it was them who published Théoret's first work clearly illustrates her slightly marginalised position as a result of challenging Brossard's norm.

inner monologue introduces, without the need for further references, her subaltern situation as a Québécois woman not as a result of Anglophone imperialism, but as a consequence of the province's own backwardness. Having had an extended offspring, as ancestral, Catholic Québec would request of women, Odile's subordinate lifestyle is perceived by her daughters as a testimony to a forceful destiny, which is what truly turns them hysterical: "Odile était une espèce de folle de s'être laissée faire quinze enfants. Odile, tu m'as rien appris. Odile, tu m'écœures. Les filles d'Odile n'ont eu peur que d'elle. Du modèle. Tout cela fait une belle gang d'hystériques" (Théoret 1975: 32). Hysteria, is often explored in Théoret's characters as a mimicry response to patriarchal symbolic violence, as "(...) a strategy of subversion and transgression" (Carrière *ibid*: 86). Interestingly enough, a precocious will is perceived in *Une voix pour Odile* to connect with the legacy of the previous generation of feminist writers, from Marie-Claire Blais, who is presented as a potential big sister to Odile given their identical surname, to Françoise Loranger, whose plays defy the character's compliance with traditional mores: "Rien dans les pieds, rien dans la tête à quoi ça sert pour laver des couches. Odile, ou's que tu t'en vas emmanché d'même c'est à ça que veulent répondre mes livres disait Françoise Loranger" (Théoret *ibid*: 31). Mentioning Blais in particular reinforces the idea that she must have acted as the necessary *continuum* between Québec's two generations of "Écriture au féminin", consolidating a true matrilineage of which Théoret was precociously aware.

While these first contacts with literature never allowed her to quit her job as a secondary teacher, Théoret's devotion to writing increased progressively. Her general theme throughout the 70s, the subordination of Québécois women, evolved into a more general critique of women's reality, as shows *Nécessairement Putain* (1980), translated by Godard for *The Tangible Word*, where prostitution is problematised from the social approach which major writers like Roy had connected with femininity: "Am neither virgin, nor whore, neither lady, nor servant. Nor the Pythia profetess beloved or damned. So close to the law, to madness, I have a thousand faces for every circumstance. All boundaries open within inside and outside" (Théoret and Godard 1991: 110). However, her portrayal of the Québécois female experience would never cease to fascinate her, as proven by a later work, *L'homme qui peignait Staline* (1989). Here, young girls's naïvety toward marriage is exposed through the anonymous story of a very bright student, Louise, who sacrifices her own aspirations to marry a classmate, Mathieu, and become a second mother to the most infantile of men. With *Huis clos entre jeunes filles* (2000) and *Une belle éducation* (2006), Théoret offers her own version of the aforementioned *roman de l'éducation*, and somehow also to the *roman de prise de conscience*,

which in women's case has little, in fact, to do with "national" awareness, but with the awakening of vindicating positions against patriarchal oppression. These last novels would all be translated, as already indicated, by Louise von Flotow, in a sort of epilogue to the already culminated Canadian Feminist Translation experience.



FIGURE 29: FRANCE THÉORET (1942-)

Louky Bersianik's (1930-2011) position in this triad is perhaps the least consolidated one, with Madeleine Gagnon (1931-) following closely her third position in the canon's podium. However, the Brossard-Théoret-Bersianik clique is confirmed by crucial anthologies like *La Théorie, un dimanche*, where two less known authors of Québécois "Écriture au féminin", Louise Cotnoir and Louise Dupré, interact with the triad in an amical Sunday chat. Dupré, in particular, was an early member of the *Remue-Ménage* editorial board, and soon made it also to that of the province's most famous literary journal: *Voix et images: Littérature Québécoise*. She has taught at the Université du Québec à Montréal. Both her and Louise Cotnoir have published extensively on the literary production of Brossard's generation, proving that this thought community would soon develop its own ties with academia. Unsurprisingly, the publisher, old favourite Éditions du Remue-Ménage, clarifies that the initiative for this encounter was Brossard's, as almost mandatory in works of this kind⁴⁶. In its classic composition, this triad is proof of the later institutionalisation of the movement, motivated, in my view, by patriarchal forces, both Québécois and Anglophone-Canadian: the former, in the means of promoting a pacific and civilised image which they have defended to this day; and

⁴⁶ <https://www.editions-rm.ca/livres/la-theorie-un-dimanche/>

the latter, in order to reinforce their project of the first bi-cultural nation in the West, one which is respectful of all sensibilities.

Born in Montréal as Lucille Durand, Bersianik's pen name "Louky" was actually a nickname used by her husband's since the beginning of their relationship (see Smith 1982). After her time in France and an extensive education, she would devote most of her professional life to write children's short stories, which illustrate's a classic trend in female thought communities toward targeting a multiplicity of genres and audiences in the members' literary activity. Despite her ten novels and various essays, the range of Bersianik's work is probably the least known of the triad. From her first novel, *L'éguélionne* (1976), which remains to this day her best known work, a key topic in her search for non-oppressive femininities is revealed: motherhood. *L'euguélionne* accomplishes through her main character, a female messiah, a fierce critique of one of the textual basis of patriarchy, the Bible: "(...) extraterrestre à la recherché d'une civilisation non-sexist, de son 'homme-positif', ou plutôt de son 'planète-positif' et du 'mâle de son espèce', commente les moeurs du planète Terre" (Bersianik in Smith 1982: 63). As a result, formal innovation goes here as far as to imitate the versicle structuring of the Holy Scriptures in a constant questioning of the narratives put together by the "grands hommes de l'histoire" (Bersianik in Smith *ibid*: 63). The aim, in short, is to vindicate the "plus grande crime de l'histoire, cell qui a engendré tous les autres crimes de l'Humanité: le massacre sexuel et intellectuel des individus femelles, crime fondé sur le Pouvoir Absolue, sur l'Autocratie du Phallus, sur la prétention de se croire supérieur par rapport à un autre sexe" (Bersianik in Smith *ibid*: 63). There is, indeed, a certain historical revanchism in Bersianik's treatment of Greek mythology as the origin of misogynism, as observed in another relevant contribution, *Pique-nique à l'Acropole* (1979). As almost customary among Québécois feminist writers, an imaginary dialogue is presented among seven female characters of a utopian, matriarchal Greece, gathered on the Acropolis. Some of them, like Xanthippe, Socrates' wife, have received very limited attention from patriarchal historical sources. Surrounded by mystery, they offer an exceptional chance for the discussion of ground-breaking views not only on the past, but also on the future. As a result of this, Bersianik's works, often have a strong science-fiction tone.

From a methodological standpoint, affirming that manipulative intertextuality is used in this fiction theory is an understatement. We rather stand before a feminist utopia which relies on parody to sub-vert patriarchal narratives, taking perhaps the "vision carnavalesque" often

mentioned in this thesis to its most extreme extent. For that purpose, classical mythical and biblical figures are distorted, the ultimate target being the Catholic mores which Bersianik, as other female and male Québécois writers, blames for the province's involution. Thus, through a predominantly allegoric tone, Bersianik denounces what her own words refer to as "la maternité mâle", that is, women's re-productive capacity as an attribute stolen by patriarchy:

Mais ce qui est le plus comique, c'est que ces mères mâles nous accusent de faire entendre «La Voix comme Phallus» quand nous osons accoucher de nos œuvres! Car, ainsi que nous l'apprend le dictionnaire, c'est le Phallus — et non l'Utérus — qui est : « l'emblème mythologique de la fécondité et de la puissance reproductrice de la Nature»; c'est pourquoi d'ailleurs mon amie l'Euguélonne était persuadée que c'étaient les mâles qui mettaient les enfants au monde sur notre planète (Bersianik 1979: 407).

Thus, taking Beauvoir's well known slogan "On ne naît pas femme, on le devient" (1949) as a point of departure, the underlying question in Bersianik's fiction theory is, indeed, "comment naître femme (dans le sens mélioratif du mot) et ne pas le devenir (dans le sens péjoratif)?" (1976: 59). In itself, motherhood is not a patriarchal value for this author: "Je n'ai pas d'aversion pour la maternité, dit l'Euguélonne. Bien au contraire. J'en ai beaucoup cependant pour le temps qu'elle dure. Car les Hommes n'acceptent pas d'être sevrés. Ils exigent d'être servis, nettoyés, nourris, cajolés, approuvés, excusés, encensés, jusqu'à la fin de leur vie" (Bersianik *ibid*: 302 in Would 1991: 36). Since, as Bersianik states through her translator's voice, "one man out of two is a woman" (Bersianik and Scott 1996), a half of humanity has tacitly taken part in a constant progress, for which nevertheless they are granted no credit.



FIGURE 30: LOUKY BERSIANIK (1930-2011).

Somehow, the objectification of women, and particularly of mothers, is a theme with a long tradition in women-written Québécois fiction (see 4.3.). Its presence in the work of other members of the "Écriture au féminin" community should therefore come as no surprise. Brossard, for instance, chose an image of the Willendorf Venus for the cover of her work *L'amèr* (1977), arguing that "(...) cette femme n'a pas de regard, de bouche, de bras. Elle a des seins et un ventre. Elle est de la matière à reproduction" (Sequin 1979: 59). For Québécois women authors and theorists, as Chamberlain shall prove (1988), motherhood and female creativity are firmly connected as two values traditionally appropriated by patriarchy, which falsely detaches re-production from the creation of something original, and therefore of authority, both in biological and textual terms.

As a result, Bersianik's work tackles another well-known theme among Québécois feminist writers, the de-construction of a falsely deemed "mother tongue", from the complex etymological standpoint that she and Brossard shared with Anglo-American feminists like Mary Daly (1978). This is what Richard (1976: 128) understands as dynamic symbolism: "The consistent use of dynamic symbolism initiates what almost amounts to a new mythology or a new iconography, a process which represents an attempt to establish in the unconscious the necessary foundations on which to build a conscious revolution toward the liberation of women." Her refusal of subjugating expressions such as "mère porteuse" or "nom du père" was paradigmatic of Québec's pioneering positioning regarding inclusive language within the Francophonie (see Vachon-L'Heureux 1992 and 2007). However, her most daring stances were taken against what Schultz defined as the "semantic derogation of women" (Schulz 1975). Hence, generally pejorative female terms like *sorcière*, which means "witch" are redefined on a more accurate, etymological basis (*sorcière* comes from *source*, which means "origin"), whereas traditionally positive terms like those referring to the phallus are discredited: "Un peu de modestie, messieurs les viriles. N'oubliez pas que le mot verge qui veut dire 'baguette' a donné le diminutif virgule (...)" (Bersianik 1976: 237).

An essential part of the evolution undergone by the Québécois-feminist thought community, gathered around the phenomenon of the "Écriture au féminin", must be accounted from the standpoint of this Federal-scale project of intra-national assimilation. By leaving the internationally-expanding feminist movement out of the nationalist equation, Nationalist elites denied the necessary relationship between "égalité" and "indépendance" (Lamoureux 2001), a miscalculation which confirmed women's traditionally peripheral position in any movement of

intra-patriarchal dissent. It is at this point where the main difference between patriarchal and female thought communities becomes obvious: Patriarchal groups are caught in a never-ending struggle to abandon the peripheral positions of an inherited system, by definition hierarchical and unequal, which therefore remains unquestioned. Albeit by no means immune to the charms of power, female communities work better in dialogue, horizontally. Barbara Godard's search for dialogue with Québécois feminism has mainly been of academic nature, kept as far from institutionalisation as possible in a patriarchal institution like Academia. However, constant attempts at profiting from the movement's international *momentum* were made by those who understood the centrality of translation for a unified Canada, and the importance of effective equality in order to consolidate a modern image of (white) civilisation.

4.4.6. Mutual Compromising? (Epilogue): Québécois Feminism as a Nationalist Commodity

In line with the political turmoil, the 90s were a critical decade for nationalism. While the Parti Québécois was again in office between 1994 and 2001, new political alternatives for secessionists were to dissolve the party from the inside. Jacques Parizeau (1930-2015), an ancient member of Lévesque's cabinet who won the 1994 elections, had to resign two years later, as promised, after a second referendum on sovereignty was lost in 1995. This time round, however, the results were extremely close: 49.42% "yes" to 50.58% "no", which encouraged Parizeau's promise of a prospective referendum entailing the ultimate shutdown of the federal order in Québec. To this day, neither the Parti Québécois nor any of its splits (for instance, Coalition Avenir, the party currently governing Québec) have brought up again the suggestion of a new referendum. His successor, Lucien Bouchard (1938-), consolidated a new line of leadership for the party, focusing on Québec's pressing economic situation, and particularly its deficit. A relative quietness of nationalist sectors was mirrored by feminists, excited as they had been with their integration in the sovereignist project just a decade prior. A certain weariness, and perhaps also tacit disappointment had subsumed feminist emancipation into Québec's constant fight for identitarian and political autonomy.

A commodity for the stroke of popularity which nationalist politics needed, it is my contention that Québec's feminism and its national identity became almost inseparable entities precisely in this decade. With less intense literary projects, Barbara Godard's translational and scholarly contributions to the bi-cultural Canadian feminism which she had devised were

scarcer in those years. New voices like those of Sherry Simon and Luise von Flotow were to take part in a mostly reflective, historicising project, through works like Simon's *Gender in Translation* (1996) and Flotow's *Translation and Gender* (1997). Although the evolution of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies shall be surveyed in a prospective chapter through the prism of Godard's career, it must be cited here as a significant consequence of the less active Québécois feminism movement of that decade.

In my perception, the 90s would entail the transformation of those two feminist movements, already at a stage of consolidation and maturity, into commodities of their respective "matrix disciplines", perhaps more accurately named "*parent fields*". In the case of Québec's feminist literature, we are referring to the *Littérature québécoise*, a literary project under classical European nation-making parameters. Regarding Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, operational subordination to the *Canadian Translation Studies* invisible college may be accounted for, to a certain extent, as well as to the consolidation of a Canadian literary polysystem, another invisible college trapped between promoting national bi-culturality and reinforcing an Anglophone-Canadian culture at an international scale.

5. Godard's Translation Praxis and The Canada Council Years: Manufacturing or Resisting the "National" Polysystem?

Aw, there's no such thing as a "Canadian" culture [interruption/Incomprehensible]. There's nothing unique in Canada that unifies them except for the parliamentary system, which allows a lot for a lot of didder-daddering [*sic*], and none of the important fragmentary issues in Canada ever come to their head. And I don't think Canada is a nation. (Anonymous Anglophone female speaker, Robin Spry's *Action: The October Crisis of 1970*, 1974)

The aim of the current chapter is to reflect on Barbara Godard's foundational role in the establishment of a new thought community, Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, aimed at the consolidation of egalitarian means of dialogue with the feminist voices emerging in Québec's young literary institution during the second half of the 70s. As a previous section has demonstrated (see 3.1.5.), Godard's personal academic quest, which ultimately took her to the establishment of this feminist thought community, this interstice between Canada's obsessive two solitudes, entailed a complex symbiosis, and therefore constant dialogues with the two patriarchal matrix disciplines where she gained her first experiences as a scholar: Canadian Literature or CanLit, usually contextualised in the broader, cultural-studies framework of Canadian Studies (for an overview, see Nischik 2016); and Canadian Translation Studies, a more recent outcome of the comparative approach which the intendedly bilingual and bicultural CanLit project required.



FIGURE 31: BARBARA THOMPSON GODARD (1942-2010).

As already discussed, this project, initially pursuing Anglophone Canada's cultural differentiation from the old and new Anglophone Empires (Britain as a former metropole and the U.S. as Anglo-America's current ambassador), demanded nevertheless coping with the country's bicultural reality in the means of building a strong Canadian nation. Considering, as Flotow does (2003), literature as a form of "cultural diplomacy", there was, in those years, an institutional search for the consolidation of a Canadian "interculture", enforced by the 1969 Official Languages Act and crucially operated through the Canada Council's translations grant program (1973, see Davey 1995). The resulting policies encouraged the foundation of two institutions already mentioned in previous sections, whose role in the consolidation of a Canadian polysystem I shall discuss shortly: the Association for Canadian and Québec Literatures (from now ACQL, 1973), and the Literary Translators Association of Canada (from now LTAC, 1975). While the ACQL intended to support a series of scholarly exchanges and studies on comparative literature in the Canadian context, the LTAC bore its practical fruit: the (not so) reciprocal translation of the two (intendedly) national literatures. Despite the considerable funds made available by the Canada Council, and the creation of a bilingual Translation category for the General Governor's Award, these attempts at homogenising a bicultural polysystem took place at a time when both national cultures were immersed in their own struggles for self-differentiation. Moreover, in Québec's particular case a great deal of such a process had its opposite in Anglophone-Canadian culture and what they perceived as Anglophone-led, federal structures. On different grounds, as already explained, both Anglophone Canada and Québec joined the postcolonial debate, demanding to be acknowledged as nations in their own right. The incompatibility of their claims lied, of course, in that, for this purpose, Anglophone Canada needed to engage Québec in an already devised, Anglophone-led project, whereas an increasing part of Québécois society requested to cut ties with the Anglophone provinces.

By transcending patriarchal obsessions with nation-making, it is my claim that Godard's thought community was considerably more successful at establishing a Canadian "interculture". Such seems to be the general belief among first-row commentators of the now consolidated field of Feminist Translation, many of whom were partakers in that first Canadian experience: "As a new variation in the dialogue between Québec and English Canada, feminist translation reactivated the political concerns of this cultural exchange. But it transformed them as well, stimulating innovative creative practices and opening up new territories of border writing. Translation became a vital site of cultural production" (Simon 1996: viii). The next

section, thus, shall illustrate how the CanLit project, despite noble attempts at engaging Québécois literature in an egalitarian, bicultural polysystem, ended up consolidating a literary perception where Anglophone-Canadian self-differentiation is central, and Québécois culture is assimilated (see Mezei 1988) through the previously cited institutions, ACQL and LTAC. The goal of describing such attempts is to better contextualise Barbara Godard's divergent operations in the field, resignifying the self-interested reception which female Québécois writers had enjoyed in the Anglophone-Canadian landscape throughout the 20th century.

5.1. "Survival": The Canadian Nation project with(out) Québec

"Yet one of the achievements of [Street of Riches] is that most English-Canadian readers will scarcely be conscious that it deals primarily with French Canada". (Conron, "Introduction", in Gabrielle Roy's *Street of Riches*, 1967, in Mezei 1988: 18).

As the introductory quote shows and already discussed (see 4.4.), Québec women writers like Gabrielle Roy and Anne Hébert were the first whose work deserved the attention of the Anglophone literary system, as well as the federal institutions' recognition, before the Governor General's awards were open to Francophone literature, and especially before the institutionalisation of bilingualism (1969). The exploitation of women's creativity for patriarchal gain in nation-making processes, a crucial premise for this thesis, is observed not only in the previously accounted-for consolidation of the Anglophone and Québécois polysystems. Importantly, it is present in any Anglophone-led attempts at creating a Canadian "interculture", and therefore, in connected practices of cultural reception (ACQL) and translation (LTAC). Such intercultural space, nurturing the then-emerging field of Canadian Translation Studies, was preceded by the work of pioneering Canadian comparatists who, regardless of the little engagement generated in Québécois academia, persisted in a generalised use of the term "Canadian literature", homogenising the country's Anglophone and Francophone literary manifestations. A habit originally shared, as we are about to see, by most translators and translation theorists engaged in some degree or another with Canadian Feminist Translation Studies, from founder Barbara Godard herself (1987) to regulars like Kathy Mezei (see, for instance, Grant and Mezei 2007) or Louise Forsyth (2013).

Today, after effectively gobbling up these pioneers' feminist praxis, the only Canadian translation discipline standing, Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies, shows increasing caution in this respect. While often resorting to the eternal "Canadian and Québécois

literatures” binomial, this institution fails in its attempt at avoiding generalising slippages, inconsistently combining generalised terms for “the two major Canadian literatures” (Hayne 1989) with a separate treatment of Anglophone and Québécois production. While decomposing the Anglophone field, the true driving force of this comparative critique, into different postcolonial strands has not been problematic, with the fields of Asian-, African-, and Diasporic Canadian Literatures growing steadily throughout the last decades (see Sugars 2016), managing the heritage of Canada’s two post-European nations still touches a raw nerve among scholars. Wiser as the indeterminacy strategy may seem today, what would currently seem impossible was nevertheless undertaken in the 70s, in the heyday of Canadianization and Québec nationalism, by the ACQL and its founder, Robin Matthews: consolidating the perception of a bilingual/bicultural Canadian polysystem:

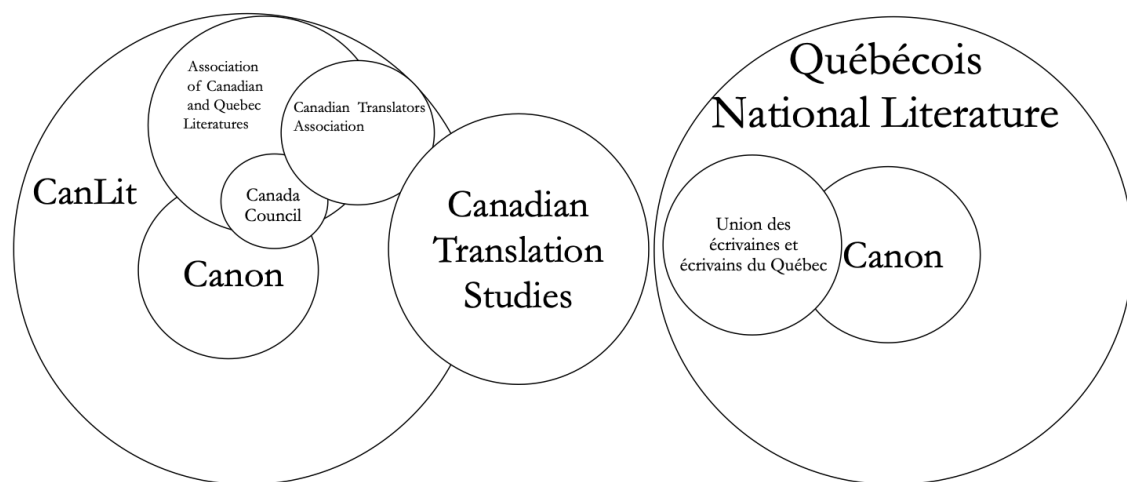


FIGURE 32: CANLIT’S ATTEMPTED INTER-SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH QUÉBÉCOIS NATIONAL LITERATURE THROUGH CANADIAN TRANSLATION STUDIES AS AN INTERCULTURAL SPACE.

5.1.1. Intercultural Canada: The Literary Translators Association and the Emergence of Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies

While the current institutionalisation of Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies reflects the political productivity of translation praxis in Canada, the aim of the current section is to reflect on its origin as a promising thought community, albeit quickly structured under the Literary Translators Association of Canada (from now on LTAC, 1975), where personal views on the profession and individual aspirations had enormous impact. Through the prism of Chesterman’s Translator Studies, composed of a cultural, a cognitive and a sociological

dimension, it is my intention to review the two main positionings which I have encountered regarding the activity of this group of translators in the already discussed quest for a Canadian intercultural. While Barbara Godard shall become the indisputable centre of my discussion from the next section onwards, her pioneering role in the professional consolidation of Canadian translators shall also be reflected.

The first positioning with which I am concerned here, which may be considered to stand for the mainstream academic perceptions on the field, is that of Angès Whitfield, an accomplished translation theorist whose efforts at “portraying” (following Delisle’s *portrait* model) both Anglophone (2006) and Francophone (2005) Canadian Translators, as well as at offering comparative studies into the profession across Canada (2006) have laid solid foundations for a Canadian discipline of Translation History. As part of these *portraits* of Anglophone Canadian translators, Whitfield has duly underscored the leading figure of Patricia Claxton (1929-), the embodiment of what she defines as a “civil translator”:

Patricia Claxton embodies the role of the translator as a civil agent, with rights and responsibilities within a civic society (...). A deeply held conception of citizenship and civic duty underlies [Claxton’s] vision of translation’s vital contribution to furthering a healthy intellectual debate within bilingual Canadian society, her sense of responsibility towards the authors and texts she translates, her dedication to “getting it right,”¹ and her commitment to the legal structures that ensure translation’s place within a civic society in a context of respectful cultural exchange (Whitfield 2006: 139-140).

(White) “civility” is, as demonstrated in a previous section (3.1.4.), an essential value in Canada’s self-presentation as a nation, and therefore in its literature. Unsurprisingly, a pioneering figure in the search for a Canadian intercultural like Claxton, with a past as Pierre Trudeau’s translator during his years in *Cité Libre* (Whitfield 2006), is believed to embody this longed-for, “respectful cultural exchange”. Besides being the LTAC’s founding president, Claxton was a founding member of the Société des Traducteurs du Québec, and is responsible for the current certification practices by the Ordre des Traducteurs du Québec (OTTIAQ) translators. Her trajectory therefore proves that literary translation, as a form of intra-national diplomacy in Canada, is mostly an Anglophone initiative, however praised as a reciprocal effort by enthusiastic supporters like Whitfield. The latter indeed denies the unidirectionality, that is the non-reciprocity of translation between Canada’s two solitudes, and the eminently “ethnographic” nature of Anglophone Canadian translations, two claims which Simon has often underscored (see 1995 and 2007 respectively). In Whitfield’s view, “translators from

both cultures became the purveyors and advocates of their cultural “other”, “work[ing] towards building local specificities during a period of global cultural change” (Whitfield 2006: 20). Her discourse on the sensitivity of Canadian Translation Studies towards multiculturalism is perhaps utopian, given the exclusively intra-national translation exchanges to which the Canada Council’s policies have led (see Grady 1995). However, hers remain the most exhaustive portraits of Anglophone and Francophone translators to date.

For periodisation purposes, Whitfield has analysed the evolution of both Anglophone and Francophone translators under a two-phase paradigm, the overall spirit of each being nevertheless widely different. In the case of Francophone translators like Michel Tremblay or H el ene Rioux, better known for their literary career than for their translation work, a first period is comprised between 1960 and 1980, featuring what she defines as a “reflexively intercultural” attitude, therefore leading to an internal monologue on the part of the mediators rather than to a true dialogue. From 1980 onward, however, Whitfield (2006) perceives a shift in the attitudes towards translation praxis in the province, encouraging exchanges of a “reciprocally intercultural” nature. As one may see, the turning point appears to be the Parti Qu eb cois’ defeat at the first independence referendum, which led, as already indicated, to a series of failed attempts at negotiating a new status for Qu eb c within a recently patriated constitution. In this context, it is Whitfield’s contention that Anglophone Canadians’ general perception of Qu eb c changes, discouraged by the province’s discomfort within the Federal regime. Consequently, a new “tendency”, borrowing the polysystemic terminology (see 5.1.2.), emerges among Anglophone Canadian translators, deemed by Whitfield as a “translation-professional intercultural approach”. In her view, a previous focus on intercultural understanding now gives way to coordinated efforts into consolidating the profession. Understandably, it is also in this decade when the Translation Bureau/Bureau de la traduction, founded in 1934, but never truly systematised as a federal agency, is for the first time subjected to a set of official regulations (1987⁴⁷), culminating the institutionalisation of bilingualism. Once again, the diplomatic role of translated literature seems to be underscored as efforts in this respect have often been presented as coincidental with initiatives at a political or institutional scale.

Several questions should nevertheless be raised in regard with this proposal. A first and most obvious one is the fictional symmetry to which Whitfield’s presentation of both

⁴⁷ See https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/C.R.C.,_c._1561/index.html.

Francophone and Anglophone translators leads. In her edited volume *Culture in Transit*, Simon indeed addresses this issue as to justify her exclusive focus on the translation of Québécois literature:

Translation from English into French will not be considered here, for reasons of space, but also because the story of translation “in the other direction” is different from the one told here. The double flow of translations has not been symmetrical, either in terms of quantity and type of works chosen for translation or in terms of critical reception. Historically, Québec publishers have invested in translating non-fiction rather than fiction. However, interest in translated fiction has increased considerably over the last few years (Simon 1995: 15).

While this crucial information is buried in a humble note to the introduction, Simon is indeed offering a much more accurate portrayal of the differential prestige and interest that translation inspires in each of Canada’s two intra-national communities. Her standpoint is shared by Davey (1995) on the basis of his experience co-editing translated Québécois literature with Barbara Godard for Coach House Press. While the Canada Council’s funds were generous, the real issue was indeed to find Québécois publishers or authors willing to negotiate the royalties for English translations of their fiction. This, in my view, seems to point at the widely different symbolic capital which translation entails for Québec, being perceived, as Whitfield’s opponents claim, as a source of assimilation (Mezei 1988) of Québécois difference, and a tool for shaping it in accordance to the Anglophone federal project. Consequently, the fact that it generally was enshrined writers like Tremblay who ventured into translation seems to underscore the lower prestige of translation in Québec, as well as, perhaps, the need for previous recognition in order to undertake any translation praxis.

It is possibly Whitfield’s analysis of the emergence of a prestigious group of literary translators, soon organised under the Literary Translators’ Association, which deserves the most attention, especially considering the scope of this thesis. Her exploration of feminist translation as a force affecting this thought community is unfortunately very limited: while she often discusses the difference between “political and aesthetic tendencies” among translators, pointing at what Lefevre (1993) defined as “ideology” and “poetics” respectively, she seems to think that feminism in translation is merely a “poetic” twist: “Those translators who engaged primarily in translation for other professional purposes were often involved in advancing particular aesthetic values, feminism for Godard and De Lotbinière-Harwood, avant-garde

writing or theatre for Ellenwood, Van Burek and Gaboriau” (Whitfield 2006: 66). Still, once they have been re-organised under Chesterman’s framework for Translator Studies, Whitfield’s observations prove very useful for the depiction of the translational agents concerned.

From a cultural dimension, ideology is constantly underscored as a crucial factor. However, in contrast with authors like Mezei (1995), who in effect perceive patterns of assimilation in these translators’ work, Whitfield insists in Anglophone mediators’ role as “purveyors and advocates” of Québécois difference. For her, between 1960 and 1980, Anglophone translators’ alleged fascination with a recently (re-)discovered Québécois culture translates into two different lines of action. On the one hand, a certain group of translators, indisputably concerned with the bicultural reality of Canada, are nevertheless also invested in building community among translation professionals, and of course lobbying for the consolidation of a prestigious professional branch. Such is the case of Patricia Claxton, Sheila Fischman or Ray Ellenwood, whose sociological dimension, borrowing Chesterman’s terminology (2009), was prioritised, at least at that time, over other dimensions of their praxis.

On the other hand, a series of other translators would campaign in favour, as already indicated, of “advancing particular aesthetic values”, among which feminism, apparently an aesthetic value defended by Barbara Godard and Suzanne de Lotbinière Harwood. An important distinction made by Whitfield, nevertheless, is that of this second group’s motivations as non-professional, falling perhaps into what Eichhorn and Milne (2016) define as “affective economies”. As underscored by Pym in his discussion of Translator ethics (2011), and confirmed by De Lotbinière-Harwood herself (1991), the luxury of lobbying for one’s ideals is fairly rare when one is at the mercy of market forces.

Be as it may, for Whitfield (2006), these two groups’ praxis may be defined by an overriding, “*reflexively communicative intercultural model*”. Thus, while a certain dialogical intention is perceived in these translators, they appear to share “a view of translation as essentially a means of communicating to unilingual English-Canadians something specific about Québec or Québec culture, whether it be of a political or aesthetic nature” (Whitfield *ibid*: 67). The reflexive and communicative function of these translated efforts does not justify, as Whitfield clearly states, any claims of assimilational nature, but certainly leaves the door open to interesting debates on the agency of these mediators, and their potential alliance with an overriding project of Canadian nation-making. For her, in conclusion, the underlying ethics

behind their work is understanding Québec's cultural specificity as a defining trait of Canadian identity, and subsequently finding ways to explain intra-national difference to "unilinguals".

While Whitfield invests considerable effort in arguing the "multicultural" background of many of the agents involved in the Canadian translation profession (Sheila Fischman is Jewish, Patricia Smart spent her childhood in India), the common pattern in most cases mentioned is actually detrimental to her argumentation, and not vice-versa: John Van Burek has spent many years in the States, and Linda Gaboriau is from Massachusetts. She moved to Québec, as she has often asserted, in order to learn French, but enrolled in a French programme offered by McGill, an Anglophone university located in Montréal's Westmount area. Unsurprisingly, first-row feminist critics like Simon or Flotow completed their studies in the States too, which definitely points at the tacit, "Americanization" trend against which Canadian Postcolonialists have reacted (see 3.1.1.).

Conversely, important cultural realities of the neighbouring province, Québec, appeared to be considerably more elusive, despite the personal friendship which united translators like D.G. Jones, Sheila Fischman's ex-husband, and nationalist Québécois poets like Gérald Godin or Roland Guiguère. According to Godbout's account in Simon's portrait *In Translation: Honouring Sheila Fischman* (2013), this group of poets organised literary salons in Québec's Anglophone Eastern Townships, and particularly in North Hatley. A symbol of Anglophone domination in Québec, this region has been defined by Homel as "more New England than Québec" (Godbout *ibid*: 9). Suddenly, nevertheless, it started to be known as "The Athens of the Nord" by these authors (see Sutherland in Godbout *ibid*: 4) Fischman, as it seems, was a Radio-Canada journalist at the time, with little knowledge of French. This factor, as underscored by Chesterman's cognitive dimension (2009), bears a direct impact in the translators' attitudes. In an interview with Sherry Simon (1998), who has provided extensive studies into her work, Fischman seems to explain her exhaustive documentation habits on the basis of her previous experience as a journalist. She was initiated in the art of translation during those meetings, treasuring the appreciation of Gérald Godin himself, who, according to her recollection, assured that, in those evenings, "we were all truly *québécois*" (Godbout *ibid*: 8). His wife, singer and songwriter Pauline Julien, was also present in these encounters, apparently chanting slogans like "*en français, en français*" to some of the present.

Friendship, an essential form of affinity within thought communities, opened the doors which Barbara Godard's perseverance often could not (see Davey 1995). It was most probably the emotional aspect of these translators' cognitive dimension, and in particular author-to-author relationships (Jones is a prestigious poet), what gave the couple access to this select Québécois circle. Such a friendship encouraged them to devote the 1971 issue of their co-founded journal *Ellipse* (1969-2012) to the translation of their friends' poetry, lobbying against the search and arrest of other poets, and opposing Ottawa's handling of a growing Québécois conflict. While Fischman's capital importance for the journal is undeniable, as well as her visibility as co-founder of the Literary Translators' Association, the same emotional aspect which helped her approach Québécois authors would hamper proper recognition of her intersectional role in the journal. To this day, D.G. Jones remains the leading force of such an acclaimed journal, which suggests, once again, a strong gender bias on the part of academia. The fact that we currently have so much input on her career and first-person experiences is due, in my view, to her own emotional and sociological affinities with Sherry Simon. A former director of the Concordia Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies, Simon has openly underscored Jewish agencies in her translation research, both from her former interest in feminism, where she has done extensive research into the Bible's potentially female authorship and gender bias (see Simon 1995); and her current research line, cultural hybridity. She has recently analysed, besides Fischman's (2013), figures like Anglophone Montréal poet A.M. Klein (Ravvin and Simon 2011), as much as Canadian multilingual contexts, like the use of yiddish in Montréal (Anctil, Ravvin and Simon 2007; Simon 2014).

Language, as Julien's chanting suggests, was a crucial cultural aspect of the Québécois fiction produced between the 60s and the late 70s is, indeed, language, through the first uses of the *joual* as a valid poetic code. For Whitfield, this "aesthetic value" is perceived by Anglophone translators as a vehicle of pro-independence positionings. As Mezei has convincingly argued (1988), it is often the element which best defines the Anglophone translator's attitude toward Québécois difference, and his/her intention when presenting it to his/her fellow readers. However, the sole definition of Whitfield reflects accurately the kind of bias burdening Anglophone perceptions of Québécois French. According to her, the *joual* is still considered "a form of anglicised Québec-spoken French" (Whitfield 2006: 60), a misconception dating back, at least, from the times of Drummond's *The Habitant* (1899). As already argued, this French variety is the result of a complexity of factors, most of which are restrained to its relationship with the brutal standardisation undergone by this language.

Anglicisms are one expectable trait, perhaps the most accessible one for Anglophone Canadians, who have often mocked this *mélange* as a form of ignorance. Nevertheless, they are by no means defining of the *joual*'s complex evolution. Understandably, the amount of sociolinguistic knowledge entailed in order to portray this linguistic variety is considerable. Taking into account the fact that some of these now enshrined Anglophone translators had to rely on the remains of their high-school French as they started off (Whitfield 2006), at a time when translation programmes were still scarce across Canada (Grant and Mezei 2007), the difficulties encountered when dealing with this code are understandable.

Finally, the sociological dimension is crucial, in sight of the efforts at recognition made by the Literary Translators' Association. A historic step toward translators' recognition was taken as an equal share of rights payment to authors was acknowledged under the Public Lending Rights Program. As its co-founder, Fischman has personally campaigned for translators' rights since the early 70s, at a time when the lack of specific, higher-education translation programmes was inconsistent with its growing institutional importance. She would often call out publishers for burying the translator's name in a book's most irrelevant spaces, and critics for failing to acknowledge that many books are actually translations (see Venuti 2005). This led, importantly, to amendments in Canadian copyright law, which today recognises translations as literary works in their own right. Additionally, the fact that many of the translators hereby mentioned have undertaken intersectional roles typical of thought communities has also encouraged their recognition. Davey and Godard, for instance, have worked as editors and directors of journals, like Fischman and Jones. Lastly, the Literary Translators' Association has also created the John Glassco Prize in order to promote the traditionally invisible names of important translators. The establishment of the Governor General's Awards in Translation, in 1987, coincidental with the enforcement of the Translation Bureau Regulations, has also been effective.

The previous paragraphs have discussed the optics of most Canadian professional translators regarding their praxis. As a thought community based on mutual solidarities, this group has lobbied for their interests through non-stop dialogues with the conservative forces leading the Canadian book industry. They have targeted multiple outlets and genres, often combining professional translation, editing and creative writing with associational efforts and academic reflection. As a result of this, they have frequently pursued cross-disciplinary goals, leading to the consolidation of a strong Canadian tradition of Translation Studies offering the

quality training which a self-deemed multicultural country requires. Through their academic activity, and especially thanks to the valuable contributions of scholars like Whitfield, Delisle, Woodsworth, Godbout, and Simon, their “Portraits” have illustrated permanent connections between the private and the public dimensions of their work, proving that the personal is, indeed, political, also among translators. No hierarchical tyrannies may be observed in their praxis, consequently benefitting from a multiplicity of approaches and inputs. Finally, different degrees of commitment with various sets of values may be observed.

It is my contention, despite all, that their fast institutionalisation under the Literary Translators’ Association, prompted by the Canada Council (see Whitfield 2007) and followed by an “academisation” through Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies (thought communities either start or end up in Academia), responds to Anglophone Canada’s overriding, patriarchal project of a strong and united Canadian nation. Similarly, Québec’s generally scarce interest in projects of this kind points to the premises of their own nation-making process, which they believe to be incompatible with the Anglophone one. It is in this context that more complete standpoints, combining sociology and history with certain notions of discourse analysis, lead to very different conclusions regarding Anglophone Canadian translation praxis. Unsurprisingly, academic spaces, ethically more independent than professional ones (Pym 2012), have undertaken more critical studies into the institutionalisation of translation in Canada.

Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies is a complex, mature response to a series of institutional shifts displacing translated works from their traditional periphery to a more central position of the Canadian polysystem. The historical origins of translation in the territory currently covered by Canada are understandably remote. According to Delisle, Gallant and Horgelin (1987), on his 1534 conquest, Jacques Cartier captured two Iroquois natives and, after giving them a *vernissage* in France, took them back with him to the new colony as interpreters. Interestingly enough, in his *Histoire de la traduction au Canada*, published at a time when the Translation Bureau’s institutional role was being reinforced, Delisle reflects on the lack of a tradition of literary translators in his country. Bicultural maturity, in my view, comes with the understanding that literary translation is, as already argued, a form of cultural diplomacy, perhaps more effective than the one practised, with different degrees of institutional support, since the times of the Confederation. In spite of Delisle’s attempts at bridging it, an undeniable gap exists between the two solitudes’ commitment with literary translation, which points, once

again, at the unidirectionality of the Canadian polysystem as an essentially Anglophone initiative. For theorists like Grant and Mezei (2007: 74), however, it is a sense of post-colonial awakening, “as the two communities asserted their national identities and attempted to resist the domination of Britain, America and France”, what truly brought, together, via translation, a Canadian sense of literary achievement. Maturity, nevertheless, requires a certain dose of self-critique, which professionally-oriented studies like Whitfield’s have perhaps circumvented. It is the input of feminist translation praxis, as acknowledged by Simon, what certainly opened up the field to alterity. Mainstream standpoints like Mezei and Grant’s in the previously quoted volume (2007) somehow subordinate feminist efforts to the “greater good” of consolidating a multicultural Canadian state:

Canadian translation practice and studies have expanded of late to encompass aboriginal languages and cultures as well as other minority or migrant literatures like Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Arabic to more equitably reflect our diversity. Thus, Canadian feminist writers and translators, in part through the providential collaboration and interaction between French and English experimental women writers, have led in modeling a theory of gender and translation that has influenced international Translation Studies (Grant and Mezei 2007: 75).

While acknowledging the international influence of Canadian Feminist Translation Studies, their attire seems to be connected to an overriding, “Canadian” trend of celebrating difference, present in political discourse since the 70s. A true overcoming of “white civility” (see 3.1.) in Canadian cultural production is nevertheless questionable, as neither Canadian (Literary) Translation Studies nor Canadian Feminist ones have gone beyond the Canadian cultural duality. It is the transnational “afterlife” of both movements, and especially of Canadian Feminist Translation, what has broadened their narrow scope, encouraging their institutionalisation as a proudly “Canadian” heritage. Kathy Mezei is indeed an interesting example of how such institutionalisation of feminism as a Canadian product has worked. A solid contributor to the path initiated by Godard, particularly in the context of feminist enthusiasm experienced across Anglophone Canadian universities in the 80s’, Mezei’s research has nevertheless remained faithful to the mainstream of the discipline by contributing to its thematic line: the translations of CanLit’s leaders, poets, scholars, editors, and now also (mis-/non-)translators of Québécois difference. Her views on the real intercultural effect of the translations produced by CanLit comparatists like D.G. Jones or Philip Stratford, Barbara Godard’s mentor, are considerably honest and critical, especially as she poses the hardest

question faced by translators. One generally ignored by translation theory until Pym undertook his enlightening study on Translator Ethics (2012): Why Translate?

Discussing the translation of Gilles Archambault's 1970 novel, *Parlons de moi*, where the narrator clearly states his refusal to speak English, Mezei (1988: 11) subsequently states the following: "How ironic then that this poor narrator is forced twelve years later to speak entirely in English, when then novel is translated (betrayed?)". Betrayal is, indeed, the accurate word describing Québécois perceptions on their translated literature. The magnitude of such a question, allowing for the kind of sociocritical debates which I intend to tackle in this thesis, is accurately reflected by Mezei (1988: 11) as follows: "(...) are translators betraying Québec literature merely by translating it into the oppressor's language?". Given the already discussed lack of a literary tradition of translation praxis in Canada, this perception is based on the treacherous bilingualism institutionalized by the 1867 Confederation Act, essentially unaltered till 1969: "(...) official documents were always translated from English *into* French, in reproducing the political relationship of dominator and dominated".

For Mezei, thus, this institutional "diglossia" must now be re-examined on the new momentum of literary translation and its clear impact on the new bicultural coexistence promoted by Federal institutions during the 70s. For her, the main "politics of transmission" (Simon 1995) behind the translation of Québécois literature into English has been one of "assimilation" (Mezei 1988), which explains why, behind a discursive façade advocating for linguistic and cultural equality, the underlying operations have consolidated Québécois literature as a specificity, a sub-cultural mode of Canadianness. For Québécois writer Chantal de Grandpré, as Mezei reminds us, a certain "tendency of English-Canadian critics to engulf Québec literature into the mass of Canadian literature as the latter gropes towards its own national identity" (Grandpré in Mezei 1988: 12). The notion of "tendency" is in effect an accurate one, employed by polysystem theorists (see Toury 2012) to reflect translators' actual behaviour as an intermediate attitude between the theoretical "norms", which may be surveyed in the metadiscursive manifestations of CanLit translators like D.G. Jones (see, for instance, Jones 1977), and individualistic idiosyncrasies. In this case, however, it is interesting to see how de Grandpré finds fault with Anglophone Canadian critics, non other than the CanLit comparatists already discussed in this thesis (see 3.1.4. ff). At first sight, this seems to confirm Lefevere's claim that critical reception is indeed determining in assigning a systemic function to translated products, often, as I am willing to argue for the case of Canadian Feminist

Translation, *despite* the original intentionality of other agents involved, particularly the translators. However, the singularity of the Canadian polysystem, as I have argued throughout this thesis, lies in the fact that the CanLit poets, critics, editors and scholars, responsible for creating an ‘image’ of their own literature, decided to personally undertake the translation of Québécois literature. As a result of this, patronage functions concerning the translation of Québécois authors were also under their control.

It is in this context, then, it becomes especially relevant to survey the actual “tendencies” observed in translated Québec novels *as opposed to* the metadiscourses (“norms”) which these same translators, critics and scholars in their own right, were either generating or strongly conditioning. In this sense, Mezei undertakes what I would consider an inductive formulation of such “tendencies”, presenting different examples of mis- or non-translations of the most subversive aspect of Québécois literature between the 60s and 70s: the diglossia displayed by their characters as a sign of Anglophone domination, which interacts with the novels’ majoritarian *joual* in crucial ways. Understandably, translation into English by the same agents responsible of Québécois oppression, Anglophone Canadians, is certainly problematic. For purposes of clarification, I have classified Mezei’s intuition of generalised attitudes into four “convergent” and two “divergent” tendencies. While “convergent” tendencies support underlying aims of assimilation, “divergent” ones represent attempts by secondary translators, deprived of a leading position in the CanLit system, at truly reflecting Québécois otherness.

As for the “convergent” tendencies observed, Mezei discusses John Van Burek’s translation of Michel Tremblay’s play *Les Belles-soeurs* (1968), the first play entirely written in *joual*. One of the characters, defined as “a housewife with pretensions” (Mezei 1988: 16), employs the term *cheap* in order to define Québécois society as opposed to French sophistication. This English term was a constant in 60s and 70s Québec, featured in expressions widely used by Marxist nationalism such as *cheap labour*, portraying the exploitation of the Québécois working force by Anglophone elites. In this text, it reinforces the fact that inferiority complexes among its population were generated by an unfair Anglophone treatment. However, no further clarifications or special markings were employed in the translation for the terms originally in English, homogenising the text and therefore blurring the connection between this diglossia and actual, day-to-day domination. Marking those words or fragments of the text originally in English, for instance by italicising them, could have been a “divergent” tendency,

encouraging greater awareness of this domination among Anglophone Canadian readers. Such is the strategy used by Penny Williams in her translation of Jacques Godbout *Le couteau sur la table* (1965), in order to reflect, this time, the speech of the main characters' Anglophone love interests, with very limited knowledge of French.

A second “convergent” tendency concerns the impact of the “carnavalesque” (see 4.2.) among nationalist authors in their characters' diglossic dialogues. In Jacques Ferron's *Selected Tales*, translated by Betty Bednarski (1984), anglicisms such as *Le farouest*, a term related to the American audiovisual product *par excellence*, the western, or *Biouti Rose*, the nickname of a prostitute, intend to “parod[y] the linguistic and cultural subordination of the Québécois” (Mezei 1988: 17). While Bednarski often includes translator's notes explaining certain cultural aspects, disregarding the importance of diglossia for this “vision carnivalesque” (Michon 1984) considerably reduces the political impact of the anthology. In contrast, a potentially “divergent” tendency is observed in David Homel's translation of Jacques Renaud's *Le Cassé* (1964), whose title (“The Broken”) is illustrative enough of the predominant tone in the novel. Here, Homel attempts to create “an equivalent street dialect in English” to replace the *joual*, “a transformation from inter- to intralingual translation” (Mezei 1988: 17). The issue, in my view, lies in whether such a “steet dialect” reflects the politicised nature of Québécois French, and not only socio-economic disadvantage, which is precisely the traditional “image” of the *joual* held by Anglophone Canadians. As the opposed attitude to the previous strategy, the third “convergent” tendency, and perhaps the most extended one, is thus the absolute non-translation of the *joual*, the non-responsive treatment of this linguistic variety, observable in most novels translated in this period.

A fourth “convergent” tendency is the misrepresentation of the intertextual networks generated by certain Québécois authors, consolidating a sense of literary genealogy which is most often disregarded in translation. In D.G. Jones' version of Pierre Nepveu's poem “*Pepsi*”, for instance, “the *meaning* Jones points out depends on the relation of French to English (the invasion of the English is obvious), the relation of the poem and its French to previous poems by Anne Hébert, Saint-Denys Garneau, Alain Grandbois, Émile Nelligan, and the relation of certain words or images to those in previous Québec poems (...)” (Mezei 1988: 19). A similar case is found, this time, in Jovette Marchessault's *The Saga of the Wet Hens*, translated by Linda Gaboriau (1983), a fictional dialogue between Québec's greatest women authors: Laure Conan, Germaine Guèvremont, Gabrielle Roy, and Anne Hébert. Here, Marchessault's

intention to consolidate a Québécois matrilineage is clear. What is more, a series of foremothers to these authors are enumerated at a certain point in the novel. It is here where Gaboriau decides to act, replacing only some of the Francophone mothers with other Anglophone ones, as well as making additions recognisable by the host community. While this attempt is aimed at helping her readership identify with the feminist ideology of the text, Gaboriau's mixed choice seems to point at a "bland universality" as a sanctioned self-excuse for assimilation among Anglophone translators (Mezei 1988: 13).

In conclusion, the general "tendencies" among Anglophone Translators may be described, borrowing the title of Michèle Lalonde's 1970 poem, as forcing Québécois voices to "Speak White" (Mezei 1988). Understandably, Mezei's general tone when discussing (very briefly, through) the potential reasons leading Anglophone translators to these operations is somehow exonerating, arguing that, more often than not, editors are responsible for the ideological dimension of their work. In my view, this claim is well-grounded, especially considering the CanLit editors' and publishers' own "politics of transmission", at the service of patriarchal nation-making. However, it points toward a more elusive reality of polysystemic functioning, already discussed in this thesis: systemic norms may well be regarded not as willfully acquired patterns, but as forms of self-censorship (Tymoczko 2009).

While translators (believe to) have their own motivations and standards when undertaking their work, the outcome is often "hijacked", a feminist strategy famously described by Luise von Flotow (1991), by the polysystem's overriding forces once it is launched into the market. Multiple metadiscursive forms, as Lefevere argues (1993), may serve such a purpose, from literary criticism and academic arguing to advertisement, publicity and street word of mouth. While some translators, among whom feminist ones, intend to resist these forces (with different degrees of success), pre-established patterns of reception tend to force their work back to more central positions, especially if they perceive that such a strategy may be productive for their overall "image" (Lefevere *ibid*). A crucial question, to be answered throughout the following sections, shall therefore be whether Barbara Godard's work, clearly devised in order to confront its host polysystem, ended up effectively resisting it; or whether, quite conversely, it has been effectively gobbled up in the manufacturing of a strong, unified, Canadian polysystem.

5.1.2. Chances Lost by the Two Solitudes: The ACQL

Since conversations leading to the foundation of ACQL were held at the 1972 ACUTE⁴⁸ conference, one may safely suppose that this association acted as a matrix space for Robin Matthews' concerns on the future of "Canadian literature", which, as the general scope of the conference (an encounter for Canadian teachers of English) and this scholar's own activism illustrate (see 4.1.), amounted in practice to Anglophone literary manifestations. Matthews, as already discussed, was a key figure in the "Canadianization" movement undergone by Canadian universities throughout the 70s (2.1.3.), deeply indebted to the sociopolitical context which I have already described. However crucial context may be, polysystems are not merely phenomenological entities: they are agency-driven. Thus, in Cormier's words (2006: 20), "[t]o say that the Canadianization movement emerged from a particular set of historical circumstances is not to deny the crucial role played by human agency in the movement's history", a claim essential for this thesis. Indeed, the emerging leaders, the hegemonic voices of the polysystem are crucial to ensure the degree of systemic "tyranny" required for institutional leadership. Matthews, in particular, is thus described by Cormier in the following terms:

Mathews was (...) a 'self-aggrandizing people-oriented leader. ' Self-aggrandizing leaders become intimately connected to and associated with the movements they lead, often blurring the distinction between their personalities and the movement in the process. People oriented leaders are usually charismatic individuals who are more interested in appealing to their audience on an emotional level than with developing any solid organizational or institutional infrastructure for the movement as a whole. (Cormier *ibid.*: 20)

Thus, the subject-oriented approach followed in this thesis underscores the importance of Matthews' contradictory activism in order to infer the real intentions of the ACQL, as former President Joanne Burgess explained in a letter to the founder: "when I look at the spin-off of your work over 8 years it seems incredible one man's drive and vision could accomplish as much. . . . ACQL is your brainchild. . . . Another 8 years that cover as much ground, and we should arrive at the New Jerusalem" (Burgess 1976 in Dean 2016: 33). From encouraging the dismissal of non-Canadian lecturers across the country's English departments to promoting a

⁴⁸ The acronym ACUTE stands for the Association of Canadian University Teachers of English. Today, this association is known as ACCUTE, therefore integrating College teachers of English across the country.

bicultural notion of “Canadianness”, Matthews’ inconsistencies, embodying the “impossibility” (Davey 2016) to find a common path for Anglophone-Canada’s and Québec’s nation-making aspirations, crucially shaped the CanLit movement. Such an impossibility, however, was bravely faced at all cost, among other means, by manipulating Canadian history. As he would explain in a 1976 letter to Brian Fawcett, “people who identified themselves as Canadians had been writing about Canada since the time of Champlain (...)” (Dean 2016: 33). What he fails to mention, nevertheless, is that being “canadien” was then considered an overseas variation of being “French”, and that the original bearers of this title gave it up on its appropriation by British colonial officials. For almost two centuries, then, these individuals “writing about Canada” felt French and wrote in French.

Interestingly, the emerging feminist scholars with whom this section is concerned were not indifferent to his appeal. Very recently after completing her studies in France, a very young Barbara Godard was filled with excitement to witness the setting of key benchmarks for her future career:

Beyond the English department and beyond York itself, I was involved in a number of Learned Societies and research groups which provided a sustained forum for my thinking. I went to the Learned at McGill in 1972 and was present at the meetings that gave rise both to the Canadian Women’s Studies Association [CWSA] and the Association for Canadian and Québec Literatures [ACQL]. (...) Robin Mathews gave a paper for ACUTE that galvanized the audience who shared his concern about the absence of Canadian literature in the curriculum (Godard 2008: 30).

The previous excerpt belongs to Smaro Kamboureli’s effort at practising some archaeology and genealogy by interviewing Barbara Godard and editing what she considers to be her most salient writings on “Canadian Literature”, none of which display any feminist concerns. The underlying ethics of this effort is thus coincidental with that of mainstream works honouring her career, where she is introduced, above all else, as a “contribut[or] to Canadian literature and culture” (Fuller 2013: 1), her clearly overriding feminist optics being often blurred in favour of the quest for this Canadian “interculture”. This narrative has been possible thanks to Godard’s equidistance in the male-dominated fields against which she was nevertheless to build her differential ethics throughout the 80s. As we are about to see, her views on feminist literary critique would explicitly differ from those of mainstream Canadian literary academia (Godard 1987), gradually displacing her research from the canonic positions for which she could have strived for a quiet periphery. However, she was never to stop building

bridges with the CanLit project, which is perhaps what encouraged those leading the Canadian polysystem to force her back into the centre, once her feminist approach and intercultural achievements were perceived as potentially convergent with nation-making premises.

Be as it may, Mathews, whose scholarly legacy is regarded today as “evidence of personal petiness” (Dean 2016: 28), was by no means at odds with younger and more progressive characters like Godard. Nevertheless, he would grant them only peripheral, and perhaps typically female roles. For instance, Sandra Djwa, who a decade later would organise with Godard the first bilingual feminist conference celebrated in Canada (Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots, 1984), was in charge of “[aking] minutes” (Dean 2016: 32) at the ACQL’s ad hoc session during the ACUTE conference. In the association’s first annual conference, in 1974, she nevertheless was requested to organise the programme, which seems evident considering that, besides enshrined CanLit figures like Frank Davey, a very young Barbara Godard, together with Kathy Mezei, were among the speakers invited. The presence of major Québécois writers like pro-independence author Hubert Aquin, or novelist and scholar Gerard Bessette⁴⁹, constituted an outstanding achievement on the part of the organiser. Djwa and Mezei would also become frequent collaborators in *Tessera*, the feminist journal founded by Godard that same year, following such a successful encounter. At the time, however, these scholars’ agencies were possibly in process, and yet to produce the independent means through which they would later explore feminism.

From its inaugural conference, held in 1974 at Concordia University (encounters like this or the ACUTE 1972 meeting would often take place in Montréal, but never in Francophone institutions), the ACQL was granted the necessary means for success. On that occasion, according to Dean (2016: 33), the Secretary of State funded the simultaneous interpreting services requested for the two linguistic and communities theoretically present there, and the Canada Council took care of the travel expenses. Given the institutional support received, possibly unheard-of among most comparative literature scholars, it is safe to assume that the consolidation of a long hoped-for Canadian intercultural was at stake in Mathew’s initiatives.

⁴⁹ A salient figure of Québécois literature from the Quiet Revolution onwards, Bessette’s doctoral thesis, concerned with images in French-Canadian poetry (the implementation of thematic critique for Québécois texts) was drafted in English, and he has mostly taught at Anglophone universities, which made him more accessible.

Considering Burgess' praise or even Godard's defense of this figure, such a success must have been a reality for many Anglophone scholars.

Conversely, the ACQL's ability to engage Québécois scholars was scarce. According to Davey (2016), both Anglophone and Francophone attendants had a tendency to disregard each other's contributions and simply attend the lectures concerning their respective fields. This potentially made the Secretary-of-State-funded interpreting services redundant. A major issue, however, was found in the requirement, according to the ACQL's regulations, that the Committee be composed of members "both regional and francophone" (Dean 2016: 33). In itself, the wording chosen by recent commentators like Dean, opposing "regional" to "francophone" is considerably striking. The fact that Montréal's Anglophone universities are officially in Québécois soil also makes this and other claims sound slightly confusing. For instance, discussing the ACQL's foundation during the 1972 ACUTE meeting, Dean (*ibid*: 32) makes the following assertion: "A number of committee members were proposed, but, in this era before the Internet and Skype, the cost of travel had to be factored in, and several attendees pointed out that despite the need for input from French-Canadian scholars, there were none in attendance (it was, after all, an ACUTE meeting)." One might rightly wonder why the cost of travel entailed such an issue when, only one year afterward, the Canada Council willingly took care of the travel expenses for the association's first meeting (since it was celebrated in a Montréal institution, we are to suppose that only Anglophone scholars generated such expenses). More importantly, however, it would be interesting to know why the "cost of travel" was an impediment for Francophone scholars to attend, when the ACUTE meeting, despite being addressed mostly to Anglophone scholars, was held at Montréal's McGill University.

This constant mixture between good intentions and limited results is also present in Mathew's own academic work to support a literary intercultural. Already in 1972, at the ACUTE meeting, his paper was concerned with the compilation of a bilingual Canadian writing bibliography. Projects like this, as already said in this thesis, demonstrate the preliminary state of Canadian criticism. While the lack of edited versions of most works hampering Canadianists' fund applications, the applicants themselves were involved in most committees, given the limited number of experts in the Canadian literary field. The answer to Mathews' efforts came from private initiatives like the already mentioned New Canadian Library, which established the editions on which scholars would lately be work. This, however, proves that the ACQL's work was covering an already existing need for literary testimonies of a Canadian

identity, which precluded any equivalent efforts to institutionalise Québécois writing as part of the national canon.

As an attempted but failed thought community, lacking the Québécois input required by its own regulations, the ACQL is perhaps the extreme demonstration of what systemic tyranny may lead to. Ideological blocks led by individuals at the top of unwavering hierarchies, whose convictions, dangerously bordering on the intolerable, are translated into an entire polysystem's decalogue. Dialogue in the ACQL was, in my view, non-existent, insofar as the main interlocutor, Québécois literature, was permanently absent. Somehow, nevertheless, its supporters found a way to continue preaching on this “bicultural impossibility” (Davey 2016: 16) precisely under the least favourable climate possible: that of the 70s, with Québec seriously reconsidering federalism, and Anglophone Canada busy “canadianising” its cultural landscape.

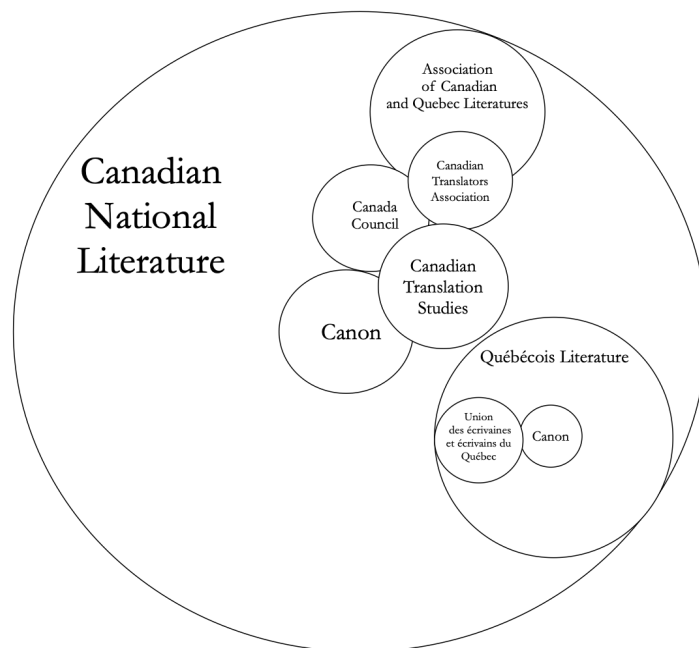


FIGURE 33: THE CANADIAN POLYSYSTEM AFTER AN EFFECTIVE ASSIMILATION OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE

5.2. At the True (Feminist) Crossroads of Literature in Canada: A Periodisation of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies through the Prism of Godard's Agency

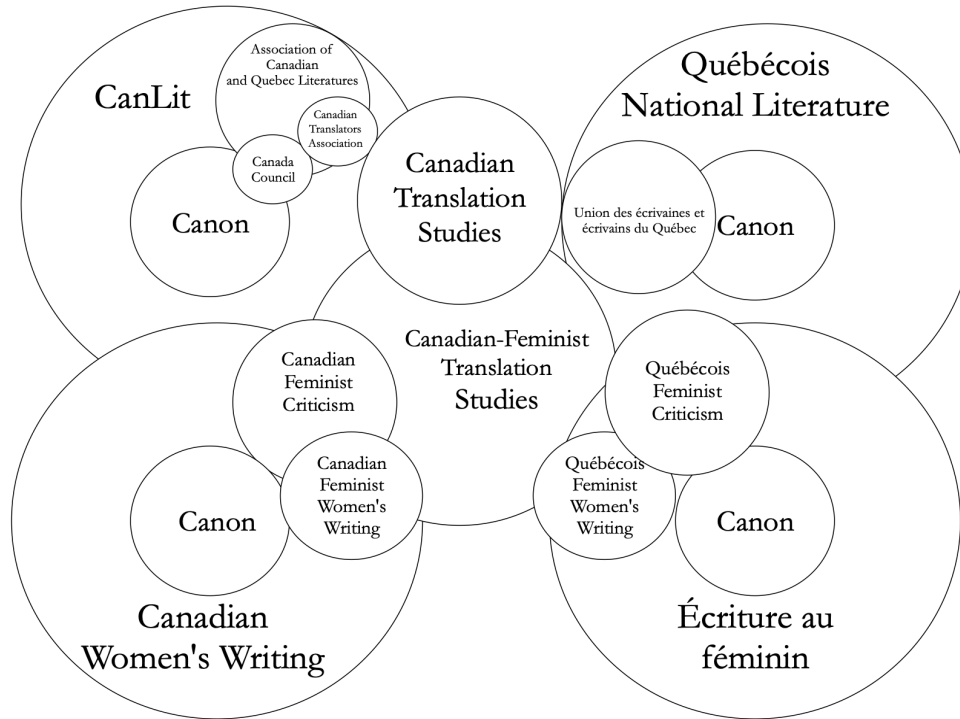


FIGURE 34: THE OVERALL LAYOUT OF LITERATURE IN CANADA, AND THE CENTRAL ROLE OF (FEMINIST) TRANSLATION PRAXIS.

The aim of this thesis' previous chapters has been to gradually introduce various partial shots of Canada's systemic reality as its agents have shaped it. At this point, I am finally in a disposition to discuss the bigger picture, the broadest overview of literature in Canada from a systemic standpoint. The previous graphic illustrates such an overview.

As one may appreciate, the previous layout deals with four different structures on egalitarian premises: on the one hand, CanLit and Québécois National Literature stand for Canada's two nations' efforts into patriarchal nation-making through literary praxis. As two consolidated institutions, both are composed of sub-structures with equally institutional functions, responsible for their political and financial support. Given the degree of artificiality of CanLit, that is, the greater institutional input needed in order to sustain a previously non-existent idea of an autochthonous Canadian Literature, its sub-structure is certainly more complex than that of Québécois literature, with Jacques Godbout's Union des Écrivains du

Québec (1977) acting mainly as a witness to the “*Écrivains joual*”’s institutionalisation. Nurtured by the Canada Council for the Arts as a motionless motor, and relying on a subsidiary instrument like Canadian Translators Association, CanLit works as a well-oiled machine, with its canonical agents as the central gear moving all other secondary systems simultaneously. Hence their hybrid profiles and multifaceted roles within the polysystem. Canadian Translation Studies is, then, a much needed academic attempt at populating the space in between two solitudes, and therefore binding two national schemes together under the imposed premises of the strongest one, Anglophone Canada’s Federal project.

It is a central contention in this thesis, thus, that Barbara Godard’s initiative of a Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies community (from now on (C)FTS) has operated as the “interculture” *par excellence*, at the true crossroads of literature in Canada, rather than of “Canadian Literature” (see Davey 2016), claiming the *no-man’s land* in-between those two solitudes as a feminist realm. By definition a multi-agent conversation among women, the Canadian-Feminist Translation project has contributed to the articulation, on the one hand, of Canadian-Feminist Women’s writing on the basis of early efforts into Canadian-Feminist criticism. On the other, as early as in the 1984, bilingual conference *Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots*, it established channels for dialogue with Québécois feminism, particularly via the journal *Tessera*, as an outcome of the comparative nature of such criticism. The visible result of this project was the now classic anthology *Gynocritics: Feminist Approaches to Canadian and Québec women’s writing* (1987), which, as much as *Tessera*, became an outlet of the synergies established on that first, 1984 bilateral conference on women and words.

However, no clear-cut division between an analytical, feminist-criticism stage and a practical, feminist-translation one exists when female thought communities are concerned. As already argued, these constantly combine metadiscursive dissociation from patriarchal structures with discursive action, both via creative writing and translation. Thus, Barbara Godard's feminist translational production is simultaneous to her academic periplum, and underlies her subversive penetration of CanLit’s both academic and book-production structures throughout the 70s. As a result of the previous assertion, one may perceive in Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies a classic trait of female thought communities: their constant dialogue with conservatism, that is, with pre-existent, already institutionalised patriarchal structures.

This trait is increasingly present in female-informed thought communities as opposed to mainstream ones, placing, as already indicated, Godard’s feminist initiative at the true (feminist) crossroads of literary production in Canada. Here, this scholar’s particular acquiescence with the CanLit system, and her constant contributions to an also emerging critique of Canadian Women’s Writing would open up the most solid venue to date between female and feminist production in Canada and CanLit’s academic core. Additionally, for the first time, her constant interaction with all groups and systems was by no means a unilingual/unicultural initiative. It concerned Québécois feminist authors’ in different capacities as much as the production of the “Écrivains *joual*”. As soon as in 1979, Nicole Brossard and herself would co-edit a bilingual anthology of Québécois national literature, recently institutionalised, under the title *Les stratégies du réel/The Story So Far*, featuring, on one hand, Brossard’s authorial selection (a mix of nationalist and feminist writers) and, on the other, Godard’s translations of the fragments featured. As the relevant dates for this thought community demonstrate, it has not aligned with any patriarchal historical milestones, neither of CanLit, nor of the “Écrivains *joual*”. Understandably, it is in regard with the *Écriture au féminin* that we see the clearest co-relational pattern. Female thought communities, as often argued throughout this thesis, do not have as strong hierarchies as their patriarchal equivalent, and are therefore less personalist projects. However, to a certain extent, Godard’s academic evolution expectedly shows important parallels with that of (C)FTS:

Period	Écriture au Féminin	(C)FTS	Barbara Godard’s career
60s	(Proto-Feminism) Dissociation/ Overture		Undergraduate studies
70s	(Feminism) Overture	Dissociation/ Overture	-Postgraduate studies -First years in CanLit academia -First feminist translations
80s	(Meta-Feminism) Operation	Operation	-Feminist translations -Canadian Feminist Criticism
90s	Consolidation	Consolidation	-Last feminist translations -Continuum with 2 nd generation of (C)FTS
2000s	Overture	Overture	-Death -Institutionalisation of the movement

TABLE 7: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EVOLUTION OF (C)FTS.

As the “afterlife”, in Benjamin’s terms (1968), of the “Écriture au féminin”’s legacy, (C)FTS shall be regarded as inseparable from its last stages, and therefore essential in order to historicise them. Thus, the periodisation undertaken in the previous chapter is somehow incomplete without an account of (C)FTS’ own evolution. Similarly, the development of (C)FTS is hardly understood without the input of the “Écriture au féminin”. CanLit and Québécois National Literature have certainly acted as the respective academic and/or ideological matrixes of these two communities, and as such they have been accounted for. However, no co-relational historicity exists between them. It is therefore in Barbara Godard’s “portrait” where the affinities and disagreements shaping (C)FTS may be exemplified best. Its historical context shall therefore be filtered through her witnessing of the last third of the 20th century, page-turning decades in Canada’s history.

5.3. Between Dissociation and Operation: Arrival at York University and the Canada Council Years

Barbara Godard’s early experiences as a scholar at York University (Ontario) offer an realistic portrayal of the voracious “Canadianization” process as it was lived by literary scholars throughout the 70s:

(...) Such movements too, movements that first enter the academic and pedagogical scenes as strategies of resistance, end up becoming institutions in their own right that we often find ourselves compelled to question, if not radicalize or dismantle altogether. The fact that many Canadianists today are concerned with how CanLit operates as an institution, never mind the relative brevity of its existence as a field, is an example of this (Godard 2008: 33).

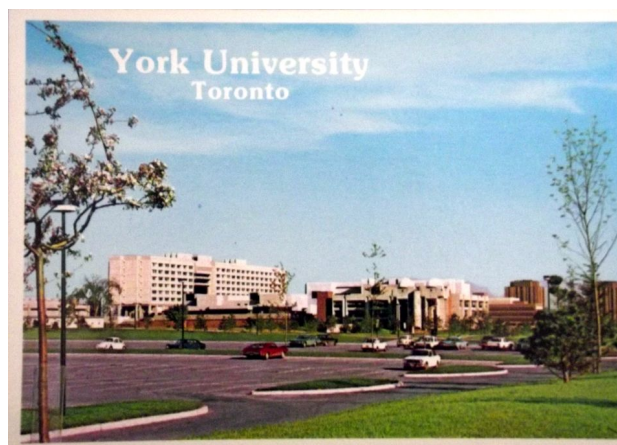


FIGURE 35: A 70S POSTCARD OF YORK UNIVERSITY, TORONTO.

Indeed, the previous quote perfectly summarises one of the essential claims put forward by this thesis. While Godard's academic agency was developed within the CanLit superstructures, and certainly converged with them in various ways, it understandably also entailed a contradiction of its institutionalised dynamics. As Alessandra Caperdoni puts it (2007: 245), feminist metadiscourses, also as an academic stance, are the result of working within and against the confines of patriarchal representational (...) structures". In this sense, her own academic "portrait" via a rare interview with Smaro Kamboureli suggests a profile engaged in "le métier du double", the term chosen by Whitfield (2005) when discussing Québécois translators of Anglophone-Canadian literature. To a certain extent, as this denomination suggests, betrayal and compliance coexist in Godard's academic agency. Her early years at York University are clear proof thereof.

After completing her doctoral and postdoctoral training in France, where she had taught alongside Hélène Cixous and enjoyed enormous liberty designing the curriculum for courses of English as a foreign language, Godard accepted, perhaps with certain hesitation, a modest position at York University in 1974. As she has confessed, it was in Québec, and not in Ontario, that she wished to pursue her scholarly work. The broader historical context of her first scholarly experience, as she describes it, is one inviting debates on the already discussed, postcolonial condition of Canada: "In an era of liberation struggles, our generation saw parallels between Africa and Canada's situation as a political colony of England, and economic colony of the us, and a colonialist power within its borders in relation with Québec and aboriginal peoples" (Godard 2008: 20). As one may see, while she contended the absolute legitimacy of Canada's postcolonial claims, comparing its relationship with Britain and the U.S. with that of African ex-colonies, her understanding of "le fait canadien-français", which she extends to her generation on account of the 60s' pro-Québécois student activism (Godard 2006), is probably a singularity. The extent to which Godard's political evolution within academia was, as she often asserted (Godard *ibid*: 18), not "(...) the trajectory of an individual", but "that of a generation", is seriously debatable. However, with statements of this kind she seems to have granted permission for an effective "Canadianization" of her own curriculum.

A clearly divergent aspect of Godard's evolution has been her unproblematic defense of a very problematic contention: the understanding of "Canadian" literature as composed of both Anglophone and Québécois one. While this stance was unprecedented, and therefore had no reflection in the academic structures where she penetrated, her taking credit for the

introduction of the first comparative literature studies between Anglophone and Francophone Canadian literatures appears to be accurate. As a postgraduate student at the Université de Montréal, a path considerably unusual at the time for a young Canadianist, she had talked translator Philip Stratford, only recently landed in this institution, into this ground-breaking research line. On the other hand, her experience with first-row theorists like Lucien Goldman in France had also left a strong methodological footprint in her approach to comparativism: the sociology of literature, and more precisely the post-structuralist input of deconstruction and psychoanalysis, would act as a driving force in her growing influence within York's academic programs. It is this powerful methodological stance, common among French feminists but unheard of within CanLit circles, what would mark her progressive interest, throughout the next decade, in gender identities both through writing and translation, consolidating a Canadian tradition of feminist literary criticism which effectively overcame the country's acute intra-national conflict.

On her arrival at York, Canadian Literature was little more than a dubious branch of what was then known as "Commonwealth Studies", a term quite revealing in itself. However, the programme already relied on Canadianists in the making like Frank Davey, with whom Godard would co-teach the first courses in Canadian Literature. Davey, as the next section shows (see 5.4.), was possibly the member of the CanLit most truly committed with Québécois difference, and perhaps also with Barbara Godard's nascent feminist activism. For now, however, she was immersed in a struggle to teach these early CanLit courses as comparative, Anglophone/Québécois literature ones. Financially speaking, the context at York was not optimal for an innovative, young scholar. The institution was, despite Godard's unawareness at the time (Godard 2008: 26), at a drain, considering the possibility of firing tenured scholars. A stroke of luck, however, came with a colleague's departure to a different institution, leaving a vacant tenure stream position to teach Canadian Literature. By the late 70s, Godard was thus able to consolidate her presence at the English Department. As a result, she began to teach Modern Canadian Fiction, giving it, of course, this comparative, Anglophone/Québécois twist. Under her influence, the subject would translate into "(...) a course in comparative literature, as modernism and postmodernism in Canadian and Québécois fiction" (Godard *ibid*: 26).

In short, Godard's first academic incursions took place at a time of rapid institutional and therefore cultural change, when the "Canadianization" project was seeking to consolidate its main instruments for the next decades' legitimisation of a unified and strong "Canadian"

culture. In scholarly realms, this task was undertaken, as already suggested, by Robin Mathews' "brainchild" (Burgess 1976 in Dean 2016: 33), the ACQL, an association for which Godard, a comparatist herself, has shown admiration and in which she had an early, although perhaps peripheral, involvement. This kind of partial commitment with mainstream Canadianism, nevertheless reluctant of accepting central positions in them, is also characteristic of Godard's relationship with the Canada Council, and in particular, with its new Translation Grant Program. Founded in 1973 as one of the crucial outcomes of the 1969 Official Languages Act, the programme surprisingly proposed a postdoctoral Barbara Godard, just landed from France and with a very insecure professional and financial situation, the position of coordinator, which she refused. And yet, her relationship with this program would mark the next ten years of her career. From a casual employment as a graduate student at Université de Montréal (Mezei 2006: 205), translation became, thanks to Frank Davey's connections, a praxis through which Godard first explored the "relationality" of her work "within vectors of power" which would bear an enormous impact in the research projects to come: "In the literary translation I was doing at the time for the Coach House Press Translation Series I ran with Frank Davey, (...) relational thinking for incommensurabilities or for convergences was at the heart of my writing practice (Godard 2008: 27).

The 70s possibly constituted a period of theoretical (self-)exploration for Godard, marked by the singular, comparative-literature approach from which she chose to engage in an emerging Canadian Literature academia, where she, as already stated, explored both Anglophone and Québécois literature equally. It was nevertheless her experience as a literary translator what allowed her to explore the politics to which gender issues are subjected in the book industry, encouraging an ever-growing feminist awareness which would mark the next decade.

5.4. In the Chinks of the Canada Council Machine: Godard's (Un)official editorship for Coach House Press' Québec Translations series

An essential operational space in this period, both for the canonical CanLit agents and for those bordering new positionings, was that of the independent publishing houses emerging at the time on a strong sense of Canadianness, lured into the national book market by the subsidised Trudeau era and its main cultural instrument: The Canada Council. It is in those spaces where

the virulent institutionalisation of a distinctive Canadian literature may be observed most clearly, pushing increasingly conflicted agencies into different forms of divergence.

Such is the case of the perhaps unexpected alliance between Barbara Godard, a young scholar with a considerably precarious position at York, and his colleague and friend Frank Davey, an already established CanLit scholar, and a poet in his own right. Davey, who moved across both the academic and experimental realms of the CanLit sphere, had become involved in a small, independent publishing house founded in 1965, in the early years of Canadian nationalism, by Stan Bevington: Coach House Press. This venture reflected with accuracy the dynamics of the CanLit movement: a clique of poets and novelists, some of whom had strong ties with Academia, founded a publisher for the kind of experimental writing produced by the Canadian postmodern, caring little for standard understandings of book formatting, marketing or profitability. The aim was, as Davey has explained (1995), to launch the kind of writing which the CanLit writers wished to read. Considering that those same CanLit writers were passionate critics of this literature, and acted in Canada Council committees granting research funds for literature projects, the lines between patronage, poetics and the literary production of the period was, as already argued, non-existent.



FIGURE 36: EARLY STAFF AT COACH HOUSE PRESS.

Acting as it did, on the basis of oral contracts with the editors' poet and novelist friends (in one word, on emotional affinities), the press was in a constant state of financial precariousness. Such was the opposition to any kind of mechanisation or regularisation of the production that chief editor and poet Victor Coleman resigned when Bevington replaced

linotype printers with computerised ones (see Davey 1995). The Trudeau era, however, was rapidly changing the landscape of the book industry, the future of which, on the basis of the 1969 Official Languages Act and the Canada Council's subsequent new policies, was now tied to translation. Surprisingly enough, it was Barbara Godard, who had been acquainted with translation praxis since her undergraduate years, who strongly suggested Davey to ride the tide of subsidised translation projects while it was a novelty. Davey, with whom she was co-teaching Canadian Literature at the time, was perhaps the right partner for such projects, sharing as he did Godard's ground-breaking understanding of emerging Canadian Literature not as an outcome of Canadianization, but as a bicultural and bilingual reality. Additionally, as the resulting Translation Series grew in prestige and importance, Davey's support of Godard's evolving agency, clearly leaning toward feminism, portrays him, similarly to Godard, as the kind of "double agent" who, without leaving the canon, timidly pushes toward its edges, encouraging those in the periphery to pursue their own strands. As a result, both editors would experience the tensions between the considerable power which a makeshift polysystem had granted them and "the increasingly politicized, *institutionalization* of translation" in Canada (Wallace 2006: 300).

The evolution of Godard's and Davey's agencies through their editorial experience with the Coach House Translation series, which lasted from 1974 to 1989 (they would both resign, nevertheless, in 1986), offers a faithful portrait of a failed attempt at building up this Canadian "interculture" which, nevertheless, is responsible for encouraging essential Canadian institutions like the already discussed ACQL, the Canadian Translators Association, and ultimately Canadian Translation Studies. It also witnessed, importantly, the emergence of the truly effective Canadian "interculture" created between Anglophone Canadian and Québécois feminists, with Davey acting, in my view, as the necessary *continuum* between dissident CanLit agencies like his and overtly feminist ones like Godard's. From a cultural standpoint, following, once again, Chesterman's Translator Studies proposal (2009), the historical background consolidating the Coach House Translation Series is one of institutionalisation, and therefore subsidisation, of Canadian culture. Following, as already indicated, Trudeau's 1969 Official Languages Act, the Canada Council progressively perfected a complex funding system encouraging literary translation from French into English and vice-versa. By the early 70s, pioneers like Davey relied on the LIP (Local Initiatives Program), the OFY (Opportunities for Youth), and the so-called title grants, which, on prior evaluation of the originals, granted funds for their translation. In 1973, a new block program was launched, stabilising translational

production by eliminating preliminary appraisals of potential originals. While having rejected a position as coordinator, Barbara Godard was well aware of its functioning, and predicted little initial interest on the part of other publishers, as well as, especially, on the part of the Québécois book market in terms of translated Anglophone novels. Opting for a considerable share of the funds, Coach House could therefore benefit strongly from this new initiative.

An ideology clearly converging the overriding, CanLit project marked the collection since its very inception. As Davey has stated (1995), the point of this initiative was, beyond Godard's essentially pragmatic proposal, to present the publisher's usual readers with translations of works which the editors, who were also regular Coach House contributors, felt were poetically aligned with Coach House's regular collections, and therefore with the Canadian Postmodern. From an ethical perspective, This seems consistent with the already argued, assimilative tendencies displayed by Canadian Translators in their work on Québécois fiction (see 5.1.2.). Understandably, Davey has tried to nuance this perception. For him, Canadian prose at the time was less innovative than its poetry (1995), and, while the publisher already relied on established connections with Québécois modernist poets, it was in its fiction, as already contented, where Québec's postcolonial stance was being shaped. He therefore suggests, without actually making a case for it, that the idea behind the translation series was indeed to provide an emergent Canadian fiction with a new "poetics" (see Lefevre 1991), especially considering the attraction that Québécois rebelliousness generated in those years. It is on this consolidation of hybrid roles, traditionally granted with different degrees of power, where a particular ethics emerges. Davey, together with his wife Linda, and first-row CanLit agents like writer and editor bpNichol or author Michael Ondaatje became members of the first editorial board since the new translation program was launched. This clearly invalidated any independent judgement on translation poetics given their role as authors, critics, and, in Davey's case, scholars. As Barbara Godard's idea to start the Québec Translation Series was approved, Davey became its editor, expectedly implementing the same kind of policies for the selection of originals and the proofreading of translations. While he kept his influence on the editorial board, he was able to enjoy, as he himself acknowledges, "unrestricted power" in decision-making processes:

The editors would collectively choose up to three unsolicited manuscripts to publish in a year, and assign these to individual editors to edit above their two-manuscript entitlement. (...) The translation series would operate as an addition to this system of editorial entitlements. The result was that Barbara and I had

relatively unrestricted editorial freedom with the new series, provided we could get Canada Council translation grants for each title, and provided the board remained happy with the series (Davey 1995, n/p).

Despite Barbara Godard's claims, and those based on her own judgement (see Karpinski, Henderson, *et al.* 2013; and Mezei 2006), that she "(...) ran with Frank Davey (...)" the series (Godard 2008: 27), I have been unable to find evidence of an official appointment. Davey, on the other hand, has been considerably clear in this sense: "She [Godard] and I would co-edit the series, although she would not be formally a Coach House editor" (Davey 1995, n/p). While this fact is disregarded in most accounts of Barbara Godard's career to date, it is highly relevant in order to survey the crucial evolution of her agency in those years. Still unknown to CanLit elites, despite Davey's constant support and the Canada Council's offer to join them as the Translation Program's coordinator, she was by no means allowed to become a visible face of this project. Nevertheless, since he already enjoyed a prominent position in the Canadian polysystem, as a poet, a critic, and a scholar, Davey instilled in Barbara Godard a new, empowered sense of editorial agency. Since her role in the series became essentially one of mediation with the Québécois publishers and authors, and often, especially in Brossard's case, of translation, she progressively forged a hybrid praxis of *transediting* (see 2.4.1.), requiring extensive reflection on the politics of transmission, which surely paved the way for an progressively feminist agency.

It was indeed, this feminist agency, unconditionally supported by Davey, what ultimately drove to the two editors' breakup with the new, profit-focused editorial boards which followed the Canada Council's new block program:

(...) I resigned not only because I had the strong impression that the collective was at that point likely to vote narrowly against any Québec title Barbara and I brought forward, but also because I was absolutely opposed to the ending of the editors' freedom to make unsupervised editorial commitments on behalf of the press. And I resigned also because it was around Nicole Brossard' writing that the issue had been argued (Davey 1995, n/p).

Curiously enough, in the second half of the 80s, as feminism took over in academia, the same editorial board which rejected Brossard's latest translations, disruptively asking Godard "Isn't anyone else writing in Québec?" (Davey 1995, n/p), would dust them off after she and Davey left in order to profit from feminism's international momentum. Such was the case of Fiona Strachan's translation of *Le Sens apparent, Surfaces of Sense*, which had been submitted in the

previous years, but conveniently launched in 1989. Only one year after, the board approved publication of *Le Désert mauve*, as *Mauve Desert*, translated by Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood. Suddenly, views on Brossard's work shifted, which is perhaps illustrative of the assimilation of feminism undertaken by the Canadian white "civility" project. This new open-mindedness included, nevertheless, well-known Anglophone feminists like Daphne Marlatt. Curiously enough, while she had a few steady fans among classic CanLit authors (for instance, Fred Wah), Brossard had not always relied on Marlatt's favour: "Daphne Marlatt's first reading of Brossard was negative -- in 1977 in response to my recommending her writing to her she wrote back that Brossard's assumptions about language were the opposite to her own" (Davey 1995, n/p). As it appears, she changed her mind quite quickly: "by the early 80s she was in contact with her and working toward the co-authored book *Mauve*, co-published in 1985 in Montreal and Vancouver by *La Nouvelle barre du jour* and *Writing*" (Davey *ibid*, n/p).

From a cognitive standpoint, the series' practical functioning was very much based, as already said, on emotional affinities between the editors and Québécois authors. bpNichol, as it seems, had enthusiastically supported Raoul Duguay's poetry, having previously organised a mutual interview in the 1973 issue of Davey's academic journal *Open Letter*. Indeed, it had been through this journal, as well as through *Ellipse*, that most CanLit agents had established connections with Québécois poets and novelists. For Barbara Godard, this outlet marked her beginnings as a translator of Québécois literature before joining the Coach House Québec Translation Series. For *Open Letter*'s 1972 issue, she gathered and translated essays on the poetry of Paul Chamberland, Raoul Duguay, Michèle Lalonde, and Jacques Brault. Considering her affinity with Brossard, a member of the modernist *clique*, played a capital role. As already indicated, Brossard and Godard had met as students at the University of Montréal, by the time in which the former co-founded *La Barre du Jour* as the originally poetic journal it was. In a different line, the personal relationship between Davey and Paul Chamberland has probably been impactful in the series' trajectory. As Davey recalls (1995, n/p), Chamberland stayed with him and his wife in 1974, while he was Writer-in-Residence at Toronto's Etienne Brulé Collegiate.

Similarly, working dynamics were also influenced by these emotional affinities. Leaving aside Barbara Godard's and Frank Davey's friendship, the latter's wife was involved in the publisher's endeavours since the early 70s. As a lawyer, Linda provided the board with wise advice regarding the lack of standing formal contracts with Québécois publishers, which

invalidated any rights claimed by Coach House on the English translations of the works selected. Unfortunately, sometimes these emotional affinities did not work as expected. CanLit translator Ray Chamberlain, for instance, delayed for a long period several translations, to the point that some of them were cancelled, arguing personal reasons. As Davey recalls, however, he failed to return the advance which he had been paid, later claimed by the Canada Council on the publisher's failure to deliver the translations. Yet, Chamberlain was able to complete the translation of Victor Lévy-Beaulieu's monumental essay saga on Herman Melville, launched in 1984.

However, Beaulieu's novel *Blanche forcée* had a different fate. After a few months of work, Sheila Fischman, by then an increasingly known translator, "(...) sent back the advance we had paid her with a note that she did not like the novel well enough to feel comfortable translating it" (Davey 1995 n/p). Personal affinities with Québécois authors were relevant to Coach House to the point of urging the Canada Council's Translation Program to fund a variety of translators for the translation of a single anthology: the already mentioned *Les stratégies du réel/The Story So Far* (1979). While officially edited by Nicole Brossard, this bilingual selection of texts had Godard's footprint on every page. Mirroring the original's polyphonic nature, the bilingual version engaged different translators for each of the Québécois authors featured, something which was beyond the Canada Council's understanding (Davey 1995). Finally, as a growing latent force in the series thanks to Godard's endeavours, feminism was the source of many of the emotional (dis-)affinities experienced between Québécois authors and their translators. By 1986, after Godard's and Davey's departure, new editor David McFadden followed Gail Scott's and Ray Ellenwood's advice of hiring David Homel for the translation of Yolande de Villemaire's *La Vie en prose*. Villemaire, already accustomed to relying on Godard's overtly feminist agency, convinced her Québécois publisher to withhold any translation rights from Coach House.

In themselves, working attitudes and dynamics relied strongly on collaborative practices, especially between Godard and Frank Davey. Godard was often in charge of mediating between Coach House and the Québécois publishers, many of which were reluctant to deal with Anglophone editors. As Davey recalls (1995), her relationship was easier with small publishers like Éditions du jour or Lévy-Beaulieu's multiple publishing ventures, the latter having expressed his wish to have all of his production translated by Coach House. The attention of big publishers like Lémec, nevertheless, was increasingly difficult to catch. Some

of them had the habit of selling translation rights of multiple Québécois novels as a package to mainstream Canadian publishers like Clarke Irwin. Such was the case of Acadian author Antonine Maillet's *Don L'Original* (1972), finally translated by Godard that same year, albeit for Clarke Irwin, after incredible degrees of persistence. As it appeared, this publisher had no interest in translating that particular work. Additionally, some Québécois editors' distrust took them to request considerable royalty advances, between \$3,000 and \$5,000, which Godard had to negotiate down to smaller amounts, or sometimes even ask to be withdrawn. As part of the contracts signed with the original publishers, Coach House often had publication deadlines quite difficult to meet in the early years of the Canada Council's Translation Program, since there were not many qualified (or interested), Canada-Council approved translators at their disposal (Davey 1995). As the list of names progressively mentioned in this section demonstrates, prominent members of the Canadian Translators Association, from Patricia Claxton to Sheila Fischman obtained their early contracts with Coach House. The Canada Council's insistence that they first had to be approved by the program points, on the other hand, at the institutionalisation of the translation profession in Canada.

These last appreciations have clear connections with the sociological dimension of translation. A series of networks, as this thesis constantly underscores, were being put into place at the time by Canadian federal institutions. Besides the ACQL, with which both Godard and Davey became involved quite early, the Canadian Translators Association, encouraged by the Canada Council itself, and the various funding programs discussed gave literary translation a clear institutional dimension. Regarding the status of translation, CanLit editorships granted considerable power to translation, encouraging already discussed forms of *transediting* (see 2.4.1.) in agents like Godard, who would later on profit from her academic position in order to pursue a feminist "politics of transmission", given the clearly divergent goals of the CanLit book industry. Finally, in what concerns workplace realities and dynamics, the Canada Council's Translation Program definitely invited publishers like Coach House, previously run by personal affinities, to systematise their contracts, and keep more accurate sales records and inventories. It turned translation into a permanent source of revenue for presses whose original purpose was to publish Anglophone-Canadian writing, in the spirit of the "Canadianization" years. A clear disadvantage of this new reality was the creative agents' progressive lack of power on behalf of financially-informed actors and processes. For Barbara Godard's feminist agency, however, this first contact with the reality of the Canadian publishing industry was useful to gain an accurate perception on the real place of feminism. From then, her future

"transediting", a now classic trait of Canadian-feminist translation agencies, would be undertaken in safer academic spaces, where the kind of "affective economies" (Eichhorn and Milne 2016) encouraged by female thought communities have better chances of prevailing. Yet, her fluent relationship with the new feminist publishers emerging in Toronto throughout the 80s was considerably indebted to this early editorial experience.

5.4.1. Godard's *Tale of Don L'Original* (1978): Channeling Maillet's *Roman Acadien*

Barbara Godard's translation of Antonine Maillet's *Don l'Original* was her very first book-length project (Forsyth 2013). It belongs, as already indicated, to the earliest period in her professional agency, her first years collaborating with Coach House Press. *The Tale of Don L'Original* appeared in 1978, after numerous unsolicited proposals on her part to mainstream Anglophone publisher Clarke Irwin, which indifferently held the rights for its translation. On her persistence, she was finally commissioned with producing an English version. Given the lack of interest of the original publishing house, L  meac, in her queries (see Davey 1995), it was considerably difficult for her to discover that Maillet's translation rights had been sold to Irwin as a package, together with those of other novels. And just as unexpected as to find out, only a few years later, that her translation had been re-published by New Press, after Clarke Irwin's collapse (Mezei 2006).

Be as it may, Godard's thorough analysis of Maillet's own agency (1979) proves how anticipated the chance to translate her flourishing narrative had been. Published in 1972, *Don L'Original* is a glorious testimony of the folkloric tradition and particular dialect of the Acadian region, a Francophone area in New Brunswick holding great ideological significance for the "je me souviens" cause given its ancestral connections with Canada's first French settlers. As such, it was quickly granted a prominent place among the literary novelties experimenting with identity-conscious language in Qu  bec. Maillet's careful research on Acadian identity, central to her scholarly as much as to her creative writing, is nevertheless sensitive to other concerns dominating the Qu  b  cois scene of the 70s. Particularly interesting is the connection between Acadie's modern literary identity and the also disruptive gender conventions displayed in her narrative. While Godard's overtly feminist agency was not yet consolidated, the following analysis shall determine whether, besides Maillet's advocacy for a distinctive Acadian identity, her forward treatment of gender constructs in the representation of Acadian culture had an

impact on Godard's intervention. In the means of performing a Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, Chapter 6 of the original ("Du Retour Triomphal de Noume, Fils de don L'Original, et du Récit de ses faits héroïques", 1972: 27-30) and the translation ("Concerning the Triumphal Return of Noume, Don L'Original's Son, and his Heroic Deeds" 1978: 22-25) has been selected as illustrative of the different levels of ideology purported by the work in itself, the author, and the translator on her intervention.



FIGURE 37: ANTONINE MAILLET (1929-).

Sociopolitical Analysis

A crucial aim of this sub-section is to attempt a definition of the sociopolitical motivation behind both the original and the translation. For this purpose, I shall draw on Walsh's Ideational function (2001). The "ideas, knowledge, and beliefs" advanced by the text shall be discussed on the basis of the selected excerpt, as well as the position regarding those ideas, knowledge, and beliefs advanced by Maillet's and Godard's respective voices. *Don L'Original* is a mythical narrative accounting for the mysterious emergence of the Flea Island (l'Ile-aux-Puces), where a series of classical Acadian characters must organise themselves in order to defend their people from the so-called inlanders' attacks. Led by their female mayor's Biblical, prophetic dream, these inhabitants nevertheless fail to destroy the seemingly defenceless Flea Islanders, ruled by Don L'Original and, later, by his son, Noume. In chapter 6, as the title indicates (all chapters have summarising titles), Noume returns from his fishing trips, a typical Acadian activity, and narrates his experiences, particularly with women. At this point, he interacts with typical Acadian characters embodying traditional knowledge. Curiously enough, among those characters, la Sainte, and particularly La Sagouine, are women. While *Don L'Original* grants

narrative prominence to each figure in the different chapters of the novel, *La Sagouine* had actually featured in a previous work by Maillet (*La Sagouine*, 1971).

The Lady Sagouine's wise intervention in Chapter 6, on Noume's arrival and his discovery of the confrontation initiated by the inlanders, illustrates an intersection between her standpoint as a salient woman among the Flea Islanders and Acadian folkloric tradition, characterised, like Québécois one, by patriarchal hierarchies and the rule of the sacred. On an ideological level, Maillet joins Québec's early-seventies nationalist surge from her experience as an Acadian woman, a descendant of the mythical survivors of the French regime, whose female voice suddenly acquires new relevance all across Francophone Canada. While the central concern in Maillet's narrative seems to be the re-construction of the Acadian people's history through a recollection of folkloric oral tales, gender often acts as a prism in this literary articulation of Acadian mythology, interestingly defying several patriarchal aspects of its tradition. Therefore, it is my contention that a particularly forward notion of gender roles is interestingly portrayed in contrast with ancient Acadian characters and practices, typically patriarchal, re-signifying a typically Acadian form of society.

Through sarcasm, Maillet frequently questions traditional patriarchal culture in Acadian society. In chapter 6, particularly, three aspects of Acadian identity are re-interpreted from a gender perspective: the Catholic faith as a source of moral customs in Acadie; fishing as Acadian men's main activity; and the colonisation theme, which clearly underlies the entire mythological account of the inlanders' attempts at destroying the Flea Island. An island which, despite having suddenly emerged in its neighbours' perception, displays a much more complex cultural and linguistic infrastructure. Such was the case of Francophone Canadians, including the Québécois and the Acadiens, in Anglophone Canada's public imagination throughout the decade in which *Don L'Original* was drafted. Similarly to Québec's first generation of *écrivains au féminin*, perhaps with more intensity, Maillet re-signifies the main attributes of the long-surviving Acadian culture under feminist premises. The influence of Catholicism in Acadie may be appreciated in the selected excerpt in various respects. First of all, some of the characters have names or nicknames with religious connotations: La Sainte, Citrouille's mother, and Michel-Archange, Noume's faithful and inseparable friend, and therefore his archangel. A typically expected women's attribute is kindness, and yet La Sainte's character is in constant conflict with this supposed "saintliness" as one listens to her speak about her neighbours (Godard 1979: 61). Her particular moral crusade against Sam Amateur, based on a

traditional character in Acadian legends, is specially sharp, and in full contrast with Amateur's approval by his male peers, including Don L'Original, who sees his pettiness as "military tactics" (Godard 1979: 61). However, in order to save her conflictive son Citrouille, she goes to the great lengths of a saint, or a virgin, "(...) mak[ing] a pilgrimage of the stations of the cross, a ritual Maillet says is an important part of Acadian ceremonies (Godard 1979: 61).

Hence, it is possibly La Sagouine, General Michel-Archange's wife, who most often channels subversive views of Acadian femininity. While La Sainte's criticism of her neighbours is generally based on gossip, hers is considerably more pointed:

"Malheur à toi, ville de bourgeois pourris, Blanche à la chaux ! Malheur à vous autres, becs-fins, qui laissez corver les veuves et les orphelins plutôt que de leur acheter leur morue qui sent la sueur des pêcheux ! Malheur à vous autres, fesses-tordues, qui voulez pas marier vos filles à nos gars pour conserver votre sang pâle qui vous donne des airs de Saint-Jésus-de-Prague ! Malheur à vous autres, salauds, qui nous brûlez nos îles pour vous laver la peau de l'oeil qui veut pas voir les cabanes des pauvres genres ! Malheur à vous autres, rats d'église, mangeux de balustre, saintes nitouches, fripeux de bénitier, qui nous déportez de nos terres pour vous nettoyer la conscience qui se fatigue de nous porter avec nos pieds sales et nos dents gâtées !" (Maillet 1972: 136-137).

The previous paragraph, a monologue significantly uttered by a female character, La Sagouine by the end of the book, in Chapter 33, shows Maillet's will to portray female characters as linguistically more prolific and ideologically more caustic than their female counterparts, which confirms one of the aspects underscored by Mills regarding the interface between gender and discourse (see Mills 1995). Despite falling outside Chapter 6's very rich texture, it perfectly synthesises the book's sociopolitical criticism, advanced, as already discussed, through a forward, gender-informed lens. Despite what may be seen as a mythological, pseudo-historical narration, the political principles advanced are perfectly state-of-the-art for a 1972, Francophone-Canadian novel: a critique of the priest-ridden elites' despise to working classes, mostly devoted to fishery, their religious hypocrisy, and the populace's capitalist exploitation, with references to Franco-Canadian old lifestyle in "cabanes", their alleged "pieds sales", and the "dents gâtées" as signs of their poverty. Supplementing these capital elements are peripheral, religious-imagery references to racial purity (the "sang pâle") as a historical principle in Anglophone/Francophone relations. Importantly, for Maillet, as for many Québécois women writers (see 4.4.2.ff), patriarchal elites are "rats d'église, mangeux de balustre, saintes nitouches, fripeux de bénitier". In *Don*

L'Original, as we may see, the ancient Acadian dialect and its proverbs are employed in the means of advancing a powerful social critique, therefore confirming, as already argued throughout this thesis, the capital role played by language in portraying intersectional and complex "power hierarchies" (Mills 1995: 160). Thus, the way in which Barbara Godard deals with this game-changing paragraph is certainly representative of her general agency throughout the text:

Woe to ya, whitewashed city of rotten people! Woe to ya fine men, lettin widows and orphans die sooner than buy their cod that stinks of fisherman's sweat! Woe to ya skinflints who don't wanna marry yer daughters to our guys so yer blood'll stay pale and ya'll look like Holy Jesus of Prague! Woe to ya sons of bitches who burns our islands so as to wash yer eyeballs cause ya don't wanna look at the shacks of us poor folk! Woe to ya others, ya church mice, ya Tartuffes, ya holier-than-thous, ya toads in holy water who deported us from our land so ya could clear yer conscience that's tired of puttin up with us and our dirty feet and rottin teeth! (Maillet and Godard 1978: 106).

In my view, both in terms of the source text and its translation, this paragraph provides good macro-textual context for the relevant features to be discussed shortly through Chapter 6's main lexical and sentence-level features. One of the main issues encountered by Godard here, as much as by CanLit translators of the same period in the *écrivains joual*, is the creative use of a neglected dialect in the means of denouncing Anglophone colonisation, therefore dignifying its despised literary register. Maillet's Acadian variety, as Godard acknowledges (1978: 53), provides "evidence of her dissatisfaction with literary language". It is strongly mediated by her extensive research on Rabelais' linguistic forwardness in his treatment of French medieval literary tradition, a tradition claimed by Maillet as coincidental with that of Acadian literature (see Maillet 1969). Hence, *Don L'Original's* Acadien displays a variety of clues on diatopic variation, but also on diaphasic (the dialect's archaisms) and diastratic one (the portrayed speakers' socio-economic ascription to the popular classes). The latter is indeed relevant in Maillet's deliberate feature of the inlanders as cultivated professionals from the middle and upper classes (the mayoress, the schoolteacher, the merchant, and the banker), and of the Flea Islanders as lower-class individuals. Significantly, even La Sagouine's, who holds a distinctive position of privilege in the colonised society as general Michel-Archange's wife, speaks this popular dialect.

The Acadian variety therefore has a certain input of street language, perhaps, marked by socio-economic disadvantage as much as by archaisms, and such disadvantage is productive

for the sociopolitical criticism undertaken in this and other Francophone Canadian novels of the period. However, as already argued, CanLit translators' general tendency towards taking socio-economic disadvantage to the foreground when re-producing the *joual* does nothing but reinforce Canada's linguistic and cultural assimilation of Francophone difference. Godard conversely attempts to reach a balance between the Acadian's archaism and the popular classes' linguistic inaccuracy. Her efforts to render typically Francophone expressions of anticlericalism ("rats d'église, mangeux de balustre, saintes nitouches, fripeux de bénitier") with *ad-hoc* creations are remarkable ("church mice, ya Tartuffes, ya holier-than-thous, ya toads in holy water"). And yet, one still perceives how the weight of colloquial, lexically inaccurate and grammatically incorrect traits have an excessive weight in this and other parts of the translation. Similarly to *écrivains joual* like Jacques Ferron, as we shall see in detail in the micro-textual analysis of Chapter 6, phonetically adapted, English expressions of compliance like "Yes, Sah" ("Yes, sir") and "O corse, ma deah" ("Of course, my dear") depict Francophone-Canadians' linguistic and cultural subordination, which acquires an entirely different dimension when female individuals are concerned (Maillet 1972: 28). Indeed, in the selected chapter these two expressions are uttered by compliant, sexually available females *according to male characters' narratives*, which allows for a clearer portrayal of female and male voices in the text, the gender-informed differences in their speech and the narrative pathways associated with each, in accordance with Mills' proposal for the analysis of gender constructions in discourse (Mills 1995).

In line with Mezei's critique of CanLit translators' assimilative tendencies (see Mezei 1988), however, these very relevant words and phrases in Maillet's text, are re-produced *tel quel* also in Godard's translation, unmarked despite originally uttered in English (Maillet and Godard 1978: 23). My interest, thus, lies in this type of phenomena: discursive cues illustrating how Maillet's forward de-construction of gender conventions interacts in discourse with Acadian dialect and Acadian traditions, particularly religious values; as well as, understandably, how Godard reflects such interaction in translation. For this purpose, gender-relevant lexical items and clause/sentence-level issues shall be discussed below, departing from the examples observed in Chapter 6.

Macrotextual Analysis

Departing from a contrastive, source-text/translation perspective, the current sub-section shall delve into two key notions advanced by Walsh's proposal (2001): first of all, that of *texture*, concerning the multimodal intersection of the texts different dimensions, including visual and iconic features as much as co(n)textual elements, ranging from the institutions and agencies behind the book's production to its particular co-textual traits (cover, illustrations, prefaces, footnotes, etc.). Secondly, the particulars of Don L'original's text *genre* shall be analysed from the author's intertextual understanding of it, that is, as a set of textual conventions re-established by diverse communities of practice under specific premises. In this case, we shall explore any gender-informed premises in Maillet's re-establishment of Rabelais' epic-genre tradition (see Godard 1978) and her pioneering *roman acadien*. Given this thesis' interest in the concept of *transediting* (Stetting 1989), the analysis of Godard's translation shall offer a contrast of those two aspects, in the means of defining what in my view amounts to the purposeful re-establishment of this *roman acadien*.

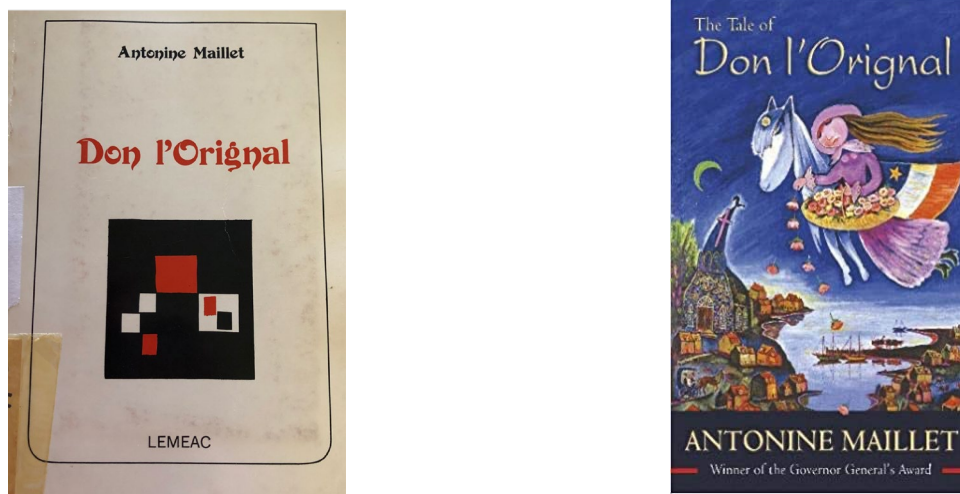


FIGURE 38: THE ORIGINAL COVER OF *DON L'ORIGINAL* (1972) VS. THAT OF ITS TRANSLATION, *THE TALE OF DON L'ORIGINAL* (1978).

As for the notion of texture, our point of departure is the most apparent element in *Don L'Original*: its cover. As one may see in the previous illustrations, L  meac, the Qu  b  cois publisher behind its publication, originally chose a very simple, abstract cover, neutral enough so the book's interest may hardly be suggested by it. In contrast, Godard's cover features the typical illustration of a young readers' book. Analysing both the original's and the translation's covers is essential in that neither displays any other form of co-text offering any ideological

cues, footnotes, or prologues. As we may see, the English version's cover features a young woman in a romantic but sad attitude, very different from the ones populating the book. She is throwing flowers from a flying horse with a tail painted with the colours of the French flag. An enormous Catholic church stands out on the horizon, as well as a number of ships on the harbour and some mule chariots (the famous "charrettes", often mentioned in Maillet's narrative), symbolising two key aspects of Acadian lifestyle: agriculture and fisheries. Additionally, a reference is made to Maillet's winning the Governor General's Award for this work (1972). Considering the great aesthetic differences between both covers, one may argue that a re-establishment of the original text's significance has been attempted. While this is by no means the translator's responsibility, a connection is observable between the illustrations selected, also produced for every other translation of Maillet's works⁵⁰, and an interested, patronising re-channeling of Maillet's *romans acadiens*. In its calculated dose of cultural and linguistic archaisms, as well as its epic, tale-like narrative style, the editors seem to have perceived a call to a younger public.

Understanding the search for a new genre as a key aspect in the interpretation of Maillet's work, Godard attempts a definition of the *roman acadien* in her reflections on *The Tale of Don L'Original* (1978). Quite accurately, she discusses Maillet's revisit of Rabelais' epic style, arguing that, as the author herself had previously claimed in her doctoral dissertation (1971), Acadian literature draws on the same medieval traditions as this classical Renaissance author for innovation purposes (see Godard 1978: 51). Maillet is an extremely interesting author in that, before inaugurating this Acadian genre *par excellence*, she actually theorised about its components, putting the formula into practice that same year, with *La Sagouine* (1971). For Godard, this amounts to affirming the generic supremacy of the tale in Maillet's re-channeling of Acadian folklore, leading her to re-establish the novel's title and sub-title, (*Don L'Original. Roman acadien*) as *The Tale of Don L'Original*. This is a sort of *architextual* manipulation in Genette's terms (1984, see section 2.1.2.), *architextuality* being the phenomenon by which a text's typological or generic denomination is employed as its (sub-)title. However, even if vindicating a French literary tradition makes much sense for this Acadian writer, there is a deliberate will on her part to create new literary codes and patterns, and to insert her voice in the narration, in a sort of gender-informed, *vision carnavalesque*

⁵⁰Other novels by Maillet show these same young-readers illustrations. Another example is Philip Stratford's translation of *Pélagie-la-charrette* (1979), a novel awarded with the prestigious Prix Goncourt. Philip Stratford, as already explained (3.1.2.), was Barbara Godard's mentor.

already discussed regarding the *écrivains joual* (Michon 1984, see also 4.2.). Maillet's production is self-denominated *roman acadien* because it wishes to re-establish a number of previous traditions, but also because it responds to the *écrivains joual's roman national* initiative. On this basis, according to Walsh's understanding of generic forms as intertextual re-establishments of previously existing conventions (see again Walsh 2001), this autochthonous form of *roman* draws on a very particular, sharp form of intertextuality: the so-called *pastiche* (see Godard 1978), not as a form of homage, but as a parodical literary metadiscourse. It is not by chance that, like many Québécois writers of the time, including feminist ones (see, for instance, *La nef des sorcières*, 1975), *Don L'Original's* whole narrative is nothing but a lengthy internal monologue by no other than the Acadian writer herself (see Epilogue, pp. 141ff), who nevertheless has witnessed the fate of the Flea Island, and concludes the following toward the end:

Le long des côtes de mon pays, juste a côté du vôtre, la vie tranquille et honorable des braves gens de la terre ferme avait repris son cours. (...)

Cette vilaine île, d'ailleurs, se laissait très calmement oublier. Elle flottait, seule, au grand large, déracinée comme un chêne abattu. Le n'ornais et le suroît se la disputaient comme jouent les enfants avec un ballon. Et la petite île qui avait perdu ses longs foins et ses dunes jolies se laissait balloter par les vents et les vagues féroces, n'osant plus montrer à la face du soleil son dos tout noir et ses pattes rompues (Maillet 1972: 139).

How may one disregard the impact of Québec's raising nationalism in Maillet's text? As the following sub-sections shall illustrate, *Don L'Original* has several legend-like traits, and draws on Acadian mythology and folklore in order to inaugurate a highly politicised, allegoric generic pattern, vindicating the Acadian dialect as a valid and valuable literary code. And yet, it seems to have been assimilated as little more than a uncomplicated, folkloric tale written by an archaic but attractive people: the "Beautiful Losers" (Cohen 1967) so fashionably admired by a self-denominated "postcolonial" Canada. While Maillet was about to receive the Prix Goncourt (1979) France's most prestigious literary prize, Godard was benefitting from the Canada Council's subsidised translation mania in order to produce *The Tale of Don L'Original*. That this institution saw the *roman acadien* as an effective product for the consolidation of a diverse but ultimately unified Canadian State is also reinforced by a curious fact, regarding the first-edition original employed for this analysis. In effect, a 1972 copy, the only one in Spain to my best knowledge, has been held in Madrid, presumably since around the book's date of

publication, by AECID, the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation. As a sticker on the back cover shows, this copy was a present sent "avec les hommages du Conseil des Arts du Canada/with the compliments of the Canada Council":

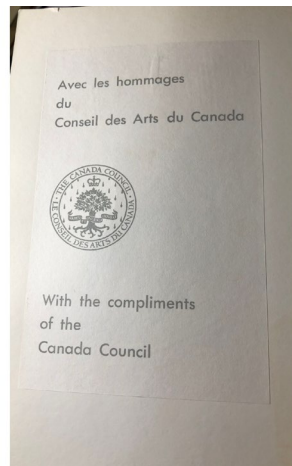


FIGURE 39: BACK COVER OF AN ORIGINAL EDITION OF *DON L'ORIGINAL*, HELD AT AECID (MADRID).

What is more, Maillet apparently also received some form of subsidy for the production of this book, as indicated on the first page: "Une subvention du Conseil des Arts du Canada a été accordée pour aider à la publication de cet ouvrage". Godard's translation displays a similar note: "Published with the financial support of the Canada Council for the Arts, the Government of Canada through the Book Publishing Industry Development Program, and the New Brunswick Culture and Sports Secretariat". Regarding the aspects discussed in this sub-section, Barbara Godard's agency may be said to have been convergent with the Canadian polysystem's structures. However, a closer look at her discursive re-establishment of *Don L'Original* may reveal some divergent attitudes, perhaps not in terms of the book's nationalist vindications, but in its ground-breaking treatment of gender conventions in Acadian culture.

Lexical, Clause-, and Sentence-Level Analysis

In Chapter 6, two particular passages shall illustrate the particular ways in which gender interacts with Acadian language and culture through discourse. The first, featuring La Sagouine's and Noume's voices, Noume tells Flea Inlanders about his fishing trips, during which he has seemingly fished something more than cod:

[La Sagouine]—(...) Ah ! mais quoi c'est que ces pêches, asteur ! Un homme s'en revient de la morue comme des noces. Il lui manque pas un poil, pas un licot, pas une parte. C'est pas chrétien, c'te pêche.

(...)

[Noume]— J'ai pris de la morue, pis de la morue, pis de la morue, pis au bout de tout ça, une douzaine de belles catins basanées.

(...)

Alors Noume se mit à raconter à ses braves amis et fidèles sujets les aventures et mésaventures de son expédition. Il décrivit les belles princesses lointaines, au bois dormant ; qui vous accueillent d'abord parce que c'est forcé par le gouvernement, et ça vous dit : « Yes, sah » ; puis qui vous invitent à revenir parce que vous venez de loin et que ça aussi des frères dans la marine, et ça vous dit : « O corse, ma deah » ; et puis, qui s'accrochent à vos pieds, et qui s'accrochent à vos hardes, et qui miaulent, et qui chiaulent, et qui vous chuchotent . . . hummmm... qui vous chuchotent des belles affaires.

— Des saloppes, dit la Sagouine.

— C'est la vie de pêche, répondit un chemineau.

— Saloppe de pêche aussi, reprit l'héroïque femme (Maillet 1972: 28, my emphasis).

The previous passage features a series of references to the women met by Noume in his adventures not as subjects in the narration, but as objects, metaphorised as his fishing trips' catch. Interestingly, La Sagouine's initial valorisation of Don L'Orignal's son's experiences is negative, both regarding his attitude and the women's supposed response. Her moral standards, as one may observe, are based on Catholic doctrine:

"Un homme s'en revient de la morue comme des noces"

"C'est pas chrétien, c'te pêche" (Maillet 1972: 28, my emphasis).

"A man comes home from cod and whores like he's been to a weddin"

"It ain't Christian, this fishin ain't, lemme tell ya" (Maillet and Godard 1978: 23, my emphasis).

Godard's interventionism in La Sagouine's previous two utterances is of particular interest for different reasons. First of all, in a display of feminist agency, she "supplements" (see Flotow's feminist strategies in Flotow 1991) "la morue", a metonymia which stands here for cod-fishing trips, as "cod and whores". A potential explanation for this is her attempt at rendering explicit an implicit trait of fishermen's lifestyle: their frequent resort to paid company. In my view, "whores" is far too disruptive considering La Sagouine's tone in this passage. However, it intensifies La Sagouine's sarcastic comparison of this immoral behaviour with the moral duty of marriage, and is consistent with the entire text's portrayal of fishing as an activity connected with male promiscuousness. Godard's intervention is perhaps also aimed at compensating for the loss of the parallels perceived by Francophone speakers between "pêche", "fishing", and "péché", "sin". Be as it may, at this point in the text, La Sagouine's voice converges with Acadian patriarchal values, establishing metaphorical connections between fish and women, and therefore between fishing ("pêcher") and sinning ("pécher"). The following dialogue entails one of Godard's most controversial decisions (see, among others, Patterson 1983). Here, La Sagouine derogates the women in Noume's narrative on account of their sexual availability:

— Des saloppes, dit la Sagouine.

— C'est la vie de pêche, répondit un chemineau.

— Saloppe de pêche aussi, reprit l'héroïque femme (Maillet 1972: 28, my emphasis).

"Sluts," said La Sagouine.

"That's the fishing life," answered a bum.

"Slut of a fish, too," replied the heroic woman (Maillet and Godard 1978: 23, my emphasis).

For many critics, "saloppe de pêche" should be understood here as "damned fishing" (see Nord 2002), and connotatively also as "dirty sin". However, Godard perceives, accurately in my view, Maillet's underscoring of the fact that Noume's catch is mainly composed of prostitutes, and not fish, as it should. In this light, "saloppe de pêche" does not *only* mean "damned fishing" or "dirty sin", but it metaphorically identifies women as the main catch in Noume's fishing trips. This interpretation is coherent with La Sagouine's previous intervention

in the dialogue, where "saloppe" is employed as a derogative, descriptive term for the women in Noume's story. In French, "saloppe" initially means "sale", that is, "dirty", and is therefore used in some vulgar expressions, similar in fashion to "bloody" or "damned" in English. When employed against individuals, it has different meanings. "Sale" acts an intensifier in expressions like "sale menteur" ("bloody liar"). As an insult, "Salaud", which shares its root with the previous terms ("sale") and also appears in the text, is the equivalent of "bastard". However, in order to emphasise prostitution as the actual semantic connection between all these terms, Barbara Godard translates "salauds" as "sons of bitches":

"Qu'ils viennent, les salauds !" (Maillet 1972: 30).

Just let em come, the sons of bitches!"

(Maillet and Godard 1978: 23)

Strangely enough, in "The Tale of a Narrative: Antonine Maillet's *Don L'Original*" (1978), Godard does not discuss this, nor other major controversies in the text. For instance, she does not clarify why "mairesse", a very advanced, gender-inclusive term used by Maillet in order to identify the Inlanders' female mayor, is translated as "mayor". In her article, Godard employs "mayoress" once (1978: 54), and "mayor" on the rest of occasions, but no further explanations are given. Be as it may, male characters' treatment of female identities in this passage is also relevant, since the previously discussed portrayal of Noume's female companionships is inspired by his first-person narrative of his trips:

Alors Noume se mit à raconter à ses braves amis et fidèles sujets les aventures et mésaventures de son expédition. Il décrit les belles princesses lointaines, au bois dormant ; qui vous accueillent d'abord parce que c'est forcé par le gouvernement, et ça vous dit : « Yes, sah » ; puis qui vous invitent à revenir parce que vous venez de loin et que ça aussi des frères dans la marine, et ça vous dit : « O corse, ma deah » ; et puis, qui s'accrochent à vos pieds, et qui s'accrochent à vos hardes, et qui miaulent, et qui chialent, et qui vous chuchotent . . . hummmm... qui vous chuchotent des belles affaires (Maillet 1972: 28).

As one may observe, a strong contrast is perceived between Noume's first reference to the women encountered during his absence and this lengthier depiction. While they are permanently subjected to an objectifying treatment in his narrative, he initially describes them as "prostitutes": "J'ai pris de la morue, pis de la morue, pis de la morue, pis au bout de tout ça,

une douzaine de belles catins basanées". According to the Trésor de la Langue Française, "catin" has generally been understood as "[t]erme d'affection adressé à une fille de la campagne", that is, a country girl. Considering that country girls were often tan as a result of their hard work under the sun, "basanées" is indisputably understood as "tanned", Barbara Godard's chosen term. In Canada, an independent semantic evolution has led to the patronising "poupée" ("doll"). However, in a display of what Muriel Schulz identified as the semantic derogation of women (1975), ancient French speakers employed it also in order to refer to a "[f]emme de mauvaises mœurs". In my view, given the context and traditional lifestyle of Acadian culture, the term's interpretation as "country girl" may not be ignored in the translation, but should actually be taken as central in Noume's perception. Its potentially derogative connotation acts in French as a background cue, leaving a door open to La Sagouine's assumptions regarding the women's lack of virtue.

The difficulty of this reference lies in re-producing its negative sense implicitly. Godard opts for the word "tanned broads" in English, which is a slang North-American term meaning simply "girl". This equivalent reproduces the oral register of Noume's Acadien, which often entails the use of archaisms, and focuses on its explicit sense, albeit partially, since it fails to channel the distinctive set of gender conventions to which a country girl responds in patriarchal societies. Unfortunately, however, this implicit, derogative sense of female promiscuousness is lost in Godard's version. Her analysis of *Don L'Original's* translation (1978), on the other hand, does not provide any clarification in this respect. And yet, a thorough discussion of "catins" as a key reference to women used in this passage would be incomplete without due attention to a general phenomenon in the Francophone-Canadian literature of those years: Anglicisms (again, see Mezei 1988).

As already discussed at the beginning of this chapter (see 5.1.2.), reproducing the *joual's* input of English terms and phrases was a frequent strategy among Québécois writers in order to criticise Anglophone imperialism, and often also to reflect the compliance of certain members of Québécois society, including prostitutes, like in Jacques Ferron's short stories (1962). This oral input of phonetically adapted English expressions is therefore connected with polite structures like the ones in this text, "Yes, sah", and "O corse, my deah", accompanied by scathing criticism to the very Francophone elites encouraging the population's compliant attitudes. Suddenly, Noume switches terms from "catins basanées" to "belles princesses lointanes", which is part of Maillet's underlying sarcasm, as he narrates how they "(...) vous

accueillent d'abord parce que c'est forcé par le gouvernement"⁵¹ (Maillet 1978: 28). Here, in conclusion, "belles princesses lointaines" must be understood as the greatest of ironies, reinforced by Maillet's reference to the Sleeping Beauty ("belles princesses lointanes, au bois dormant"/ "distant beautiful princesses, sleeping in enchanted woods"). Suddenly, these country girls who live in forest cabins (the famous "cabanes") become sleeping beauties trapped in enchanted woods. Maillet's humorous use of different discursive resources advances with greater simplicity a nevertheless poignant social critique. On the interaction between anglicisms, French archaisms, and satirised gender constructs, she displays another form of vision carnivalesque (Michon 1984) and turns her novel into a gender-informed, metadiscursive critique of colonialism. It has already been argued that dealing with anglicisms as a defining trait of the *joual* is inaccurate. However, not translating them, or leaving them unmarked and unexplained, as Godard does, leads readers to develop patronising attitudes toward an allegedly poor, Francophone command of English. Via non-translation, cultural assimilation promotes readership unawareness regarding Francophone Canada's politicising use of language.

The last example I would like to discuss in this sub-section concerns the interaction of gender constructs, both traditional and disruptive (Maillet's re-reading of Acadian tradition) with the Acadie's Catholic background. Following the previously discussed narration of Noume's fishing trips and La Sagouine's reaction to the concerned women's attitude, Noume responds to her criticism in the following way:

— C'est pourtant ces saloppes-là qui ont fourni à la Sagouine tous ses hommes, lui lança Noume du haut de sa charrette.

— Tous ces houmes ! Se rebiffa la Sagouine. M'en ont fourni un et je l'ai pris, comme toutes les femmes qui sarvent le pays.

Alors Don l'Original jeta sur la dispute échauffée son baume royal :

— T'as pas à te confondre, la Sagouine. Les prêtres racontont que dans l'Écriture Sainte, y en a une qu'en a pris sept, des houmes. Et elle se nommait quasiment comme toi : la Samarigouine (Maillet 1972: 29).

⁵¹ In Godard's translation, this is rendered as "(...)distant beautiful princesses (...) who welcome you at first because they are forced by the government (...)" (Maillet and Godard 1978: 23).

Interestingly enough, this passage shows how, depending on the occasion, both male and female characters may display progressive views regarding gender conventions in *Don L'Original*. So far, La Sagouine has proven little affection and respect to the other women described by Noume, and only a light dose of criticism regarding men's immoral attitudes toward such women. Gender constructs, as Lazar argues (2005), are built up differential, contrastive conventions, operating between males and females, but also among males and among females as distinctive groups, perceiving as they often do conceptual differences in the gender roles which they display. In the previous excerpt, however, she is reminded by Noume that her love interests so far have been provided by these other females whom she despises so much. This underscores that, given Acadian men's maritime lifestyle, their promiscuousness considerably responsible for the survival of the Acadian people. Be as it may, the suggestion that this character may have had multiple love affairs with different men is already disruptive in itself, considering the harsh critique she directs to her peers.

Suddenly, we perceive what Walsh identifies as a discursive shift (2001), advancing the social and institutional changes in Francophone-Canadian societies at the time, especially regarding marriage. By underscoring that she has only had one, and that her contempt with him is exclusively due to her will to "serve her country", La Sagouine is, in effect, undermining Catholic marriage as a stronghold of Francophone survival in Canada for more than three centuries, and questioning it as a personal sacrifice. Even more interesting, however, is Don L'Original's own opinion in this matter, illustrated by a feminist re-reading of the Bible: "T'as pas à te confondre, la Sagouine. Les prêtres racontont que dans l'Écriture Sainte, y en a une qu'en a pris sept, des houmes. Et elle se nommait quasiment comme toi : la Samarigouine." Here, Maillet is voicing her opposition to women's compulsory devotion to a single man precisely through a privileged member of Acadian patriarchal elites. In the means of de-penalising her sexual freedom, Don L'Original even allows himself a little pun between "Samaritaine" and "Sagouine" ("la Samarigouine"). Let us see Godard's rendering of this passage:

"Still, them sluts gave La Sagouine all her men," Noume let fly from the height of his wagon.

"Men!" bristled La Sagouine. "Gave me one and I took him, like all women who serves their country".

Then Don L'Original cast his royal balm over the heated dispute.

“Ya don’t have to apologize so much, La Sagouine. The priest says in the Holy Scripture there’s one dame who took seven men. And her name was just like yers, La Samarigouine” (Maillet and Godard 1978: 30).

In my opinion, in this instance Godard did not risk much. From a gender perspective, most of her choices were not extremely difficult to make, and in general terms this excerpt provides accomplished equivalents to most semantic difficulties in the text. It is perhaps her inaction before Don L'Orignal's pun what may disappoint. Yet, in English, "Samaritaine" has quite a similar equivalent ("Samaritan"), and the characters' names are not altered in the translation. However, does that convey Don L'Orignal's mockery of La Sagouine's hypocritical views on sex? Would an average Anglophone reader identify the Samaritan as the main character in the Biblical passage indicated and understand the pun? Problematic as it may seem, "La Samarigouine" does not leave the translator with many alternatives. Godard's own comments to the translation (1978), on the other hand, strangely do not include a single reference to this or any of the gender-informed challenges discussed in this sub-section.

5.5. Breaking into Academia? Godard’s Rise as a Feminist Scholar

The aim of the current section is to make a case for Barbara Godard’s foundational role in the emergence of a specific, female-centered thought community, oriented toward consolidating an influx of transversal solidarities between Canadian feminism and Québécois one, as well as between the various dynamics in which each group has engaged for their realisation. Such a community shall be referred to as “Canadian feminist Translation Studies”. Perhaps accurately, this denomination reflects the constant tensions between the original goal of this group, building the first ever transnational bridge between feminisms through translation, and constant attempts on the part of different mainstream forces at its assimilation for other purposes. As already indicated throughout the previous sections, it has been a constant in CanLit’s institutional discourses to claim feminism as a Canadian specificity, essential in order to build the country’s “image” of (white) civility. Simultaneously, as previously argued (see, once again, Simon 1995: vii), Godard’s initiatives for the reception of Québécois feminism, perhaps on their ground of their “divergent”, non-assimilative nature, have opened new avenues for the consecution of an end nevertheless completely convergent with the Canadian nation-making process: an intra-national form of dialogue between Canada’s “two solitudes”.



FIGURE 40: BARBARA GODARD IN HER ACADEMIC LIFE.

A Québécois specificity like feminism, increasingly channelled through Angloamerica (see Brossard's contact with U.S. feminists like Kate Millet or Gloria Steinem in the documentary *Some American Feminists*, 1975), had been, as contended in the previous chapter (see 4.4.3ff), sadly left out in the first attempts at consolidating a Québécois nation. By claiming credit for a fashionably feminist, Anglophone project valuing what Québécois nationalists had neglected, Canadian nation-making agents were sure to discourage feminists from believing in Québec's independence as the only means to achieve equal rights, and instead reinforce the new promises of Canadian federalism. Feminism, also in Québec, is thus assimilated as a defining trait of a previously discussed, Canadian (white) civility, while Québécois nationalism continues to be portrayed as the Duplessis-style, patriarchal stronghold of a not-so-glorious *paysan* past.

An essential question, therefore, to be answered in this thesis is whether Barbara Godard's feminist efforts have been interestedly redirected toward this Canadian nation-making project, or whether they have stayed true to the scholar's original purpose, effectively resisting assimilating metadiscourses by mainstream forces. In this sense, it remains crucial to assert under which circumstances Barbara Godard was able to make her way through the "canadianized" academia of the last third of the 20th century, effectively invested in nation-making purposes. Women and myth, as already contended (see 3.1.7., and 4.4.1.), are often found to be entangled in patriarchal nation-making narratives, especially in New-World white settler nations. A basic claim of Canadian white settler feminism is the outstanding incidence of female literary agencies in an enabling post-European world (see 3.1.7.). It should therefore

not come as a surprise that an important part of the current Canadian nation-making strategies rely on underscoring feminism as a differential trait, both against other nations (especially those who, like the U.K. or the U.S., blur its identity), as well as against forms of intra-national dissent like Québécois nationalism. The point of this brief reminder is thus to contextualise the importance granted to feminist literary agencies by the Canadian polysystem's metadiscursive voices, as proven by early ACQL presidencies like that of Lorraine MacMullen (1974), the expert par excellence in Canadian women's writing (her feminist allegiance is actually underscored in Dean 2016: 34).

On account of their mythological nature, statements like Andersen's (1988, see 3.1.7.) on the historical prominence of women authors in Canada often dispose of the necessary grounding. Similarly, the first solid contributions to this line of thought (see MacMullen 1989, or Henderson 2016) have come to reinforce the overall thesis of post-European exceptionalism pursued by Canadian nation-making, and their main contenders often devote their efforts exclusively to the consolidation of CanLit in first-row forums (see Henderson 2001). In my view, however, the instrumentality of feminist literary agencies for assertions on national superiority is most clearly observed precisely when that superiority is put to the test. Comparative literature and translation, two major strongholds of CanLit academia, are two such examples, where scholars have nevertheless been extremely careful not to draw unproductive comparisons; or, conversely, extremely productive when drawing careful ones. Anderson's aforementioned claims on a historical mass of women writers, indeed, act as the improbable, but definitely not unproductive, introduction to a paper on Québécois feminist authors. It is in translation, perhaps, where assimilation, embodied by performative textual products, may not be disguised as easily by rhetorical quibbles.

Interestingly, a rare case of implementation of polysystem theories in the Canadian context sheds unprecedented light on the role of literary femininities in nation-making, especially when used as a reactive force against intra-national dissent: Carolyne Perkes' 1996 work "Les seuils du savoir littéraire canadien: Le roman Québécois en traduction anglaise". Here, Perkes, whose original scope is by no means feminist, nevertheless reaches interesting conclusions for any feminist approach to polysystem analysis in Canada. Firstly, she admits that "(...) le répertoire canadien-anglais des formes littéraires ne semble pas se transformer au contact de la littérature québécoise (...)" (Godard 2002: 69-70), especially in the case of the

roman social. This current, which she wrongly claims to be “(...) peu fréquenté du grand public” (Godard *ibid*: 70), is precisely where the most widely read and critiqued Québécois writers of the 20th century belong: Gabrielle Roy and Anne Hébert. Unsurprisingly, Québécois authors Lamontagne, Hayward, and Beaudoin (1998) “les œuvres des auteurs québécois les plus commentées par la critique anglo-canadienne ont été écrites par Gabrielle Roy, Anne Hébert et Marie-Claire Blais” (Godard *ibid*: 66), which surely explains why the ACQL has established a prize for Canadian works of literary critique honouring Gabrielle Roy’s name. Furthermore, as Sirois underscores (1991), those same three Québécois women writers have been the frequent recipients of prestigious French literary awards (Godard *ibid*: 65), which encouraged a most revealing judgement on Barbara Godard’s part: “Toronto est-elle tout autant que Paris une instance de consécration de la littérature québécoise depuis les années quarante?” (Godard *ibid*: 65). Surely, her analytical sharpness regarding the two splitting colonial forces destabilising Québécois literature had no parallel among CanLit scholars. Even more interesting, however, are Perkes’ conclusions on the impact on the CanLit system of overtly feminist literature, and not just female-authored or “feminine”, through translation: “l’écriture féministe en traduction, qui occupe une position primaire cherchant à transformer les modèles du système « cible » et à produire des traductions « adéquates », introduisant ainsi des changements dans le discours péritextuel canadien-anglais et dans les normes culturelles (Perkes, 1996: 1196)”. Through systemic analysis, thus, Perkes has been able to detect the superior impact generated by the translation of the “Écriture au féminin” over that of other Québécois currents. Overall, nevertheless, the space of enquiry suggested by this analysis is much broader: the role of Québécois women writers in translation as a shaping force in Canadian Literature must be discerned, as well as its leading agents’ overriding interest in this female literary input.

Following the transtextual and metadiscursive scope of this thesis, what I find most relevant out of the previous assertions is that they have been compiled and discussed by Barbara Godard in considerably recent times (2002). A rare advocate of polysystem theories within the CanLit circles (see Godard 2008), Godard has inserted herself at the true “crossroads of Canadian Literature” (see Godard 2008) by making a feminist rendition of its two matrix disciplines: comparative literature and translation. As a contender for a central position in CanLit, she surely had many of the qualities appreciated by her CanLit mentors. Usually known as the Canadian baby boomers, Godard’s generation brought to the fore pertinent debates

shaping the nature of Canadian (white) civility, from decolonisation concerns and anti-nuclear manifestos to the visibility of “le fait canadien-français”, as it was known in the late-60s (see Kamboureli and Godard 2008: 18). They became avid readers of the very first (self-deemed) Canadian literature, as well as the first students of its precocious critique and anthologisation. Some of them, like Godard herself, pioneered its institutional legitimisation, especially from academic contexts, but also, as we are about to see, from editorial positions, their contribution quickly following the CanLit canon’s lead. Before the 90’s consolidation of a truly postcolonial mentality in CanLit, however, not many of them had pursued the split ends of Canadian criticism like Godard. Initially a compliant CanLit disciple, her sociocritical understanding of comparative literature, nurtured by her first-hand witnessing of the poststructuralist turn in French academia, led to constant operations of differentiation from the core of a flourishing institution, with which dissent was as inevitable as synergies.

What was the purpose of consolidating a metadiscursive tradition on (Anglophone-)Canadian writing? What lay behind its highly promoted dialogue with Québécois difference since the Centennial celebrations? And most importantly, why did both movements tend to instrumentalise women authors’ voices? While she never explicitly confronted the Canadian polysystem, her response to these very questions could be heard clearly and strongly in her work. Despite following the pre-established CanLit path, from comparative criticism to practical translation efforts, Godard’s career took her to places widely different from those frequented by CanLit canonical figures. Although she initially sought the support of enshrined Canadianists in her early years, it was with Frank Davey, the most self-critical Canadianist of all, that she joined forces. Once a consolidated feminist scholar, her classic CanLit transitioning from (comparative) theory to (translational) practice actually underscored, in the best of cases, the polysystem’s leaders’ lack of thoroughness in portraying Québec, despite the considerable theoretical paraphernalia which both preceded and accompanied their translations. And yet, her main expectation as she began this transitioning was to consolidate creative dynamics, dialogues engaging female agents from both Anglophone Canada and Québec. Hers was the first “interculture”, following Pym’s terminology (2014), consolidating a regime between both Canadian nations under truly egalitarian principles, and therefore overcoming the unequal relational premises on which they had been founded. As a multifaceted agent, Godard defied traditional notions of scholarship, editorship, and translatorship, becoming living proof that all

creative agencies may have an impact when nation-making ceases to be the relational force behind creative processes.

5.5.1. *L'amèr* (1977) and *These Our Mothers* (1984): Godard's First Approximation to Brossard's Fiction Theory

L'amèr, Ou, Le chapitre effrité (1977) is one of Brossard's first overtly feminist books. As Louise Dupré announces in her preface to the 1988 edition, discursive innovation is here inseparable from Brossard's introduction of a ground-breaking notion of motherhood. As such, *L'amèr* constitutes one of the most illustrative crossroads of the formal innovation which she had undertaken as a poet, her lately cultivated prose, and new feminist concerns. It embodies a new genre of politicised creative writing, concerned with advancing the female condition: the so-called *fiction theory*, already discussed in this thesis as a major breakthrough in Québécois feminist writing. For this purpose, a necessary exploration is required of what was back then analysed as *women's language* (for the full discussion, see 2.1.1.), but which actually amounts to a particular feminist discursive stance. This particular stance becomes an end in itself in Brossard's textuality, where the main characters are often authors of the very narrative we are reading, and therefore fully conscious of their discursive performance. The goal of the current analysis is precisely to determine how Brossard's political standpoint on women interacts with the discursive resources, both researched and self-devised, which make feminist fiction theories the most recognisable product of Québécois literary feminism.

L'amèr's plot is discontinuous and complex, because, besides explicitly challenging patriarchal logical order, it is interspersed with theoretical discussions. It conveys a woman's *prise de conscience* regarding motherhood through the re-production of what amounts to a long internal monologue. At the same, it advances an inseparable discussion of what writing means for feminist self-discovery and for the disruption of patriarchal authority. In Barbara Godard's own words, *L'Amèr* "(...) points to the effect this unauthorised communal feminist text has in dissolving the authority of a male tradition of the book" (1984: 23), which underscores the importance, already argued throughout this thesis, of surveying patriarchal polysystems' ideology. Brossard's text, Godard continues, "(...) denounces the economics of proprietorship on which authorship is based, exposing the violence of both economic and literary codes of exchange", suggesting instead "(...) maternal values of interdependence and community" very much in tune with the logics of female thought communities.

Sociopolitical Analysis

As shall be discussed in detail below, in regard with *L'Amèr*'s macrotextual traits, the ideational sub-function of this text entails a feminist subversion of two crucial genres for the *écrivains joual's* production: the already discussed *roman du cas de conscience* (Michon 1980), illustrating the subject's coming to terms with a problematic sociopolitical reality to which (s)he is subjected; and the *roman de l'écriture*, where this *prise de conscience* is inseparable from the subject's discursive exploration of his/her own self through literature, that is, from the *venue à l'écriture* (1977), in Gagnon's, Cixous' and Leclerc's terms. And yet, considering the analytical input provided by feminist theory in *L'amèr*, the book's structure is quite academic, divided into various thematic blocks: "L'a mèr", "L'état de la différence"; "L'acte de l'oeil"; "La végétation"; and "Les fictions", which includes "Fiction du privé" and "Fiction du politique". The excerpt to be surveyed here belongs to "L'a mèr", the inaugural chapter providing this text's ideological core: Brossard's critique to patriarchal motherhood and her proposal of a new form of woman, the so-called "mère symbolique". "L'état de la différence" focuses on lesbianism as a destabilising notion for patriarchal sameness and difference. As such, it very much defines, and makes sense out of, the textual production of *L'amèr*, characterised by Brossard herself as a "texte lesbien" (Brossard 1977: 22) in the selected excerpt. On its part, "l'acte de l'oeil" starts with a set of polyphonic reflections, based on the texts of other feminist authors, from Anaïs Nin to France Théoret. The last part of this sub-section, nevertheless, re-produces a visionary glossary of key terms in Brossardian textuality. Some of them, like "figure", are dealt with as foundational lexemes, inspiring an exploration of their lexical networks in the means of deconstructing patriarchal meaning: "figuration", "défigurer", "prise au figuré", "figurine", "à figure", "préfigure" et "figure libre". In "La végétation", the female body is at the centre of Brossard's quest for new meanings, articulated in a series of etymological re-establishments and *sexual*, body-text metaphors. This centrality of women's corporeal dimension is retaken in the "fiction du privé". Similarly, "fiction du politique" reflects on patriarchal history and textuality employing female physiological processes and textual production as notional prisms.

What is, then, the gender construct advanced in this work? In which senses are traditional gender conventions challenged? As already argued, the main goal of *L'amèr* is to criticise the traditional notion of motherhood as responsible for women's objectification, through a feminist practice of social critique:

Une pratique de déconditionnement qui m'amène à reconnaître ma propre légitimité. Ce par quoi toute femme tente d'exister : ne plus être illégitime.

La légalité pour une femme serait de n'être pas née d'un ventre de femme. C'est ce qui les perd toutes deux. Le ventre de l'espèce. Qui de génération en génération se reproduit. Vache et bâtarde. Toutes aussi illégitimes (Brossard 1977: 22).

While this would entail the practical disappearance of women (and indeed human extinction), Brossard advocates here for a new understanding of motherhood, embodied by the so-called "mère symbolique": "Inversion stratégique: cette femme-mère symbolique a perdu son ventre (...) devenant ainsi la première et dernière femme légitime. Mettant ainsi fin à l'Histoire. À la fiction (...)" (Brossard 1977: 23). In essence, this "mère symbolique" is one who creates life not biologically, but through writing: "J'ai tué le ventre et je l'écris" (Brossard 1977: 27, original emphasis). As Barbara Godard shows in her post-translation discussion of *L'amèr* (1984), the complexity of Brossard's critique of motherhood is considerable, carefully surveying its different dimensions. First of all, she reflects on the "social codes" by which a woman compulsorily becomes "matter/mater, reduced to the body", fragmented into parts, her womb not being her own, possessed first by the male, and later by the children (Godard 1984: 25). This fragmentation of the female body is crucially contemplated by Mills in her methodological proposal for a Feminist Stylistics (Mills 1995: 160).

Secondly, the "economic codes" which support patriarchal social orders rely on Marxist theory, portraying the dialectic, oppositional relationships between male and female as the basis for the capitalist, dominator/dominated dynamics. Thus, "women's destruction of their reproductive capacity has affinities with the Luddite attack on machinery", the white page becoming "a symbolic womb", and establishing a metaphoric connection between body and text (Godard 1984: 26). The ultimate consequence of this new perspective on motherhood is that, for the first time, women may personally profit from their (re-)creative capacities, becoming subjects in their own right. A consistent result of this subversion is the breach of the patriarchal "biological codes" behind women's exploitation, by which biological infertility does not entail the end, but the actual beginning of life. The new "woman-as-subject" (Godard 1984) shall therefore explore her body under a new *sexual* code, where desire is an end in itself, and textuality metaphorically explores her physiological functions from a new angle.

The end of biological reproduction implies that "(...)the teleological impulse of history is subverted" (Godard 1984: 28). New "historical codes" are therefore proposed, departing from re-interpreted mother/daughter agencies as constituting narrative cycles. The de-construction of differences between the private and the public situate each woman's private story as a relevant element in the so-called "herstory", a global tale of different femininities. This stance clearly implies two forms of manipulative intertextuality, to be surveyed shortly: the subversion of patriarchal sources of knowledge, from Albert Camus to Rousseau; and the creation of a multiple, "communal feminist text" (Godard 1984: 23) through the already mentioned quoting of female authors. This, in itself, predicts the breach of "logical codes" operated by lesbianism throughout the book, by which the patriarchal logic of sameness and difference is challenged. Indeed, lesbianism is the ultimate disruption of power relations since, as Beauvoir has suggested, Western dominant discourses project an image of "self" as male (the subject, the speaker and actor), and of "other" as female (the object, the spoken and acted on) (Godard 1984: 29). Understandably, as we are about to see, *L'amèr* attacks the traditional genders' "representational codes": "(...) [B]reaking women's bond to the reproduction of matter dislocates a whole constellation of tropes and myths" (Godard 1984: 29) Many of these patriarchal archetypes feature prominently in traditional Québécois literature as compliant characters facilitating the socially sanctioned goals of the male around them. By focusing on sexuality and recreating on the body from the standpoint of lesbian relationships, Brossard is in my view destroying the expected productiveness of archetypal female precedents in the province's national literature.

In short, as we have just seen, *L'Amèr*'s de-constructs traditional gender constructs embedded in Québécois society, in particular that of motherhood, but also, subsidiary, matrimony, as the act of female alienation *par excellence*. The last two aspects of Godard's multifaceted analysis are introduced under the labels "literary codes" and "linguistic codes". In my view, literary and linguistic devices amount to the macrotextual/discursive and lexical/sentence-level categories employed here. In the following lines, I shall discuss the interaction between Brossard's ground-breaking conception of womanhood and the devices of feminist Québécois literature previously discussed in this thesis (see 4.4.4.), defining what has been identified as fiction theory (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1986). Understandably, a contrastive approach shall be applied here, and Godard's efforts at re-interpretation shall be discussed.

Macrotextual Analysis: Brossard's Fiction Theory

As with *Don L'Original*, two analytic notions shall help illustrate *L'Amèr*'s macrotextual layout, as well as its re-establishment by Godard in *These Our Mothers, Or, The Exploding Chapter*. Let us start with a survey of both the original and the translation's texture:

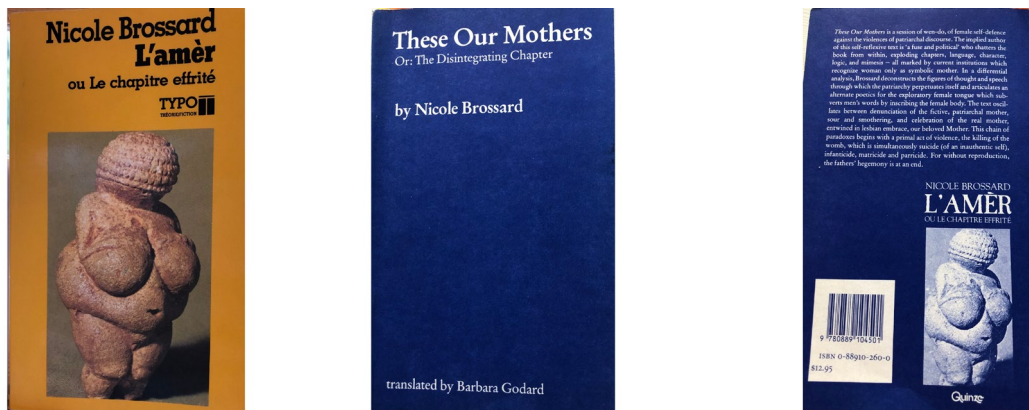


FIGURE 41: NICOLE BROSSARD'S *L'AMER* VS. GODARD'S TRANSLATION, *THESE OUR MOTHERS* (COVER AND BACK COVER).

The original text was published by Typo (Éditions Quinze) within the collection *Théorie/Fiction*, directed, among others, by well-established members of the *écrivains joual* thought community: Gérald Godin, François Hébert, Alain Horic, and Gaston Miron. This proves, as argued in previous sections, that Godard kept excellent relations with the most prominent male cultural actors of the time. The cover, as Brossard explained in an already quoted interview with Lucie Sequin, perfectly embodies patriarchal motherhood: "C'est la Venus de Willendorf exposée dans un musée de Vienne. Cette femme n'a pas de regard, de bouche, de bras. Elle a des seins et un ventre. Elle est de la matière à reproduction" (Sequin 1979: 59). Conversely, *These Our Mothers* displays an understated blue cover, without any illustrations or images. Just the title, the author's name and the translator's identity are featured. No references are included to the Anglophone publisher, Coach House Press, nor to the *Québec Translations* collection for which she translated this work, with considerable difficulties, as already indicated.

Interestingly, the back cover re-produces the cover of Brossard's original, so as to allow for the identification of *These Our Mothers* through the original. But perhaps most relevant to

the kind of writing promoted by the source and followed by its target text is the fact that the latter proposes four alternative titles throughout its first pages: *Theseourmothers*; *Theseaourmother*; *Sea (S)mothers*; and *(S)our Mothers*. This responds to the fantastic condensation of tropes and puns in Brossard's original title, *L' amèr*, containing the words "mère" ("mother"), "mer" ("sea"), and "amer" ("sour"). The potential number of interpretations, of equations between motherhood and the different images suggested, results in these four titles, reflecting from classical images of femininity (the sea as female) to Brossard's own re-assessment of traditional motherhood (patriarchal mothers as smothers). This complex interplay of puns, tropes, and metaphors is one of the salient traits in Brossardian style.

Regarding paratextual elements such as prefaces, footnotes, or supplementations of any kind, both the original and the translation rely on a prologue. Brossard's *L'Amèr*, at least in the 1988 edition, has Louise Dupré's praising foreword, which seems to mark the text's 10th anniversary re-edition (Dupré in Brossard 1988: 12). Dupré herself is no stranger to the Québécois feminist milieu. An author and a scholar in her own right, she has served as a member of the editorial board at Éditions du Remue-Ménage for a number of years, as well at the scholarly journal *Voix et images*, devoted to mainstream Québécois literature. The goal of this preface is, interestingly, to underscore Brossard's 70s concerns with motherhood as a topical subject in 80s Québec: "[E]n cette période où les problèmes de la démographie Québécoise suscitent un discours nataliste qui tient très peu compte de la réalité des femmes, en cette décennie où les recherches biotechnologiques tentent de gommer le lien à *l'origine*, *L'Amèr* ne peut que favoriser un questionnement toujours actuel sur la maternité" (Dupré's preface in Brossard 1988: 12-13).

On its part, the translation includes a very short foreword by Barbara Godard, where she very briefly indicates the particulars of her translation agency in *These Our Mothers*, departing from an outright assertion: "Prefaces should not be apologies" (Godard's preface in Brossard 1984: 7). According to this introductory comment, while no exact asymmetry may be found between Brossard's original strategies and her own, she claims to have based on the entire typology of Brossard's creative devices for her own solutions, which often entail redistributive or compensational operations. As for the kind of difficult decisions she has had to make, Godard enumerates a few examples: the translation or compensation of French grammatical gender, the recurrent appearance of certain Derridean and Deleuzean terms, etc. Finally, Godard also indicates her understanding of the translator's task as no different from

any other reading process, inviting readers to come up with their own interpretations: "May the intensity of your involvement as reader be as great as mine and you extend its creation in new directions to make this the text of bliss it works to be" (Godard's preface in Brossard 1984: 7).

The use of footnotes, on the other hand, is worth commenting on. Very few footnotes appear in Barbara Godard's translation, and none in Brossard's original. Their goal in *These Our Mothers* is far from subversive or revolutionary. What is more, they render explicit Brossard's implicit exercises of intertextuality. Intertextual operations in *L'Amèr*. Polyphony is, as already discussed, a key trait in Québécois feminist literature. Thus, the original starts with three short passages, one by Huguette Gaulin, a Québécois early-feminist writer (see 4.4.2.), and the other two presumably by Brossard herself, since no indication to the contrary is provided (see Brossard 1977). The clause re-produced from Gaulin's work seems to have been cut out from a more complex sentence, and de-contextualised. Additionally, no bibliographical references to the work from which it has been excerpted are provided. In this case, imitating the original's lack of bibliographical information, Godard provides a translation of Gaulin's work which may be assumed to have been her own. The other two excerpts are also translated without a proper identification of the sources (see Godard 1984). This attempt at (partially) identifying women authors' works does nevertheless disappear when prestigious male authors like Camus are quoted (Brossard 1977: 31/ Brossard and Godard 1984: 25):

"Aujourd'hui maman est morte" (Camus 1941, in Brossard 1977: 31).

"Mother died today" (Camus and Gilbert 1963, in Brossard and Godard 1984: 25).

This de-contextualised phrase acquires new meaning by following another disguised quote by a first-row patriarchal philosopher, Nietzsche (1882): "Dieu est mort", retaken by another, this time a 20th-century intellectual with great influence among feminists: Roland Barthes and his "mort de l'auteur" (1953). While she ignores the previous reference to Nietzsche, Godard provides some information regarding Stuart Gilbert's translation of Camus' *L'étranger* via a footnote: "Translator's note: Albert Camus. *The Outsider*. Trans. By Stuart Gilbert" (Brossard and Godard 1984: 25). And yet, neither the year of publication, nor the page from where the quote has been obtained are indicated. This is only partially consistent with Brossard's original intention. Her lack of bibliographical references seems to be intentional, erasing patriarchal authorship and promoting instead a co-textual re-establishment of these borrowed passages.

Since in the already mentioned case of contemporary feminist writers she opts for acknowledging authorship, her decision not to do it in other parts of *L'Amèr* is doubtlessly relevant. And yet, no explanations regarding this important trait of the original are provided in Godard's preface or in later reflections (Godard 1984).

In a similar display of inconsistency, Godard offers another intertextual "explicitation", in Vinay in Darbelnet's terms (1958), in the following passage, concerning Brossard's subversion of a term employed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau: "promeneuse", the feminisation of "promeneur" in his work *Confessions d'un promeneur solitaire* (1782):

"Rapport à la vie, au long de ce livre bref l'amer comme la peur ou tout des cils oscillant, promeneuse" (Brossard 1977: 91, my emphasis).

"With respect to life, all along this brief book sour mother like fear or all about batting eyelashes, walking woman" (Brossard and Godard 1984: 83).

Godard's footnote in this sense goes as follows: "In the feminine, *promeneuse* evokes Rousseau's "Confessions d'un promeneur solitaire" (Godard *ibid*: 83). This interpretation on her part is considerably subtle, since, when she intends to suggest intertextuality, Brossard uses inverted commas. Anyhow, interestingly enough, here, Godard does not quote any of the existing English translations of this work, but the original in French, which once again shows inconsistent choices before the same phenomena. However, she seems to have taken into account those translations in order to provide a feminised equivalent: from "walker", the traditional equivalent in "Reveries of the Solitary Walker", she proposes "walking woman" in order to underscore the feminine in her translation of this passage. In my view, both Camus' and Rousseau's quotes seem to point, indeed, at Brossard's newly inaugurated genre as deeply relying on intertextual distortion, as a form what Godard (1989: 43) herself identifies somewhere else as "litterature au deuxième degré". For her (*ibid*), feminist discourse is an intertextual form of parody and citation, of satirical pastiche, especially considering Brossard's quotation of male authorities.

A final example of Godard's paratextual interventionism may be found in another of *These Our Mothers'* footnotes: "strix. zool. term for night birds of prey, stryga--female and dog vampires." (Brossard and Godard 1984: 80). This indication refers to the following passages of the original and its translation, respectively:

"Stridente strie stryge la nuit affluer des touffes denses, des effets spéciaux que procure la perte de réalité"
(Godard 1977: 88).

"Strident strya strix night flocks with dense tufts, with the special effects that loss of reality produces"
(Brossard and Godard 1984: 80).

As we may see, suggestive concatenations of terms joined by alliteration often re-establish the individual meanings of each element in the equation. "Stryge", according to the *Trésor de la Langue Française*, means "[m]onstre fabuleux représenté avec une tête de femme, un corps d'oiseau et des serres de rapace, qui passait pour sucer le sang des nouveau-nés et des jeunes enfants (d'apr. J. SCHMIDT, *Dict. de la myth. gr. et romaine*, 1965)". A "strie", on its part, means "stretch mark", a typical "flaw" produced in female bodies by pregnancies, among other phenomena. Finally, especially interesting is Godard's explanation of "strix", a very uncommon word for average readers: "female and dog vampires".

The previous analysis of Godard's paratextual material in *These Our Mothers* has unearthed a number of the essential characteristics of fiction theory, an innovative generic form very much shaped by Brossard's work. This new genre, already defined in a previous section, was actually invented by Brossard herself (4.4.2.): "Fiction theory: a corrective lens which helps us see through the fiction we've been conditioned to take for the real, fictions which have not only constructed woman's "place" in patriarchal society but have constructed the very "nature" of woman (always that which has been)" (Marlatt in Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1986: 9). We are hence before a hybrid product, combining different recognisable generic forms in the means of finding the appropriate discursive mould for female experiences. A poetic prose swamped with visionary metaphors re-establishing traditional images of femininity denies the patriarchal logic of historicity by subverting chronological orders. The point is not for the narration to advance, but, quite conversely, to subordinate traditional narratological values to the exploration of the female, feminist, and, in this case, lesbian self. Since this is a re-purposed *roman du cas de conscience* (Michon 1980), certain so far unheard-of interrogations voiced by the protagonist are supplemented with different textual and epistemological traditions, both mainstream and feminist, in the means of presenting for the first time female experiences as a source of knowledge. The basic form taken by Brossard's narration is that of the internal monologue, so widespread among mainstream and feminist Québécois writers alike, channeling private and generally irrelevant text types like the personal

diaries⁵². The vindication of private writing as a political action is underscored by *L'Amèr*'s condition as a *roman de l'écriture*, where the protagonist's writing practice, expanded through constant polyphonies, is fundamental for a subversion of the patriarchal order and its monolithic form of discourse:

"Just as *L'Amèr* is no book, no fiction, but a text composed of words, a melange of manifesto and autobiography, of poem and philosophical treatise, so too has it lost an author and become a pro-verbial Spanish Inn housing many authors. The multiplicity of female bodies, which decentres the concept of being, finds amplification in the multiplicity of female voices, which subvert the concept of authority. This is an unauthored text, unauthorized, an exemplum of feminist inter-textuality, a text generated from many other texts in a female lineage (...)" (Godard 1984: 31).

As this and other of her academic texts prove (see also Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1986), Godard's interpretive efforts regarding Brossard's textuality have been central in her research, possibly superior than those devoted to any other author or subject. Consequently, her portrayal of this new genre is considerably accurate in macrotextual terms. In the following sub-sections shall survey the microtextual implications of (re-)establishing Brossardian fiction theory in the first part of *L'Amèr*, aimed at exploring and subverting patriarchal motherhood.

Lexical, Clause-, and Sentence-Level Analysis

The goal of this sub-section is bifold. On the one hand, since Brossard was the first to implement and describe fiction theories, their typical traits, already described in a previous chapter (see 4.4.2.), shall be exemplified with the excerpt from *L'Amèr* selected here. In parallel, Godard's generally skillful response to these discursive devices in her translation shall also be discussed. Here, I shall proceed like in the previous analysis of *Don L'Orignal*, that is, distinguishing between lexical- and clause/sentence-level analysis. As for the traits of fiction theory to be surveyed here, a sort of Québécois feminist stylistics, borrowing Mill's term (1995), lexical strategies reflect an effort to re-institutionalise the true *mother tongue*, and not the code imposed by patriarchy so hypocritically known as such. The so-called *bavardage* (Lamy 1979) implies that the text, despite being an internal monologue, somehow entails a casual tone, reminiscing or mentioning details in an apparently spontaneous way. And yet,

⁵² In fact, one of Brossard's novels, also translated by Godard, is exactly that: *Journal Intime, Où, Voilà donc un Manuscrit* (1984), rendered as *Intimate Journal or Here is a Manuscript* (2004).

bavardage is considered in patriarchal orders an inconsequential and illogical form of speech. Here, in contrast, it conveys very consequential thoughts about the female condition:

"Tous les matins, on m'appelle maman. Je me lève. Je l'embrasse et je lui prépare son déjeuner. Nous nous quittons pour la journée. Parce qu'il faut que j'écrive ce livre" (Brossard 1977: 26).

"Every morning I am called Mommy. I get up. I kiss her and I get her breakfast ready. We separate for the day. Because I have to write this book" (Brossard and Godard 1984: 20).

Brossard's *bavardage* often entails an illogical syntax, showcased by this constant interweaving of narration and theory which defines fiction theory:

"J'ai mon index sut sa gencive comme pour lui donner un ordre. Mais ce n'est qu'une image. Elle montre les dents. M'envahit de son rire. Pour un acte initial : la passation des pouvoirs. Parole sèche qu'il me faut traverser pour vaincre la parole humide qui l'a fécondée par l'oreille. Parole sèche, pleine de lapsus, de ma mère Que je travaille ainsi qu'on s'arme. Elle boit sa bière. Guerrière." (Brossard 1977: 25).

"I have my index finger on her gum as if to give her an order. But it's only an image. She bares her teeth. Invades me with her laugh. For an initial act: the transfer of powers. Clipped words that I must pass through in order to conquer the flowing words that fecundated her through the ear. Sharp words, full of gasps, about my mother that I work on as if I were arming myself. She drinks her beer. Amazon" (Brossard in Godard 1984: 19).

While several examples of this shall be given later, Godard performs certain lexical-level changes in the original which are particularly visible in the previous passage. First of all, the original features an important repetition with a reiterative effect: "[p]arole sèche qu'il me faut traverser (...). Parole sèche, pleine de lapsus (...)". Instead of re-producing this reiteration, Godard opts for using different synonyms: "clipped", which means "having short, sharp vowel sounds and clear pronunciation" (OED); and "sharp", which, referring "sudden and penetrating" sounds (OED). While this is an enriching alternative, it is inconsistent with feminists' deliberately primitive writing. Secondly, the word "mother" is simplified to its foundational consonant, m, perhaps as an echo to the translation's extensive use of this sound in other passages as we are about to see shortly. Such a sound is one of the first which babies are able to produce, and therefore may be traced back into the real mother tongue. Finally, when Brossard employs the word "guerrière", Brossard employs a particularisation (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002), the word "amazon", of great significance among classical Anglo-

American feminists like Daly (1978). This proves, in line with Godard's preface, that feminist translators' interventions should not be apologetical, and that their views of feminism need not be coincidental.

In that it successfully re-produces the quotidian cage of a woman's routine, Brossard's *écriture de la folie* (Verduyn 1987) creates a solid female narrator, who is also creating the manuscript which we are reading as we speak. The difference between speech and written discourse is therefore blurred, as well as their different degrees of importance and seriousness according to patriarchal standards. On a sentence-level, this discursive trait often implies an innovative syntax from a traditional point of view:

"S'il n'était lesbien, ce texte n'aurait point de sens. Tout à la fois matrice. Matière et production. Rapport à". (Brossard 1977: 26).

"If it weren't lesbian, this text would make no sense at all. Matrix, matter and production, all at once. In relation to". (Brossard and Godard 1984: 16).

Stylistically, this fragmented syntax is considerably more disruptive for the French language than for the English one. This is perhaps why Godard seems to consider, on occasions, that doing the opposite could be regarded as more challenging in English. Thus, "Tout à la fois matrice. Matière et production" becomes "Matrix, matter and production, all at once". However, in some instances she curiously opts for syntactic fragmentation in more cohesive sentences of the original, where a standard French stylistics is being followed:

"La légalité pour une femme serait de n'être pas née d'un ventre de femme. C'est ce qui les perd toutes deux" (Brossard 1977: 22).

"Legality for a woman: not to be born from the womb of woman. "That is what ruins them both". (Brossard and Godard 1984: 16).

In my view, Godard sometimes seems to take Brossard's stylistic premises even more seriously than her. In the previous passage, this entails reinforcing the primitiveness of Brossard's expression (the mother tongue), and of her lexical choice, often resorting to anesthetic repetitions: "Legality for a woman: not to be born from the womb of woman". The preposition+nominal structure scheme has that particular effect, perhaps compensating for other aspects which Godard cannot solve satisfactorily in English. Such is the case, for

instance, gender marking asymmetries between French and English, embodied by words like "laboratoire" in the original (Brossard 1977: 35, see Godard's prologue, 1984). This also offers a chance to survey the only references to a male identity in the book: that of the Father, a key figure in Québécois literature, and particularly in proto-feminist writing (see 4.4.1.):

"Entre lui (sa chair son pouvoir) et moi donc une distance: les mots. Y avoir accès. (...)

J'ai choisi d'abord de parler de son regard. Parce que c'est ainsi que commence la perception de la différence. Ainsi que se confirme et s'alimente la différence. Science du regard: observation. Usage précis de la différence: contrôle et maîtrise de ce qui est sous observation, appelant à la logique de la spécialisation.

Il vit dans un laboratoire idéologique, saisissant les différences formelles et conséquemment fonctionnelles" (Brossard 1977: 42-43).

"So between him (his flesh his power) and me a distance: words. To have access to them. (...)

I chose to speak first about his look. Because this is where the perception of difference begins. In this way difference is confirmed and nourished. Science of looking: observation. Exact use of difference: control and mastery of that which is under observation, calling on the logic of specialization".

He lives in an ideological laboratory, apprehending formal and consequently functional difference (Brossard and Godard 1984: 34-35).

In the previous passage, feminist broken syntax is more than apparent, with its disposal of *For* Brossard, science is a form of patriarchal discourse perpetuating it. With this simple morphological subversion in *laboratoire*, the elimination of the silent "e", typically marking feminine words in French, appears to be, nevertheless, more than logical on the part of a feminist writer: Why should a masculine word, referring to a place where women are seldom welcome, have a feminine gender mark? -*Oir*, in contrast, is a typical ending for masculine words in the source language. This particular translation problem encountered by Godard has been widely commented on, for instance, by Luise von Flotow:

Godard explains the wordgames that could not be translated — the play with the silent "e" in French — and goes on to interpret their intention: the "e," she says, is dropped by the author in words like "laboratoire" to mark the absence of the feminine in the activities carried out there. It is removed from the title *L'Amèr*, she continues, to "underline the process of articulating women's silence and moving toward a neutral grammar" (Flotow 1991: 76-77).

Indeed, word games and lexical re-significations are typical of Brossard's formalist concern with, and subversion of, patriarchal linguistic norms. As Godard indicates in her prologue, this type of issues is often compensated in a different part of the text, and with different strategies. However, as she rightly states, such strategies have been previously observed in the source text. The following are examples of relevant lexical elements in Brossard's text, accompanied by Godard's translation:

Original Lexical unit(s)	Translated version	Key element in the original	Translation strategy
Vache et bâtarde (p. 22)	Bitch and Bastard (p. 16)	Alliteration	Free translation
Justifier <i>de fait</i> le viol (p. 23)	De-feat/De-facto rape (p. 17)	Double entendre	Explicitation
Et <i>de fait</i>, pourtant (...) (p. 23)	And actually/Act-ed upon, however (...) (p. 17)	Double entendre	Explicitation
Brédouille, Bégayante, Gagâchis (p. 27)	Stammer. Stutter. Mmmme mess (p. 21)	Alliteration, reiteration	Free translation
La lait surit. Joconde (p. 27)	The milk sours. Mona Lisa smiles (p. 21)	Double entendre	Explicitation

TABLE 8: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF L'AMÈR'S TRAITS AND THE STRATEGIES EMPLOYED FOR ITS TRANSLATION.

As may be observed in the previous table, the main strategy in the original is underscored, together with the translation strategy employed by Godard in *These Our Mothers*. The first example, "[v]ache et bâtarde", refers to women's merely re-productive condition in patriarchy. "Cow", the direct equivalent of "vache", would break an alliteration which is central in creating a rhythm, a reiteration, and a primitive discursive style. Yet, the replacement, "bitch", may have a different connotation within Brossardian imagery. She often talks about the "prostituée", but here there is no intention to underscore promiscuousness: only women's biological, animalistic treatment like re-productive objects is being showcased. While female

dogs' use for breeding purposes may be argued here in favour of Godard's choice, a clear deviation of sense is perceived.

The next two examples illustrate Brossard's Derridean de-construction of patriarchal etymology through innovative puns. When she marks *de fait* in italics, she is inviting us to think about *de facto*, indisputable realities as implying women's *defeat* by patriarchy. A *double entendre*, predicted by Mills as a typical trait of a feminist stylistics (1995: 160) is being suggested here by underscoring a long forgotten etymological connection between patriarchal historical facts ("de fait" and the fragmentation ("de-fait", from "de-faire"). Since a defeat usually implies the disintegration of the opponent, Godard's use of de-feat seems appropriate for in the first context: "Justifier *de fait* le viol"/ "De-feat/De-facto rape". As for the second context of *de fait*, always marked in italics by Brossard in order to signal that a shift is being performed, Godard opts for an explicitation through act-ually" and "act-ed on", since "de fait"'s grammar category here (adverb) is difficult to alter: "Et *de fait*, pourtant (...)" / "And actually/Act-ed on, however".

The fourth example in the previous table illustrates Brossard's amusing re-creation of baby talk. When talking about prostitutes, she reflects on their illogical, hysterical form of speech as "Brédouille" ("*Se dit d'une personne qui ne parle pas distinctement/ Celui ou celle qui fait les choses à l'étourdie, sans exactitude et sans soin*" / "Celui qui beguaie, qui parle mal"⁵³); and "Bégayante" ("Qui est dit d'un ton mal assuré"/"Maladroit"⁵⁴). Quite accurately, Godard opts for "stammer" and "stutter" as replacements, therefore maintaining the original alliteration. "Gâchis", on the other hand, effectively means "mess", but the duplication of the first syllable, "ga-ga", reflects the already mentioned baby talk. As we may see, the free translation for which Godard opts re-produces both the sense of Brossard's original words (someone with difficulty to talk, who "stammers" and "stutters") and their form (the alliteration between "brédouille" and "bégayante" is replaced with that of "stammer" and "stutter"). Also, as already argued, the sound "mmmm" constitutes one of the first sounds which babies are able to produce, and therefore constitutes a good equivalent for "ga-ga". Finally, in the fifth example Brossard plays with two words which are pronounced identically in French: "surit", which means to "sour", and "sourir", which means "smile": "La lait surit. Joconde". Leonardo's Mona Lisa in an androgynous painting with a mysterious smile, slightly sour. In *L'Amèr*, Brossard

⁵³ Trésor de la Langue Française.

⁵⁴ Trésor de la Langue Française.

invites her readers to search for the connection between both phrases. Godard's explicitation responds to the fact that there is no homonym for "sour" meaning "smile". She apparently fails to find any other resource allowing for a formal connection between these two senses: "The milk sours. Mona Lisa smiles"

The final aspect to be surveyed here is that of intertextuality. This device has already been discussed before. However, the particular example in the selected excerpt is quite illustrative of the ideological stance taken by Brossard with its use, as well as of Godard's response to it. On page 26 of the original, Brossard again employs another de-contextualised reference to one of Anne Hébert's poem *La fille maigre*, published by *Cité Libre* in 1951: "Je les polis sans cesse comme de beaux os" (Brossard 1977: 26)/ "I polish them unceasingly like fine bones" (Brown 1975⁵⁵ in Brossard and Godard 1984: 20). In Brossard's text, this statement refers to "les choses", and actually re-assembles two different verses:

"Je suis une fille maigre/

Et j'ai de beaux os./

J'ai pour eux des soins attentifs/

Et d'étranges pitiés./

Je les polis sans cesse/

Comme de vieux métaux (my emphasis)"

As we may see, the pronoun *les* in "Je les polis sans cesse" refers to the bones themselves, and the comparison is drawn with "comme de vieux métaux". Through this distortion, in my view Brossard is acting on Hébert's poem as if it was a very recognisable, almost universal literary product, pretending that her distorted reference shall immediately refer her readers to its source. However, the effect of estrangement created by this intertextuality, and particularly through the use of inverted commas, does seem to indicate a shift in the poetic voice, inviting us to do further research into this intertextual cue.

⁵⁵ Hébert, Anne. *Poems by Anne Hebert*: Tr. by Alan Brown. Musson Book Company, 1975.

5.6. Operation: Canadian Feminist Criticism as the First Transnational Feminist Dialogue

As already argued, the 80s witnessed the consolidation of feminism as a riding force in Canadian Academia, as well as, by the turn of the new decade, an institutional assimilation of its outcome, almost as rapid as its emergence. It is therefore at this time when Barbara Godard's feminist agency ultimately exploded, ignited by her latest (attempted) projects at translating Québécois feminist writers at Coach Press, for an Anglophone-Canadian readership still unaccustomed to the greatly experimental fiction of Québécois feminist writers. While this was an essentially operational decade for the then-emerging Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, a robust critical apparatus was simultaneously being put into place in order to institutionalise a long-standing Canadian tradition of feminist criticism, re-defined, in accordance with Godard's academic stances, from a comparatist, Canadian-Québécois perspective. While a multiplicity of salient events must be underscored of this decade, three main aspects may act as articulating points in the evolution of Godard's Canadian-Feminist project.

Firstly, perhaps an unparalleled dimension of her agency among Canadian-Feminist translators, Godard's (unofficial) editorial experience throughout the 70s was constantly tensioning her progressively feminist academic ethics. During the first half of the 80s, and till her resignation in 1986, she faced the consequences of supporting a feminist "politics of transmission" in the chinks of the Canada Council machine. After leaving the Canadian-postmodern counter-culture thanks to the Council's new subsidy policies, Coach House becomes an almost respectable Canadian publisher, with an almighty editorial board of technocrats whose main indicator of success is sales rates, far from the "affective economies" which its founders used to practice. Previously used to an unprecedented position of patronage over Québécois authors, where she and Davey could actually engage in these "affective economies" (see Eichhorn and Milne 2016) of supporting the highly experimental endeavours of Québécois literature, Godard started to face up fierce opposition to her attempts at circulating Brossard's feminist novels. While her almost exclusive support of Brossard's work clashed with the more conventional policies imposed for the Québec Translation Series, Godard actually managed to publish throughout her years at Coach House most of Brossard's novels with this publisher: *A Book*, translated by Larry Shouldice (1976); *Turn of A Pang* (1976), by Patricia Claxton; *These Our Mothers, Or, The Disintegrating Chapter*, by Godard herself (1983); and

French Kiss (1986), again by Claxton. After her departure, *Surfaces of Sense*, by Fiona Strachan (1989); and *Mauve Desert*, by Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (1990) were surprisingly published, turning Nicole Brossard into the most widely translated Québécois author in the series.

As the previous titles demonstrate, operations within the Canadian polysystem had been taking place from as early as the mid-seventies, perhaps as a response to Godard's close follow-ups on Brossard's emerging feminist writing. However, it is the centrality and intensification of such operation throughout the first decade of the 80s what evinced for her at the second great reality check in this decade: male CanLit figures' (and Québécois national writers) newly-created, self-publishing tools (see Godard 2008: 34) were not meant to become a forum for feminists. As a result, new Anglophone-Canadian feminist publishers like Guernica Press and ECW were emerging, allowing her to translate and publish those Brossard translations rejected by Coach House.

Since her role at the latter was mainly to act as a mediator between the authors and the publishers, and the translations were being trusted to dominant figures of the emerging, Canadian Translators Association (see, for instance, Patricia Claxton), it was in these groundbreaking, small publishers where her feminist translational agency truly consolidated. *Amantes* (1980), for instance, was translated by her as *Lovhers* (1989) for Guernica. Only her versioning of *These Sour Mothers* (1983) would make it to the Québec Translation Series, which, despite initial reluctance to transforming Brossard into a canonical Québécois figure through this and other translations, would rescue her after Godard's resignation, profiting from the momentum of Canadian Feminism. This particular translation, in my view, backed up by equally important initiatives in the academic realm, marked the very end of Godard's differentiation process within CanLit's matrix structures, encouraging her to engage in a movement of displacement from mainstream Canadian domains to new interstitial spaces. However, the kind of ethical stance which Godard was willing to take was difficult to maintain at a market which, albeit decidedly feminist, was growingly subsidised and promoted by institutional forces, as well as driven by motives more mundane than the advancement of knowledge. As discussed on multiple occasions throughout this thesis, Godard's translator ethics (Pym 2012) was one which could only be implemented by relying on an already consolidated intellectual authority among scholars, and, often, exclusively from the self-created instruments of academic publication. A

third essential aspect of this decade was her proactive re-working of mainstream Canadian academic structures in the means of creating a space for feminist epistemologies.

By the early 80s, York University's graduate English programme got a negative appraisal, urging its members to re-consider its fossilised structures, based, as Godard has acknowledged (2008: 28), on "(...) the traditional divisions by national literature and period (...)" against which her transnational agency, building bridges between Anglophone Canada and Québec, specifically wished to react. Three main itineraries were created, English Literature, genre, and, literary theory, the latter of which provided the least hostile atmosphere for Godard to delve into an already latent interest in feminist literary theory. It was in those years when some of her most ground-breaking feminist contributions to York's programmes were achieved, from a special topics course on Canadian Women Writers to a later, graduate programme in Women's Studies. Once integrated as her Department's contribution to this graduate programme, the Canadian Women Writers course was transformed from an odd specificity to a solid strand of the then-consolidating Women's Studies. For the first time overtly feminist, Godard's scholarly and teaching agency took a new direction around those years, ultimately leaving comparatist Canadian Literature in order to fully devote to literary theory on Canadian Women writers. Her syllabi, often composed of an exclusively female list of authors, were expectably not always well received by the undergraduate curriculum committee, which ultimately opted for sending her "(...) to Glendon's English Department for a year to cool off (...)" (Godard 2008: 30). However, Godard saw opportunity in every setback, and ended up teaching a course on Canadian and Québec women in history and literature for its Multidisciplinary Studies programme.

Cross-disciplinary goals, a basic trait of thought communities, encouraged Godard to approach projects of pre-existing feminist research groups like Fireweed, Godard was nevertheless set to create her own resources for the praxis of Canadian-feminist Literary Criticism, which she, like very few others, understood as a dialogical, bi-cultural discipline. After earlier bi-lingual initiatives like the *Women Writers in Dialogue* event, held by the Women's Writing Collective (1981), where both Adrienne Rich and Nicole Brossard read together their poetry thanks to Godard's translations of the latter, 1983 witnessed the organization of the first feminist and bi-lingual conference in Canada: *Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots*, a project for which Godard relied on the help of another of the ACQL's youngest female contributors, Sandra Djwa. One of the essential outcomes of this initiative,

achieving the kind of harmonious atmosphere which the ACQL's meetings could not, was the founding of the *Tessera* series (1984), active till 2005.

While the typical traits of thought communities displayed by the Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies shall be discussed in the next section, some of them, as already indicated, were visible in these early projects. Till 1988, *Tessera* was conceived not as an independent journal, but as a series of special issues published by already-established outlets, suggesting the importance of non-stop dialogues with pre-existent, more conservative structures. For its inaugural issue, *Tessera* chose Canada's most ancient journal on Women's writing, *Room of One's Own* (today known simply as *Room*), founded in 1975 on the occasion of Women's International Year. Progressively, nevertheless, it came to feature the voices of Québec's most renown feminists, as well as, evidently, those of first-row Canadian(-Feminist) Translators. While most of the latter were quickly assimilated by the powerful Canadian Translation Studies, their work in this outlet consolidated a series of operational patterns of which Barbara Godard had become, as I am about to contend, a leading advocate through her prefaces.

Tessera, indeed, embodies Godard's progressive definition of a feminist translator ethics, forged, according to Foucault's methodology for the Archaeology of Knowledge (Foucault and Kremer-Marietti 1969), on a decade's effort into building up a genealogy of feminist literature in Canada. As the main outcome of the *Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots*, Godard's edited volume *Gynocritics* provided the ultimate layout of Canada's new feminist mapping. An early example of *transnational* feminist dialogue, albeit understandably not worded as such, her project of a "Canadian" feminist literary criticism accounted for both the Anglophone and Francophone traditions commonalities, as much as for their specificities, orchestrating a polyphonic dialogue among women creators and critics. As for the commonalities, Godard underscores the productivity of these feminist profiles hybrid roles, in between academic, professional, and personal realms:

"Moving between the academic milieu and the realities of their own lives as women, feminist critics are by definition bilingual--equally at ease in academic discourse and in their "Mother-tongue" in which we amuse ourselves (...). For we live in two worlds, the one defined for us and that defined by us. Our speaking together in two languages, French and English, questions the male tradition of hierarchical difference in which categories create exclusions, forcing either/or choices" (Godard 1987: iii).

The previous quote clearly states why Godard's experiment of a thought community where criticism is inseparable from writing and translating constitutes the first, small-scale example of the *transnational* feminism so relevant this days. By deconstructing patriarchal "heteroglossia" (Godard 1989), and, as already argued, re-think the notion of "foreignness" as an inherent trait of our gender (see 2.1.2.), this thought community has been able to subvert the power relations implicit in the status of both English and French in Canada by creating an egalitarian, polyphonic realm on the basis of shared feminism. Thus, as the main source of patriarchal literary signification, nationalisms must be questioned from women's in-betweenness: "Feminist critics are engaged in a vigorous border-traffic between the world defined for them and the world defined by them which they hope to bring into being. Their project is to be cartographers of new realms. Like cultural nationalists, they reject the map made for them by denying that their difference is peripheral or marginal. (...)" (Godard 1987: 2).

It is here, thus, where women's specificity is defined on the basis of a distinctive, more productive forms of affinity and communication, "(...) suggest[ing] that alternate forms of strength and relationship have existed all along on women's terms or among women" (Godard 1987: 2). The goal, thus, of feminist criticism is to build up what Godard defines as an "interpretive community", a concept quite similar to the one put forward by this thesis ("thought communities"), as the ultimate space generated by the feminist critic's archaeological and genealogical tasks:

The literary archaeologist is concerned with the trajectory of the communal career of the woman writer, with the archive of women's culture. She is concerned with the systems of relationships that are used to delimit a coherent ensemble and with the types of links established among the fragmented phenomena. (...)

The literary archaeologist (...) attempts to constitute that interpretive community which will give these writers renewed calculation and understanding" (Godard *ibid*: vi).

According to Godard, this "literary archaeologist" must find guidance in the new principles of historical "relevance" (Pym 2014), a notion already discussed in this thesis (see 2.4.3.): "Central to the feminist critic's endeavour is an attempt to reflect and clarify lived experience as a meaningful activity" (Godard 1987: 3), which is precisely what breaks the once clear-cut frontiers between canonical and marginal generic conventions and text types. Thus, as already described, those genres traditionally considered as private and non-literary, in which

unsurprisingly women feel most comfortable, become valuable political pieces. Feminist social history, valorising first-person accounts of the quotidian, becomes the matter of a literature where the private is political, and fiction functions as theory. The already discussed notion of "fiction theory", borrowed from Québécois feminism by Godard (see Godard 1987), constitutes a point of articulation between history, literature, and politics. It is certainly Barbara Godard's understanding of literary archaeology what in my view constitutes a true exercise of sociocritical, descriptive Feminist Translation Studies, focusing on the "systems of relationships" from the perspective of women's emancipation, challenging their historical isolation from one another and building up affinities on a common matrilineage which defies patriarchal borders.

Consequently, a crucial question posed by feminist criticism is, more than simply "how to write as a woman", which leads to essentialist answers, "how to write at all if one is a woman confronted with institutional forces that would silence her" (Godard 1987: 2). While Godard does not delve into what such institutional forces are in Canada and Québec, the systemic survey undertaken by this thesis is expected to have clarified this by now. Interestingly, nevertheless, she appears to underscore the relevance of patriarchal intrasystemic relationships and networks, more than any fixed notions of the literary, in order to define the oppression suffered by women. The canonical in patriarchal polysystems is not composed by particular texts, but by particular men or groups imposing the interpretive tools to assess these and other works.

Hence, feminist criticism must act not as an overriding "meta-language", in the predominant terminology of the time, like patriarchal academic metadiscourses do, defining the range of potential interpretations of a literary product. Instead, feminist criticism implies a permanent questioning of the interpreting process itself: "While the practice of criticism itself may be an exercise in the unmasking and displacing of alienating structures produced by criticism, "feminism, as rethinking, rethink(s) thinking itself" (Godard 1987: 2). Here, Godard her openness toward philosophical traditions to which Canadian thematic criticism has shown little interest, from phenomenology to Deconstruction or Marxism. While implicit, her critique of "(...) the pervading monotheism of nationalist thematic criticism" (Godard *ibid*: 3) is clearly targeting the Anglophone-Canadian, male-criticism tradition. Be as it may, no single form of feminism is extolled over others, nor a specific methodology for feminist criticism. As the methodological section of this thesis has underscored, the traditional critical tools at the

feminist critic's disposal, regardless of whether they come from DTS, social history, or Critical Discourse Analysis, must become an interpretive framework encouraging constant (re-)thinking, rather than dangerously prescriptive tools at the service of overriding interests.

Another important question, therefore, should be how to identify feminist literature without falling into outright essentialism. It is here where most Western forms of feminism prove to experience difficulty. Godard chooses to quote Cheri Register's assertion that "feminism criticism values literature that is of some use to the movement..." (Register 1975 in Godard *ibid*: 6). While indeterminacy is at the core of this statement, the instrumentality of literature for "the movement" constitutes an honest affirmation of interpretive subjectivity. "To earn feminist approval", Godard claims, "literature must perform one or more of the following functions: (1) serve as a forum for women; (2) help to achieve cultural androgyny; (3) provide role-models; (4) promote sisterhood; and (5) augment consciousness raising." (Godard *ibid*: 6). Once again, the forwardness of Godard's ideas inevitably comes with a certain dose of white-feminist prescriptivism, reflected by absolute expressions like "feminist approval". At the same time, there is in her discourse a historically circumscribed, prescriptive terminology, with expressions such as "cultural androgyny", which, according to Carolyn Heilbrun (1973), is tantamount to a "universal culture".

That Godard's work is partially affected by the essentialist limitations of Western feminism is also observable in her comparative study of Anglophone-Canadian and Québécois feminisms. While a transnational intentionality is observed in her unprecedented overcoming of Canada's two solitudes, her analysis is still considerably indebted to assumptions on "national" epistemic traditions. In her attempt to explain the essential(list) differences between the Anglophone-Canadian and Québécois traditions, she almost inevitably goes back to the different sociological foundations of "England" and "France". A certain dose of white settler feminism, indeed, leads her to converge with Douglas' already discussed hypothesis on the feminisation of the novel in America (1979, see 3.1.7.), by which the outstanding success of the Victorian novel is meaningful from a feminist perspective. For Godard, "French" women writers operate "within an economy in which they are objects of sexual exchange", while "in England, (...) [m]en as well as women began to write of women circulating, not circulated". "Political oppression", she continues, "might limit their movement (...), but women have not been totally excluded from the economic and cultural exchanges" (Godard 1987: 4).

These generalised assumptions translate into even more generalised definitions of Anglophone-Canada's and Québec's contribution to international feminist debates. According to Godard, these strands have "(...) achieved international recognition" in the last few decades (Godard *ibid*: 2), which potentially points toward an institutionalisation process for which she, in my view, is considerably responsible. In literary realms, Anglophone Canada's approach to feminism has been one defined by the activism which Godard associates with Anglo-Saxon attitudes. She takes pride, as many other theorists, in the efforts of Anglophone-Canadian feminist critics at creating a feminist literary matrilineage, a Canadian genealogy. Similarly, she underscores the practical nature of most studies, targeting the reality of Canadian women writers. Such is the case, as she indicates, of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, and, in particular, of its report *Women in the Arts in Canada* (1971, see Godard *ibid*: 7). Considering the timeframe of this initiative, we may safely assume that part of Canada's project of (white) civility, implemented with the help of the Canada Council, identified Canadian feminism as a politically correct, and therefore productive identity trait. On the other hand, Canadian Royal Commissions are bilingual and concern all Canadian provinces. Thus, claiming that to "(...) identify discrimination and advance the status of women writers" is a specifically "English-Canadian" achievement (Godard *ibid*: 7) is somehow confusing, especially when Québécois feminists did not hesitate to make their contributions to this Commission (see CLIO 1982). However, the unilateral reality of Canadian cultural policies during the Trudeau Era is undeniable, and Godard's perception in this sense is unfortunately accurate.

Québécois feminists, on the other hand, are presented as having "start[ed] at a later date than their English counterparts" (Godard *ibid*: 14). Once again, the choice of the terms "English" and "French" appears to suggest that, ultimately, Anglophone-Canadian and Québécois identities amount to those of their ancient metropolises. The scope of the "French" tradition, which seems to include Québec, is the "production of ideology and its conveyance and assertion through language and literature" (Godard *ibid*: 14), particularly through major strands of French philosophical thought. Firstly, structuralism is at the core of most of these writers' obsessive attention to, and experimentation with, language. Secondly, feminist re-readings, particularly by Irigaray, of Lacanian theories, have also been inspiring for the first generations of Québécois feminist critics, concerned with the figure of the abusive father as a reminiscence of a phallogentric, archaic Québec, but also with the mother-daughter bond,

precociously questioned by Louky Bersianik's 70s fiction. Thus, a specifically Québécois tradition is analysed on the basis of France's then-fashionable epistemological heritage.

This assimilation of Québec feminism into static French intellectualism appears to deny any possibility of progressive political action on their part, which, together with Anglophone feminists' belief in the general backwardness of Québec women, has led to mischievous representations of Québécois feminism as a mirroring response to Anglo-American initiatives: (...) "[I]n 1976, when the second wave of feminism was generally considered to have peaked in North America, with articles proclaiming "The Death of the Women's Movement" rippling through the media, Québec feminism, continuing to move to its own inner tempo, made a dramatic resurgence" (*Room*, presentation, n/p).

And yet, the forwardness of the gender-inclusive policies implemented by Québécois institutions since the mid-70s was comparable to those of the Anglophone provinces, and of the U.S., as well as unprecedented in the Francophone world (see Vachon-L'heureux 1992). Sadly, this discourse on Québécois female backwardness is typical of Anglophone White Settler Feminism (see 3.1.7.). Ultimately assimilated by the patriarchal "Canadianization" project, Anglophone-Canadian feminists' rightful critique of nationalisms has nevertheless been used to counteract Québec's intra-national dissidence: "Historian Michele Jean warns of the danger nationalist movements represent to feminism. There was some apprehension that greeted the P.Q. victory. Nationalism is often consonant with kinder kirche and küche (...)" (*Room*, Presentation, n/p).

5.6.1. The Golden Age of Canadian-Feminist Translators

The previous section has expectedly served to introduce Canadian-Feminist literary criticism as the matrix discipline to a thought community revolving around, but certainly not limited to, Godard's personal feminist project: Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies. As a result, albeit the intense evolution experienced by her agency shall articulate the current account of this thoughts community's outcome, other feminist voices, standpoints and projects shall be presented as converging into this new interstitial space. The next decade, as we are about to discuss, shall bring a second generation of feminist theorists, responsible for the subsequent institutionalisation of Godard's project as a transnational invisible college, subject, therefore, to transversal practices and more polyphonic debates, but also, inevitably, to the eroding effect

of mainstream politics. While the role of the 90s generation as critics, commentators and, to some extent, historians of the movement has been key to its ultimate internationalisation, it is this Godard's generation of academics and practitioners, gathered around her vision, who undertook, especially throughout the second half of the 80s, the formidable task of consolidating a series of bilateral methodologies and resources for a Canadian-Feminist praxis of translation.

A capital accomplishment of this group, a critical outlet created to develop a Feminist-Canadian strand of literary criticism, is the aforementioned journal *Tessera*, founded in 1984 as a result of discussions held on a series of academic encounters organised by Godard around this new field: the 1981 conference *Writers in Dialogue* (see Karpinski 2010), and the 1983 and 1984 conferences *Women and Words/Les femmes et les mots*, which inspired mirroring events in Montreal, in 1985 and 1986 respectively. It is therefore in her contribution to these conferences, and in subsequent reflections in *Tessera*, where Godard proposed forward concepts of feminist translation theory simultaneously to her very first experiences of this praxis. It is by reflecting on the foundation and dynamics generated by the journal that we shall be able to identify the main traits of the Canadian-Feminist Translation. A number of peripheral agents from across the Anglophone provinces were quickly attracted by, and actively participated in *Tessera*. From well-known critics opposed to the CanLit establishment like Lorraine Weir, who often found her proposals for ACUTE and ACQL events tactfully rejected, to one-stand feminist translators like secondary school teacher Marlene Wildeman, who translated Brossard's *La lettre Aérienne* (1975) as *The Aereal Letter* (1985), multiple professional backgrounds and various degrees of commitment with the cause were welcome in *Tessera*. Similarly, its core figures displayed a certain variety of professional interests, often hybrid and multimodal. Barbara Godard and Kathy Mezei were both scholars with different degrees of experience in translation at that point (Godard's was probably greater), and Gail Scott (1945-) and Daphne Marlatt (1942-), on their part, were writers. Additionally, and while her mainly professional profile certainly put some distance between her and the former group, Suzanne de Lotbinière-Harwood may also be considered a central member of the community.



FIGURE 42: SLOGAN OF THE "WOMEN AND WORDS/LES FEMMES ET LES MOTS" CONFERENCE (1982).

Certain practical difficulties nevertheless arose in daily communication, at a time when technologies were still limited in a country of enormous proportions. The agents' success at keeping strong productive bonds across Canada, among the journal's editors and contributors and the Québécois writers involved, points a primitive form invisible college based on personal affinities, rather than on the institutional and subsidiary bonds which defined more established feminist groups like Fireweed (see Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1984: 4). Anyhow, Godard's typical area of influence was Toronto, Ontario. Mezei, on her part, was more itinerant, and spent a few seasons in Montréal during those years (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1984: 4), but taught at Simon Fraser University, in British Columbia. Born in Ottawa, Gail Scott lived in Montréal's Mile End. Well-versed in French and partially educated in France, it is no surprise that her work *Heroine* (1987) was potentially the only Anglophone-Feminist novel translated into French. Similarly, the fact that De Lotbinière-Harwood was entrusted with this task, unusual among the community's main agents, is also understandable when one considers her background. Born in Montréal, De Lotbinière-Harwood is essentially an Anglophone Québecer whose bi-lingual capabilities have been assured by others (Conacher describes her as "Totally Between" in Conacher 2006) as well as by herself (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991). Personal affinities with Brossard, in this and other cases (see Marlene Wildeman's case), as well as, understandably, with Godard, are often at the core of the non-academic members' decisions to join this thought community. It is in *Tessera's* projects, as we are about to see, that these improbable alliances between women with different creative and professional projects have been forged.

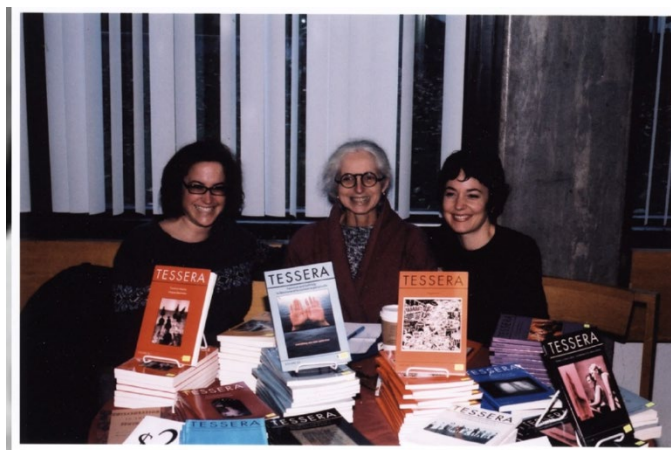


FIGURE 43: BARBARA GODARD PROMOTING HER JOURNAL, *TESSERA*, WITH SOME COLLEAGUES.

The journal's original creators (Godard, Mezei, and Scott) had set as an initial goal to encourage discussions on Canadian-Feminist literary criticism as a forum for both Anglophone and Francophone women:

(...) *TESSERA* was begun in order to bring the theoretical and experimental writing of Québécois feminists to the attention of English- Canadian writers, to acquaint Québec writers with English- Canadian feminist writing, and to encourage English-Canadian feminist literary criticism, which we feel has been largely conventional and uninspired, to become more innovative in its theory and practice. Above all, we wish to offer a forum for dialogue between French and English women writers and among women across Canada interested in feminist literary criticism (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1984:2).

In the inaugural issue, therefore, a bi-lingual and bi-cultural notion of feminist literary criticism is being put forward, overcoming, in my view, the strong unilateral bias of CanLit comparatists by establishing perfectly democratic dynamics. The journal's issues were set to appear once a year, either in Québec or Ontario, with an already discussed peculiarity: *Tessera* did not intend to be an autonomous outlet, but actually insert itself in others with an already established tradition. In this way, the journal's co-founders envisioned having permanent dialogues with pre-existent structures, a typical feature, as consistently argued, of female-centred thought communities.

An overview of the first issues truly appears to confirm this intention to re-present both strands of feminism from an egalitarian perspective. Several difficulties in this sense, however, were encountered and acknowledged from an early stage by the co-founders, non of whom, as they explicitly regret, is Francophone. Feminist literary critics were having a momentum in

Anglophone Canada, while Québécois intellectuals were immersed in the golden age of their literary production. Although this certainly gave limited effect to *Tessera's* original goal of absolute reciprocity, it responded to the inevitable reality that Québécois feminist writers, as much as their male counterparts (see Davey 2016), were producing a much more innovative writing, where both "poetics" and "ideology", in Lefevre's terms (1991) were embodied by language. This was not true, at least to such an extent, of Canadian fiction, either mainstream or feminist, at the time (see Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1984: 11). However, once again, Anglophone-Canadian feminists' interest in Québécois women's writing is presented as timely counteracting nationalism's failure to free women from oppression:

(...) But the real crisis came about-and it's well-documented in Nicole Brossard's novel *Sold-out-with* the October crisis, when the women went to prison there and they realized that in the various revolutionary cells all along they had been serving coffee and buns as they had been doing everywhere else. (...) They became aware of power over people through language and they made a very careful analysis which related the situation of women to the situation of the colonized. (see Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott *ibid*: 11)

An extraordinary prowess, nevertheless, lies in the editors' ability to attract Québec's most salient feminist writers into their projects. Respectful of a foundational, Anglophone/Québécois alternation, they allowed each new issue to flow into new directions, with introductory essays written as much by critics as by writers, many of whom were members of the "Écriture au féminin" community. After Gail Scott's introduction in French, France Théoret would open up the second issue, "L'écriture come lecture" (1985), followed by texts by Nicole Brossard ("Certains mots"), Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood ("Extrême centre"), and Louky Bersianik ("L'espace encombré de la signature). The fact that both Théoret's and Brossard's views on feminist writing, opposed as they were, were presented together, suggests that female-centred thought communities attach great value to dissent. While patriarchal establishments tend to conceal it in order to favour artificial uniformity, divergence is at the core of the interpretive dynamics encouraged by feminism.

Understandably, translation became an essential tool in the wide range of creative practices entailed by each issue. Several agents, like De Lotbinière-Harwood, would contribute both as critics, with their own paper, and as translators. In her case, she translated an essay by poet Sharon Thesen, "Writing, Reading and the Imagined Reader / Lover" (1985: 66-70). Both versions, original and translated, were included, and the translator's name was reminded on the first page of the original. The translated text, however, was presented as an autonomous

creation. Some theoretical papers by Anglophone scholars, like Mezei's "Reading as Writing / Writing as Reading / the reader and the decline of the writer / or the rise and fall of the slash" (1985), were re-versioned in French (in this case, by Christine Dufresne), inaugurating a translation agency thus-far distrusted among male Québécois intellectuals. Interestingly, bilingual author Lola Lemire Tostevin opted for self-translation in that issue, providing both versions of a text in between poetry and theory. Hybrid genres and interspersed creative practices, as already indicated, are central traits in the dynamics of thought communities. Nevertheless, in the journal's 6th issue, alternative English versions to a poem by this same author (an excerpt from *Espaces vers*, see Tostevin 1989: 15) were offered, with personal comments, by Susan Knutson, Kathy Mezei, Daphne Marlatt, Barbara Godard, and Gail Scott (1989: 16-23). This visionary conception of the issue as a *continuum*, where different contributions were productively connected through translation, was fairly innovative. Progressively, these polyphonic debates on feminist literature explored forms of collaboration which inevitably took to a focus on translation praxis as "dialogue", "conversation", and "une écriture à deux". Here, a clearest portrayal is offered of translative operations as the outcome of emotional affinities. In "Reading and Writing Between the Lines" (1988: 80-90), co-written by Daphne Marlatt and her partner, the also writer Betsy Warland, female collaboration is dwelled on from their emotional connection:

Collaboration is a specious term for the writing you and i do together... (...) you my co-writer and co-reader, the one up close i address as you and you others i cannot foresee but imagine 'you' reading in for. and then there's the you in me, the you's you address in me, writing too. not the same so much as reciprocal, moving back and forth between our sameness and difference (Marlatt and Warland 1988: 80-90).

Reflections of collaboration as dialogue in this volume are multiple, underscoring personal re-readings of other women's project as a legitimate form of feminist literary criticism. Such is the case of what must have been one of Sherry Simon's first papers: "Suzanne Lamy: Talking Together" (Simon 1988: 39-43). Her reflection on Lamy's notion of "bavardage" ("chatter"), in order to de-construct specifically female forms of communication generally disown by patriarchy, may have served as an inspiration for Godard's seminal paper "Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation", published only one year later. Quite interestingly, scholar Kathy Mezei surprised the journal's readership with a subversive (Jill Levine 1992) fictional re-writing of a novel by Jamaica Kincaid: "Friends: A Dialogue (based on reading and almost misreading Jamaica Kincaid's 'Annie John')" (Mezei 1988: 44-48).

In my view, these reflections on the relationship between creative processes and affinities set the tone for the exploration of "tradition au féminin" undertaken in the 1989 volume. This was probably Barbara Godard's long-awaited project: the ultimate breach of barriers between feminist discourse and translation as two equally relevant processes of feminist critique for female "interpretive communities" (Godard 1987: vii), as she would call them:

Translation, in this theory of feminist discourse, is production, not reproduction, the *mimesis* which is 'in the realm of music' (p. 131) and which (...) makes visible the place of women's exploitation by discourse. Pretensions to the production of a singular truth and meaning are suspended. This theory focuses on feminist discourse in its transtextual or hypertextual relations, as palimpsest working on problematic notions of identity, dependency and equivalence (Godard 1989: 47).

On this new understanding of reading as a manipulative practice, any form of feminist discourse implies translation, both as a "notation of 'gestural' and other codes from what has been hitherto 'unheard of', a muted discourse", as well as a "(...) repetition and consequent displacement of the dominant discourse" (Godard 1989: 46). In as much as Canadian-Feminist translation was opening unprecedented venues for 'transnational' (Anglophone-Québécois) dialogue in Canada, feminist critique becomes a pioneering field for translation, promoting an understanding of its praxis as ideological activism:

Though traditionally a negative topos in translation, 'difference', becomes a positive one in feminist translation. Like parody, feminist translation is a signifying of difference despite similarity. As feminist theory has been concerned to show, difference is a key factor in cognitive processes and in critical praxis. (...) The feminist translator, affirming her critical difference, (...) flaunts the signs of her manipulation of the text. *Womanhandling* the text in translation would involve the replacement of the modest, self-effacing translator. (Godard 1989: 50).

The *Tessera* issue devoted to translation was released at a time when the first fruits of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies were being reaped, as its own composition and content demonstrated. As a result of this, a number of contributions are honest polyphonic reflections on the feminist translation practice generated by new contacts made within the thought community. Daphne Marlatt's discussion of her and Brossard's bi-lingual project *Mauve* (Marlatt 1989: 27-30) is one of those texts, together with Marlene Wildeman's discussion of her lesbian-feminist translation of Brossard's *La Letter aérienne* (Wildeman 1989: 31-40). At this point, the centrality of Brossard's production for Anglophone-Feminist translators is

apparent. Unfortunately, the presence in *Tessera* of other Québécois feminist writers like Théoret or Bersianik did not seem to inspire the same attraction.

Be as it may, the purely theoretical input of this volume was almost limited to Godard's ground-breaking paper, cited above, and a contribution by Pamela Banting (1989: 81: 91) entitled "S(m)otherTongue?: Feminism, Academic Discourse, Translation". A series of other contributions are rather hybrid texts between female personal experiences with language and a certain theoretical background. Such is the case of Marguerite Andersen's intimate reflection on her trilingualism (Andersen 1989: 62-75), for instance. The issue also relies on a multimodal configuration of different artistic modes, for instance, in Ginette Legaré's (1989: 54-58) visual-arts contribution, "Le visage des choses", with unexpected textual inserts. Similarly, a variety of genres are interspersed within its pages without the slightest clarification as to how the final "mosaic", borrowing the co-founder's preferred trope for their work (1984), should be interpreted, and its little *tesserae* interconnected. Such is the case of short fiction in Clea H. Notar's "My gentleman of the white Knights" (1989: 76-80), a true example of "transfiction" (Kaindl and Spitzl 2014) where translation is practiced and discussed by her characters; or of poetry, with Lou Nelson's poem "Translation" (1989: 41), also turning translation into a valid literary topic.

5.7. Consolidation: Passing On the Mission

The turn of the decade signaled Barbara Godard's age of matureness as a scholar. It put an end to two decades of in-betweenness throughout which she had operated between professional and academic realms, between mainstream Canadian criticism and feminist literary critique, between Canada and Québec. A due process of dissociation from CanLit's mainstream structures had taken place between the mid-70s and mid-80s, accompanied by constant production in different capacities at Coach House Press. Throughout the second half of the 80s, a stage of overtly feminist operation followed, through both theory (Canadian-Feminist Literary Criticism); and practice (feminist translation), with the hybrid interspace of *Tessera* as the embodiment of a feminist translation regime, channeling all kinds of discursive political action. The 90s witnessed the consolidation of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies parallel to this more mature phase through which Godard was going. One which prompted her to reconsider some of the thematic and ideological gaps apparent in her trajectory.

A first gap, apparently of thematic nature, was the need for a broader literary corpus of Québécois feminist novels, and a more comprehensive list of authors for the Canadian-Feminist Translation project. Since her times of collaboration with Coach House Press, Godard had been pushing the boundaries in order to achieve visibility not for the entire Québécois feminist movement, but for a particular figure with the potential to reach canonical positions, also at a federal level: Nicole Brossard. While this fixation with a single author at the stage of differentiation was by no means representative of the polyphonic projects undertaken via *Tessera* throughout the following decade, Brossard's voice continued to be central in Godard's initiatives. New Anglophone translators like Marlene Wildeman (again, see Wildeman 1989: 31-40), experimented for the first time with their feminist agencies by translating some of Brossard's works at the time, which seems to point at new feminist sensibilities and agendas emerging besides the generally uniform practice of CanLit translators. Other Québécois voices, from France Théoret and Louky Bersianik to Lise Gauvin would participate in some of the journal's issues with their writing, especially in the Francophone ones. However, this did not do much to encourage any Anglophone translators to take on the challenge, as it happened with Brossard.

For instance, Louky Bersianik, whose linguistic convictions were essentially aligned with those of Nicole Brossard, was translated by Howard Scott, a rare example of a male feminist translator who devoted his Master's thesis (1984) to his experience translating this author. Nevertheless, such a translation was not completed till 1996. Jovette Marchessault's *Tryptique lesbien* (1980) was translated as *Lesbian Triptych* for Women's Press by Yvonne M. Klein ten years later, in 1990, with an introduction by Godard, unable at the time to talk Coach House Press' editorial board into translating any of these emerging feminist authors. However, the fact that she provided this introduction seems to underscore her role as a mediator possibilitating these projects rather than just as a translator. Yolande Villemaire was perhaps an exception in that, despite not belonging to the triad, she paradoxically saw her English translations published much earlier than Bersianik or Théoret. After rejecting David Homel for the translation of *La vie en prose* (1980), she managed to have some English versions published before the end of the decade, among which a poetry anthology, *Quartz and Mica*, translated by Judith Cowan in 1987. Most of them, however, like *Ange Amazone* (1982), translated in 1993 by G. Leblanc as *Amazon Angel*, were published already in the 90s.

Albeit equally forgotten for almost two decades, France Théoret's works became the object of the second generation's translation interests, especially thanks to Luise von Flotow's systematic translation of novels like *L'homme que peignait Staline* (1989), translated as *The Man who Painted Stalin* (1991), or *Huis Clos entre Jeunes Filles* (2000), a later, 2000 work, translated as *Girls Closed-In* (2005). It was nevertheless Barbara Godard who brought attention to this writer, by publishing an anthology of her 70s short stories, *The Tangible Word*, in 1991. This work, which includes translations of *Bloody Mary* (IDEM, 1977), *Une Voix pour Odile* (*A Voice for Odile*, 1975), *Vertiges* (*Vertigoes*, 1979), et *Nécessairement Putain* (*Of Necessity a Whore*, 1980). Considering the visibility achieved by Théoret in the movement, it is certainly surprising that not many translations of her work had appeared before Godard's anthology. According to the prologue to *The Tangible Word* (1991: 7ff), some excerpts of her work had been translated for the 1977 issue of *Room of One's Own*. Similarly, the collective play *La nef des sorcières*, which contained her monologue "L'échantillon", was translated as "The Sample" by Linda Gaboriau as part of the script for the Toronto stage, under the title "*A Clash of Symbols*". Out of this play, however, only Brossard's monologue, "L'écrivain", had been translated, in 1979, as "The Writer", curiously enough, under a more affordable collection of Coach House Press published on demand: Manuscript editions (see Davey 1995).

Godard, nevertheless, does not delve into the potential reasons for this lack of interest in Théoret's work, which is partly hers as a pioneer to the Canadian-Feminist Translation movement. Instead, she chooses to focus on her trajectory in Québécois feminist literature, praising, among other things, her role as a "founding co-editor" (Godard 2008: 7). Yet, there is no evidence of this fact anywhere, especially considering that, as Godard herself acknowledges, Théoret's views on language quickly grew apart from those of the founders. Her capital role in the foundation of Les Têtes de Pioche, on the other hand, is an undisputed fact, coincidental with her increasing achievement of visibility during the second half of the 70s. Be as it may, for Godard, this author's in-betweenness in various aspects of her life and work is an essential point in favour of her literature: "'The story of in-between', writes France Théoret, in 'A Voice for Odile', is a story about writing as mediation (...), a process (...) 'between reason and unreason', between speaking subject and spoken subject, between poetry and fiction, between fiction and theory, between languages" (Godard 2008: 9). According to *The Tangible Word's* introduction, a most valuable aspect in these stories is the "venue à l'écriture" (Cixous 1977), experienced not from the nationalist standpoint of the "Écrivains joual" (see 4.2.), but from the perspective of an individual woman finding her own voice.

As it seems, Théoret's feminist reflections on writing encourage Godard's understanding of this process as a translation of forms of hegemonic discourse (Godard 2008: 7; see also Godard 1989): "Transcoded into rhythms in language in inter semiotic translation, these drives break through its norms and codes operating in the symbolic, undoing language, unspeaking it" (Godard 2008: 10). For Godard, nevertheless, the ultimate reflection on translation inspired by this novel is its use, very common among Québécois writers in those decades (see again 4.2.), of English words in the means of expressing Québec's subjugation by Anglophone elites. While her choice of simply marking those words in boldface type is quite conventional, she believes that the sole act of translating these stories, something for which some collaborative dynamics with the authors have been put into place, entails "Translating Translating Translation": translating texts which re-interpret what translation means.

A crucial issue in a text offering a theory of translation is the question of writing between languages. In Canada where the politics of bilingualism establish English as the discourse of power, the effects of English intermingled in the French of a Québec text mark hierarchies and marginalities in a way that is contrary to the effect of French in English texts. To efface that inscription of the power nexus of language in translation is to erase the difference that is speaking (in) Québécois (Godard 1991: 14).

This reflection seems to point at the great dilemma observed by Mezei (1988) in the task of CanLit translators, a majority of whom has a tendency to assimilate, rather than underscore, difference. Without being subtle or innovative, Barbara Godard is aware of what is at stake in this aspect of the translation of any Québécois novel. What is more, she believes that feminist translations may offer unprecedented solutions or display hitherto unknown attitudes towards Québécois difference. This is certainly consistent with the idea that the "regime", the "interculture" created by Feminist-Canadian Translators reaped more fruits, also from the standpoint of mainstream Canadian-Québécois relations, than any of the CanLit Translators.

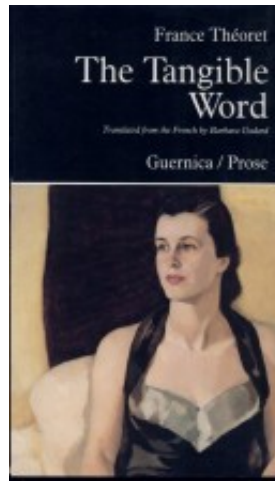


FIGURE 44: THE COVER OF *THE TANGIBLE WORD* (1991).

The third dimension of Barbara Godard's matureness as a researcher had been chasing Anglophone-Canadian feminist initiatives since the mid-80s: cultural and ethnic minorities' lack of visibility for feminists, as much as for mainstream Canadianists. Three Feminist-Canadian publishers targeting the production of writers of colour had emerged in the late 80s, Sister Vision Press being the result of a breakup with Women's Press over its very limited racial politics (Godard 2007: 41). Second Story Press, on its part, had managed to be published by University of Toronto Press, something that Williams-Wallace, a much more ancient initiative of this kind, failed to achieve (see Godard 1990). All in all, the emergence of these new presses and their connivance with certain institutions, among which Canadian academia, shows that the rise of feminism in 80s Canada was certainly a well-divided plan to institutionalise certain traits of political correctness converging with its elites' "(white) civility" project. For Godard in particular, as she states in her interview with Smaro Kamboureli, a particular event at an International Women's Studies conference to have acted as a trigger in her new attraction for Native Women writers: (...) A Black woman asked me why my presentation focused on works by white Canadian and Québec women. At the time, only a couple of anthologies of Black women's poetry had been published by Williams-Wallace in the 1970s and there was no criticism of this work. I turned instead to investigate work by First Nations Women." (Godard 2008: 41).

The reasons provided for her paper's omissions in terms of Black women's literature are certainly debatable. Albeit presented as bearing on a long tradition of (white and Anglophone) Canadian women writers, and therefore relying on a considerably established corpus, Canadian-Feminist Literary Criticism had had to go against mainstream CanLit in order to lay its foundations. White Settler Feminism, however, survived as a strategy mirroring

Canada's white civility. Yet, Barbara Godard's pioneering presentation at the CRIAW (Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women) in 1983 dealt for the first time with the difficulties experienced by First Nations women in order to have their work published in Canada, facing up the unacceptable "too Indian" or "not Indian enough" standard (Godard 1990). The result of this research, published as soon as 1985, was a paper titled "Talking about Ourselves: The Literary Productions of Women in Canada". A second paper, published by the well-known journal CanLit in 1990, dealt with the way in which "(...) these cultural productions exceeded the conventional genres of English literature and had consequently been excluded from English department curricula" (Godard 2008: 43). And yet, during the conversations leading to the foundation of *Tessera*, published in 1984 as an editorial to the inaugural issue, all participants rejected, while Godard was silent, that women of colour's issue with institutional forces was still one of the "image" which they wished to project of them, of the taboos and therefore the contents of their literature:

[Daphne Marlatt]: There's also the problem I was very aware of when I was listening to native women and women of colour talking at Women and Words, that for them the first step is still content, that there is still a taboo operating against the content that is made up of their actual daily experience.

[Gail Scott]: And they have to name it.

[Kathy Mezei]: That's true and it was true for us in the 60s and maybe 70s but we've been talking about it for so long that we really have to get at the theoretical now (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, Scott, 1984: 10).

At the time, this text was transcribed by one of the participants in the discussion, Daphne Marlatt. Its reluctant circulation seems to be problematic, nevertheless, for Smaro Kamboureli:

[Smaro Kamboureli]: (...) I didn't quite agree with some of your readings (...), and this was what I wanted to write about. But it was clearly a crucial dialogue that was meant to identify the various reasons for starting such a periodical and how to create a space for it. So I was very disappointed that you all decided that you didn't want me quoting from it.

[Barbara Godard]: Your request to publish material from the tapes launched a debate. None of us had heard the tape because Daphne had edited it for publication. So we didn't remember what we had said. Subsequently we all requested copies and decided that the discussions about the institution were still pertinent, but our work needed to be positioned differently. So we published *Collaboration in the Feminine: Writings on Women and Culture from Tessera* [1994] as a book (Godard 2008: 36).

A fundamental claim, according to this editorial, was brought forward, and immediately rejected, by a member of the public during the 1981 conference: "(...) if we get all concerned with theory and language-centered writing we're not going to be able to talk to all women" (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei and Scott 1984: 10). In my view, this aspect of both feminist criticism and feminist literature is a concerning one, perhaps responsible of the very short trajectory of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies. Moreover, as we have just seen, and despite their will to publish their foundational conversations, there is no guarantee that they were transcribed under the maximum standards of transparency. It is my intuition that the members of the editorial board had second thoughts about releasing their opinions on several renown CanLit theorists and other scholars whom they mentioned in the course of their conversations. They surely valued their good relations with "the institution", as they call it, in order to pursue their projects, feminist or of a different kind, in the future. Be as it may, and despite its limitations, ground-breaking patterns of female collaboration were doubtlessly put to practice via *Tessera*.

5.7.1. "*Je déparle yes I unspeak*" (Tostevin 1982): Lola Lemire Tostevin's Bilingual-Feminist Textuality

The last sample of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis to be performed in this chapter concerns a poem by Lola Lemire Tostevin: *Espaces vers*, included in her anthology 'Sophie (1988). Quite interestingly, it was published by Coach House Press after Frank Davey's resignation and Godard's disconnection from the Translations Series (1986). This indeed confirms Davey's surprise before the publisher's change of attitude regarding feminist writing. While bilingual, in itself '*Sophie* is not a translated text from a traditional perspective. Its interest lies in that (self-)translation is the usual form of Tostevin's writing: "It's simple, I sometimes write in French because I come from a bilingual background and some lines / poems come to me in French, while others come to me in English" (Tostevin 1989: 13). Obvious as this attitude may seem in a country like Canada, bilingual Tostevin goes on to explain why this form of border writing is still minority: "I would have thought this natural since I live a bilingual life, but it seems that racism pervades even literature in Canada. How many times have I heard or read that French in an English text is pretentious, 'showing off.' Not only is it a handicap to be bilingual in Canada, it's unwise to display too much interest in literatures and theories whose linguistic roots can't be traced back to England" (Tostevin 1989: 13). Therefore, in the brief analysis of the poem "*Espaces vers*", an explicit critique of the CanLit polysystem's standards regarding bilingualism underlies Tostevin's de-construction of gender.



FIGURE 45: LOLA LEMIRE TOSTEVIN.

A crucial matter in her poetry, which touches deeply on her contribution to a feminist philosophy, is the de-construction of what Godard identifies as "the logocentrism of the Western tradition" (Godard 1989: 20): a tradition based on a series of falsely named "mother tongues": "I don't believe in a pure space of language anymore than I believe in a 'pure race,' I find the concept of contamination as literary device rather appealing" (Tostevin 1989: 13). For Tostevin, since what seems to be their main attribute is not truly theirs, mothers should actually teach to *déparler*, to *unspeak*, breaking the patriarchal interpretive standards of what it means to constantly transfer meaning between one language and another:

'tu déparles'

my mother says

je déparle

yes

I unspeak.

(Tostevin 1982: 3)

Like many other women, Tostevin is bilingual in at least two senses: as a Canadian whose hybrid entourage encourages her to constantly translate her thoughts, and as a woman, "the colour of whose speech" (1982) is only hers. It is under this lens that I shall examine a

polyphonic attempt at translating "Espaces vers" by various feminist theorists, including thoughtful Barbara Godard, via *Tessera*.

Sociopolitical Analysis

The two (sets of) texts with which we are dealing here are not conventional in any sense of the word. To start with, we are not working directly on the original, which is an anthology under the title *'Sophie*, published by Lola Lemire Tostevin with Coach House Press in 1988. The already discussed *Tessera* issue of 1989, devoted to *traduction au féminin*, proposed Tostevin to choose a poem from this anthology (Tostevin 1989: 12), comment on it (*ibid*: 13-14), and have it translated by five different feminist contributors: Susan Knutson, Kathy Mezei, Daphne Marlatt, Barbara Godard, and Gail Scott whose version gives a title to the resulting polyphony: "Vers-ions con-verse: A Sequence of Translations" (1989: 16-23).

The title of the anthology where this poem originally appeared, *'Sophie*, is quite illustrative a de-construction of the field of knowledge which Tostevin wishes to subvert, philosophy:

The book revolves around women as absence in philosophy, attempts to displace, contaminate the authority of philosophy through a woman's or 'sophie's point of view. 'Phil' is momentarily suspended, the suspension of his presence replaced by a small sign, an apostrophe, the presence of writing. As such the voice of truth, the virility of philosophie is contaminated by what has always been relegated to the lowest rung, the allegorical voice of a woman (Tostevin 1989: 13)

This poem is indeed a good choice in order to provide an overview on Tostevin's stance regarding gender, since it conveys, through a set of typically feminist strategies (doubles entendres, puns, allegories, etc.), her understanding of gender as a discursive standpoint, challenging the national languages' status as mother tongues, and proposing, as already indicated, that women learn to *déparler* in order to truly verbalise their thus-far *inédites* experiences. As such, Tostevin's decision to write permanently in a *mélange* of French and English reflects many of the concerns which she has found on reading Walter Benjamin's theory of translation. This is what she defines as "Reading after the (Writing) Fact" (see Tostevin 1990). An invitation to de-construct logocentrism, as already indicated, is made in "Espaces vers", an allegory of female discursive liberation resorting, once again, to the fruitful body-text trope. Speaking returns to its ordinary, maternal meaning: to the most primitive stage

of language learning, where the senses' visual, tactile, and especially auditive input guide a (re-)articulation operating in between languages. New expressive resources are thus generated in order to account for, and process, female experiences: *oreilles neuves pour une musique nouvelle*. In this poem, Tostevin portrays such experiences as the result of constant translation, of a constant subversion of pre-existing, dominant forms of discourse through the "notation du gesturale" (Godard 1989: 63). For her, Benjamin's texts allow for an understanding of allegory as the feminist device it may become:

Benjamin's reflections celebrate the basic characteristic of allegory as ambiguous, capable of yielding multiple meanings, a richness of extravagance, a *jouissance*, to use one of Kristeva's favourite terms. Where concepts of 'nature' and 'originary', according to the old rule of metaphysics, are bound by law, the allegory is indirect, circuitous in its figurative representation. The voice of allegory is, in its very notion of multiplicity, a polyphonic voice (Tostevin 1990: 63).

As a result of this, theory is inseparable from the (feminist) subject's subversion of the pre-established through her sensorial experience:

Etymologically, theory, *theoria*, derives its meaning from *thea*, seeing, and *hora*, care, attention, so that their fusion implies a careful seeing, an ability to see beyond coverings, beyond appearances. (...) It constructs [an] object in a field of meaning that helps to pave the passage from a symbolic system to individual perception, from object to subject, from cultural representation to self-representation, in whatever form, genre, or style that may be (Tostevin 1990: 63).

In the following sub-sections, delving into the macrotextual dimensions of both original(s) and translation(s), Tostevin's discursive implementation of her views on gender shall be analysed.

Macrotextual analysis:

Interestingly enough, *Tessera* re-produces the cover of the Tostevin anthology from which "Espaces vers" has been obtained:

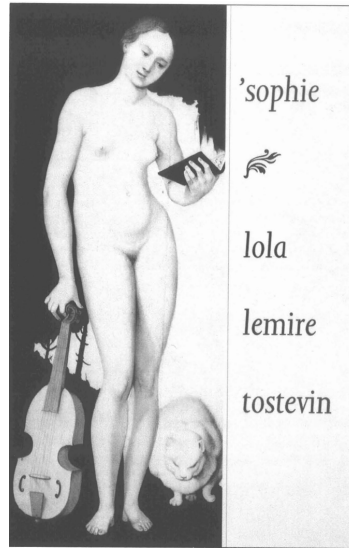


FIGURE 46: THE COVER OF 'SOPHIE (1988) AS RE-PRODUCED IN *TESSERA* (1989).

This decision is by no means random: it responds to the great significance attached by feminist authors to the multimodal interaction of elements in their creations, that is, to "texture" (see Walsh 2001). For Tostevin, this image of a painting exhibited at Munich's Alte Pinakotek is effectively re-established as a feminist cover, therefore advancing an understanding of creativity as a never-ending process of re-interpretation of pre-existing discourses: "(...) A reproduction of a reproduction of an original painting, an allegory for music, announcing the process of becoming a book" (Tostevin 1990: 64). In many ways, "Espaces vers" constitutes a perfect subversive translation of this picture. It entails an allegory of female discourse as a form of music, vindicating sensorial perception, and particularly hearing as the channel for true knowledge, therefore focusing on the female body as a centre for the (re-)production of such a knowledge. Additionally, Tostevin's re-reading of this renaissance image challenges the merely re-productive capacity attached to women by traditional epistemology (again, see Chamberlain 1988): "Isn't this painting just another example of woman as muse, forever left outside the creative hub while serving as source of inspiration to man who plays the tune?" (Tostevin *ibid*: 62).

Interestingly enough, it is in the re-establishment of this original and its polyphonic re-interpretation in English by the aforementioned *Tessera* contributors where texture diversifies, from Tostevin's grounding of her decision to choose "Espaces vers" to the four translations, accompanied by each of the translators' brief glosses. These may be considered, in line with Flotow's taxonomy (1991), supplementations, accounting for the re-interpretive process behind each of the widely differing versions, as well as for the interaction between the subjects' knowledge and experience and their text:

<p>Vers-ions con-verse: A Sequence of Translations</p> <p>(1)</p> <p>(green) spaces tending where? or what?</p> <p>this break which gives rise to syntax aspire to be skin on which is traced an other sense (a sensation)</p> <p>through silence (the pulse work in silence) the body learns about the outside world. (your eyes your voice your hands) the memory of a touch where what is beyond language is inscribed while framing new fragments <i>new ears for a new</i> music</p> <p>My knowledge of French is imperfect, so when I read French poetry I do a lot of translation into English just to make sense for myself. In this way, translation is a function of my reading. However, for the same reason, I am afraid that my translation – since it is pinned down to a particular set of choices – will always leave a record of misreadings which are more or less accidental. I say "more or less," because I tend to err in the direction of meanings I desire; this is enlightening.</p> <p>Reading the first line of this poem, I thought about green, and also, eventually, about earthworms. I checked open in the dictionary to make sure it was masculine, since otherwise one would hear <i>verte</i>. In the dictionary I found out that <i>opari</i> is masculine in most of its senses; however, in typography, the space between characters are spaces <i>en</i>.</p>		<p>Vers-ions con-verse: A Sequence of Translations - 17</p> <p><i>feminine</i>; furthermore, the feminine is the older form of the word, from the Latin <i>spatium</i>, which is neuter. Feminine, productive space between letters and words seems relevant to Lola's poem, but when I come back to the line I write without hesitation, "green spaces tending to what / or where?" thus sacrificing the possibility of typographical, feminine spaces in order to keep the green. However, I leave out the earthworms.</p> <p>Susan Knutson</p> <p>(2)</p> <p>spaces lines lines leading where? lines leading what?</p> <p>this rupture opens up a syntax insinuating into skin over which is traced an other meaning / path (- pathy)</p> <p>across silence (the pulse beats in silence) the organism absorbs outside elements (your eyes, voice, hands) the memory of a touch where what is beyond language is inscribed all the while inscribing new fragments <i>new ears for a new music</i></p> <p>To be able to write and live in two languages as Lola does must be exhi- larating, but also bewildering. For some things must be said in French, others in English. But what are they? And the translator of Lola's poems from French into English is in a precarious position, because she thinks of how Lola might have said this in English herself and why she chose to do so in French. Watching Lola turn from English to French and back again as she does in <i>Sophie</i>, seeking out her very own <i>langue</i>, is intriguing. For I found a marked difference between the poems in French and English as if another kind of sensibility were speaking, and I wondered how much that was a consequence of the</p>
<p>20 - Tessera</p> <p>(4)</p> <p>spaces vers-ions con-verse? in-verse?</p> <p>this rupture makes way for a syntax wanting to be skin on which is traced an other sense (a sensation)</p> <p>traversing silence (the pulse work in silence) the organism inquires about external elements (your eyes your voice your hands) the memory of a touch where the far side of language is inscribed while inserting new fragments <i>new ears for a new</i> music</p> <p>This was a difficult translation. I resisted setting to work on it. Transla- tion holds out the illicit pleasures of language. But I wanted to take the risk of ideas and leave language to its own games. That first line was a problem. All the puns on "vers" – verse, green, worm, towards. In one word they compress the interlocking issues of the poem: new direc- tions, new poetry from a different body. How could I choose only one of these when the mind is enticed into the poem by the complex palimpsest of "vers"? How, if I settled for one of these meanings, could I retain the repetition of "vers" in the next two phrases, and in the open- ing word of the third section, let myself be held by the poem together in the ear, making that new music for the new organs of hearing?</p> <p>Verbal music is important in this poem about the music of poetry. Sound issues out the sense; the ear leads the mind in new directions. To retain this music for the allegory, with late in her hand, on the cover of <i>Sophie</i> is important. For the major issue tackled in this book is the problem of the insertion of the feminine into the discourse of philoso- phy. The book is a critique of the logocentrism of the Western tradi- tion. Suffering from a Platonic hangover, this discourse has been domi- nated by metaphysics. The consequent opposition between the intelli- gible and the sensible, has privileged mind over body, male over female. For this discourse has been a discourse between men in which</p>		<p>Vers-ions con-verse: A Sequence of Translations - 21</p> <p>woman has been the sign or token of exchange. If we are to put Sophie back into the discourse alongside Phil, as Lola Lemire Tostevin is try- ing to, we are going to have to develop our ears, as indeed all of our organs, to accommodate ourselves to a new type of knowledge. This rupture, the word disclosing yet simultaneously purifying from the subject, "is music." A single contains the rhetoric of the purifications of music in letters. ..."</p> <p>So, rather than choose, I did nothing. But the problem did not go away. On the telephone with a colleague about a theoretical paper translation, our conversation touched on a series of words that shared a root with the German word for translation: invention, pervasion, conversion, subversion. English words for movement, these contain both "turning" and "verses." My Oxford dictionary informs me that "vert" is an English word for the right to cut all the greenery in the for- est. Three of the meanings can be suggested if I can retain the syllable "ver": For a while, I tried with using the basic "weird" or "versatile" to provide more variety in the repetitions of the sound. But these signifiers set up semantic chains that led in diverging directions. Sev- eral weeks later in the swimming pool, I am thinking about Lola's book, about how I must phone her to see if she knows where the read- ing will take place and if she can bring copies of her books to sell to the students who need them. Suddenly, into my mind rushes the word "verses": complete with hyphen in the middle (or should it be a dash?). Meditation and water are forever wedded, wrote Melville in <i>Moby Dick</i>. To underline the musical theme, and as homage to Barry Nichol whom both Lola and I miss, I thought of adding the word "organ" before music in the final line. However, "organism" in the same section of the poem is a much more subtle form of quotation of <i>Open Music</i>, more in keeping with the economy of the poem. And so, in pursuit of the apostrophe of the title, which stands for the dash, I pursue the conceptual space of the feminine in the discourse of philosophy, the translation should read: "water music: the read- vers- if- can- ions."</p> <p>Barbara Godard</p> <p>*Julia Kristeva, <i>Poetics of Horror: An Essay on Abjection</i>, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, Columbia, 1982), 21.</p>

FIGURE 47: THE LAYOUT OF SUSAN KNUTSON'S AND BARBARA GODARD'S TRANSLATIONS WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE SUPPLEMENTATIONS.

This exercise is very useful in exploring different processes of feminist translation as critical re-reading and re-writing. On the basis of what each of the translators purport as the essential quest in such processes, I shall discuss, once again, the implications of fiction theory in Lola Lemire Tostevin's poetry, as well as the difficulties entailed by its translation, both

from the current, macrotextual approach and a microtextual one, to be featured in the next subsection. Mezei's supplementation to her version of "espaces vers" is perhaps, together with Godard's, the most comprehensive one, dealing with the nature of both original and translation simultaneously. As for the original, she reflects on the implications for potential translators of the contextual shifts constantly made by Tostevin between languages:

For some things must be said in French, others in English. But what are they? And the translator of Lola's poems from French into English is in a precarious position, because she thinks of how Lola might have said this in English herself and why she chose to do so in French. (...) [T]he translator becomes very curious to know how the language Lola writes in determines what she says and how she says it (...) (Mezei 1989: 17).

Mezei then goes on to portray the process by which she undertakes the translation. She starts by producing a basic, literal translation using a dictionary, which then suggests what she calls "crossings over, erasures, insertions" (Mezei 1989: 18). However, she "recreate[s] this incoherence" onto her word processor, and lets the text rest for a few days, in order to finally assess its readability in English.

Microtextual Analysis

"Espaces vers" relies on most of the typical traits of fiction theory, which, after all, is a hybrid genre, combining poetry, narrative prose, and theory. There is, indeed, a certain narrativity in an overall very short poem. A clear structure helps perceive a certain thematic progression, and the end of the text provides a certain degree of closing apotheosis. The entire composition is, as already indicated, a complex allegory where textuality is treated like a female body ["une syntaxe qui se veut peau sur laquelle se trace un autre sens (une sensation)"]. Tostevin's particular extension of such a metaphor is found, nevertheless, in the fact that the senses are suggested as a source of knowledge ["l'organisme se renseigne sur ses éléments extérieurs (tes yeux ta voix tes mains) (...)], and particularly the hearing [(...)s'inscrit l'au-delà d'une langue tout en instant de nouveaux fragments *oreilles nouvelles pour une musique nouvelle*"]. Music, produced through rhythmic repetition and proportion throughout the poem is an essential motif in it, resulting from the mixture between this rhythm produced by the words selected and their sonority and the lack of punctuation signs, typical of fiction theory.

As we have seen, Mezei, Marlatt, Godard, and Scott discuss issues of macrotextual interpretation in their commentaries. Yet, this does not mean that the microtextual aspects on which Knutson and Godard focus are irrelevant to the previous contributors' versions. In an exercise of restricted intertextuality (Voldeng 1987), she refers to a different statement by Godard, regarding how "(...) feminist texts (or highly experimental ones) seem to require quite literal translations. That, or quite free ones" (Mezei 1989: 18). In another of internal intertextuality (Voldeng *ibid*), she quotes Scott's version as very literal in contrast to hers, very free, and mentions a previous phone conversation with her, where they discussed the possibilities of certain verses. In a similar sense, Marlatt sees the translation of "espaces converse" as "the experience of simultaneity cross-echo scanned between two languages in working with a poet who writes very much inside of both" (Marlatt 1989: 19). On her part, besides her attention to micro-textual units, Godard reflects on music as "(...) the leitmotif that holds the poem together in the ear, making that new music for the organs of hearing (...)" which is feminist discourse (Godard 1989: 20). An important strategy for her, attained essentially through sonorous lexical networks, relies on re-producing the "verbal" music created by Tostevin in the original, questioning the supremacy of "(...) mind over body, male over female" (Godard *ibid*). As another bilingual author, Gail Scott proposes a very interesting reflection in line with Mezei's, regarding Tostevin's bilingualism: "Lola's writing has the clarity and theoretical rigour one connects with *la modernité* in Québec. And a way of using the poetic line, a concreteness about her images as well, which evokes English-Canadian poetry for me" (Scott 1989: 22). While this is in my view a sharp assessment of Tostevin's in-betweenness, it goes on to prove the premise behind this polyphonic exercise: "(...) translation is not so much transparent as it is evidence of another reading", which is "(...) even truer of a text which, in its writing, already anticipates the *other* language" (Scott *ibid*). This anticipation produces a very subtle sense of estrangement which understandably also concerns Mezei (1989).

Lexical, Clause-, and Sentence-Level Analysis

In the previous re-production of "espaces vers" I have underlined a series of elements exemplifying the problematics behind the translation of Tostevin's work. As the following table shows, any of the verses entails a considerable dose of difficulty, and most translation choices are debatable:

Susan Knutson	Kathy Mezei	Daphne Marlatt	Barbara Godard	Gail Scott
<p>(green) spaces tending where? or what? this break which gives rise to syntax aspires to be skin on which is traced <u>an other sense (a sensation)</u> through silence (pulses work in silence) the body learns about the outside world (your eyes your voice your hands) memory of touch where what is beyond language is inscribed while framing new fragments <u>new ears</u> <u>for a new</u> <u>music</u></p>	<p>spaces lines lines leading where? lines leading what? this rupture opens up a syntax insinuating into skin over which is traced <u>an other</u> <u>meaning / path (-</u> <u>pathy)</u> across silence (the pulse beats in silence) the organism absorbs outside elements (your eyes, voice, hands) the memory of a touch where what is beyond language is inscribed all the while injecting new fragments <u>new ears for a new</u> <u>music</u></p>	<p>spaces lines lead where? verse what? this break which gives place to syntax would-be skin on which is traced <u>an other</u> <u>direction / sense (a</u> <u>sensation)</u> through silence (pulses throb in silence) the body enquires about external elements (your eyes your voice your hands) memory of touch the beyond of a tongue inscribed inserting new parts <u>new ears</u> <u>for a new</u> <u>music</u></p>	<p>spaces vers-ions con-verse? in- verse? this rupture makes way for a syntax wanting to be skin on which is traced <u>an other sense (a</u> <u>sensation)</u> traversing silence (the pulses work in silence) the organism inquires about external elements (your eyes your voice your hands) the memory of a touch where the far side of language is inscribed while inserting new fragments <u>new ears</u> <u>for a new</u> <u>music</u></p>	<p><u>green spaces /</u> <u>spacing where?</u> <u>spacing what?</u> this broken surface which opens syntax like skin tingling under the trace of <u>new sense</u> <u>(sensation)</u> across silence (an electric charge is noiselessly propulsed) the organism lights its place by what's outside (your eyes your voice your hands) the memory of a touch a tongue slipping into space beyond language lapping new fragments <u>new ears</u> <u>for new</u> <u>music</u></p>

TABLE 9: FOUR DIFFERENT TRANSLATIONS OF "ESPACES VERS", AUTHORED BY KNUTSON, MEZEI, MARLATT, AND GODARD (1989: 17FF, MY EMPHASIS)

However, the essence of the poem, which is an invitation to the un-definition of female discourse, is articulated through a limited number of powerful devices. The clearest one, as all contributors seem to agree, is the lexical leitmotiv of the poem: polysemy in the word "vers" and the different puns resulting from it. While Knutson confesses that her knowledge of French is imperfect, she nevertheless sees in her extra interpretive effort a chance at translating. "Vers"

indeed has a number of meanings in French providing different interpretations both to the title and to the first verse: "espaces vers vers où? vers quoi?". According to Mezei (1989: 18), it means "towards", "lines of verse", "worms", and "possibly" also "green". She opts for leaving out "green" and "worms", and translates only the two most clearly converging senses in context: "lines leading", which produces an interesting alliteration (l) suggesting subtle movement. Her version tries to re-produce the repetition than the original, but perhaps thus reinforces musicality and rhythm. Knutson seems more hesitant. And yet, she makes an important observation, based on the centrality of phonetics in French: "vers" sounds like the masculine forms of the adjective "vert/s". In the feminine, the "t" would not be silent. She therefore checks the grammatical gender of "espaces":

(...) [E]space is masculine in most of its senses; however, in typography, the spaces between characters are *espaces au féminin*; furthermore, the feminine is the older form of the word, from the Latin *spatium*, which is neuter. Feminine, productive space between letters and words seems relevant to Lola's poem, but when I come back to the line I write without hesitation, 'green spaces tending to what / or where?' thus sacrificing the possibility of typographical, feminine spaces in order to keep the green. (Knutson 1989: 16-17)

On her part, Marlatt opts for a *double entendre* in the use of "verse", suggesting directionality and the units composing a poem. Scott perceives the importance of "green" as much as Knutson, opting for an explicitation (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2006). and reiterates "space" also as a verb, perhaps in order to compensate for the polysemous repetition of "vers". Godard, however, transforms "vers" into the the leitmotiv of her translation. This word is crucial in that it "(...) compress[e]s the interlocking issues of the poem" (Godard 1989: 20). Her efforts concentrate on the first verse, and yet even the third strophe starts with a derivative from "verse": "traversing". In fact, as she explains, "English words for movement, these contain both 'turning' and 'verses'" (Godard 1989: 20), which leads her to conclude that, in order to retain the most number of original meanings at a time, "ver" needs to be kept. While "verdant" and "versatile" allowed her to maintain the sound, their meaning was too divergent (*ibid*). She ends up narrating how, many weeks later, a swim in the swimming pool and a memory of *bpNichol* shared with Tostevin brought about the hyphenated word "vers-ions".

Albeit "vers" attracts most of the translators' attention, several other issues have emerged in my own analysis, which seem to have encouraged different responses on their part. The first is found in "un autre sens", but for two different reasons. One of them concerns the

interpretation of "un autre". English versions of seminal Québécois feminist texts have echoed Rimbaud's "je est une autre" in translating "une autre" as "an *other*", underscoring otherness as something valuable. All translators but one follow this premise. Mezei sees a *double entendre* in "sense" as "path", since spatial movement is being constantly mentioned, and creates a pun by suggesting an illegitimate extension of "sensation" as "-pathy". Nevertheless, the only contributor breaking this pattern is Gail Scott, who chooses "*new sense*" instead (my emphasis). The second reason why "un autre sens" is relevant is because, like in the case of the poem's very last verse ("*oreilles neuves pour une musique nouvelle*"), certain final words are emphasised by constituting a verse on their own. This visual effect is re-produced by all translators, except for Kathy Mezei, whose complication of that verse (the illegitimate wordplay between "-path and -pathy) may have led her to sacrifice this formal aspect. However, this effect is most visible in the aforementioned, last verse: "*oreilles neuves pour une musique nouvelle*". As Mezei notes (1989: 18), there seems to have been an intention to emphasise "(...) the finality of *nouvelle*, as it stands feminine, solitary, the poem's closure (...)". Formally speaking, all translators have opted for re-producing this final, single-word verse. Nevertheless, English grammar establishes that adjectives precede nouns, and not vice-versa, which makes it potentially impossible to leave the adjective "new" alone in the last verse. Yet, as Mezei argues, the feminine gender of *nouvelle* is much of the reason why Tostevin underscores it. Since adjectives have no gender in English, there is little point in imitating this trait of the original, which is perhaps why Mezei even avoids the formal separation of "music" from "new".

5.8. Overture: The Last Academic Voices of Canadian-Feminist Translation

Until recently, Québec women writers do not seem to have played as dominant a role in national culture as have their English counterparts. From the distance now gained through the feminist perspective, they are turning a discerning eye to the government they helped into office to see in fact what is being done for them. Not, it turns out, all that much (Preface, Room, 2, 3-4).

Québec's traumatic turn to the 70s hastened the rise of the nationalist forces which had progressively gathered around the project of a national literature. Its protagonists' counter-cultural experience was considerably ephemeral, effectively evicting Anglophone elites and their compliant Francophone lieutenants from dominant political and cultural positions in less than a decade. It is my contention that the urgency with which the Québécois polysystem was consolidated by its leading patriarchal forces, self-identified as "the nation", was a product of

the also quick advancement of a Federal-scale translation project of political and cultural cohesion. Divided between leading an egalitarian, bicultural Canadian polysystem and ultimately subsuming Québec as an official sub-culture, Anglophone Canada's process of differentiation posed a threat to an equally nascent Québécois identity. In this context, Québécois Premier Pierre Trudeau (1968-1979/ 1980-1984) and his team, known as the "French Power" for their promotion of ground-breaking Francophone leadership in Ottawa, paradoxically had a leading role, developing an antagonistic relationship with the then also emergent Parti Québécois. Trudeau's efforts at formalising bilingualism (1969) and multiculturalism (1971) as the defining traits of a "Canadian" nation were mirrored, in praxis, by a virulent institutionalisation of the Québécois patriarchal counter-culture, leaving aside their main partners on the margins: feminists.

Although a movement with political aspirations, which constitutes an essential trait of thought communities, the core of the Québécois-feminist thought community is found in experimental cultural creativity, particularly literature, speech being the first and utmost space where human affinities naturally arise. More than a definible, uniform concept of praxis, female thought communities usually gather around synergies and the generation of the so-called "affective economies" (Milne and Eichhorn 2016), focusing not on the product, but on the process of their creativity: collaboration. As a result, the phenomenon which we shall identify here as "Écriture au féminin", but which has received a variety of names throughout the last decades, is by no means recent: it refers to the constant female operations from the margins of patriarchal political and cultural systems, which makes it, as Verduyn argues (1987), impossible to define. Indeed, several works placing the focus on Québécois literature underscore a distinctive national current of the *roman des femmes* since as early as the turn of the 19th century (see Roberts 1999), in an attitude, perhaps, which we could identify as the outcome of white settler feminism. However, the first conscious, combative and *collective* production of this writing dates back from the mid-seventies, when the impact of "language" on the perpetuation or reversal of gender differences was under debate.

When did, then, this conscious, combative, and collective praxis of the "Écriture au féminin" start? While the main proposals for periodisation have already been discussed, an unequivocally pivotal year was 1975: Women's International Year. The first half of the decade had certainly witnessed an emergence of female-driven associative ventures across the different domains of the Québécois cultural system, as well as, particularly, across its already

solid book industry, as I am to discuss shortly (see pp. 329ff). However, it is on that year that Nicole Brossard, already known as a prominent modernist poet, literary theorist, and cultural editor, asserts for the first time, at an interview with France Labbé, her "prise de conscience féministe": "Il y a une recherche à faire actuellement sur les possibilités du langage qui a toujours été utilisé d'une seule manière, en général par les hommes..."⁵⁶. Only one year afterwards (1976), the first polyphonic, co-authored feminist work appeared in the province: *La nef des sorcières*, a play staged for the first time at the Theatre du Nouveau Monde, gathering feminists of different artistic fields, and combining fresh faces of the milieu, like Brossard herself and France Théoret, with established ones like Marie-Claire Blais, exerting the necessary *continuum* between both generations.

A decisive aspect, then, is certainly Québécois women's passage from cultivating a *bâtard* form of the *roman national*, whose female characters exposed their oppressive experience of "*québécoisité*", to progressively abandoning the patriarchal Québécois universe for an utopian, female-centred one, allowing them to subvert the existing conventions on literary language and form. The extent to which this literature would take the fantastic in the male "vision carnavalesque" (Michon 1984) to previously unexperienced dimensions is observed in the embraced disfunction of an "écriture de la folie" (Verduyn 1987), a vindication of female hysteria. While Godbout and others would re-produce the *joual's* orality as a political statement in their novels, Women writers' use of baby talk and babbling was intended to extoll those forms of speech closest to the true *mother* tongue (see Godard 1989).

In the same line, a defense of the so-called *bavardage* (Lamy 1979) or chatter, anesthetic repetitions and typically female mimicry, discarded by patriarchy as a form of hysterical, non-verbal communication, sought to reflect not an inability to speak, but the futility of female speech against patriarchal forms of society (see Dansereau 1996), more comfortable with unidirectional and monological relationships than with the dialogical dynamics promoted by women. This non-linear, tridimensional effect of female characters' speech was also reinforced by challenging classical narratological chronology, which successfully underscored

⁵⁶ Interview available at the Radio-Canada archives: <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/info/videos/media-7889537/conscience-feministe-selon-ecrivaine-nicole-brossard&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true&editionRegionId=8&radioRegionId=8&televisionRegionId=8&v5InternalEsi=true>

the futility of patriarchal logics, as well as, in some instances, the faithfulness of history as an instrument constantly manipulated for nation-making purposes. By the mid-70s, the novel had already become an essential product for patriarchal nation-making purposes, which entailed a certain canonicity of logical chronology in order to reinforce their indisputable historical value. Therefore, explorations of minor textualities, previously considered as private and typically female, like those of diaries, notes, or even internal monologues allowed for a de-construction of patriarchal periodisations and history, and therefore vindicated as valid literary genres.

Polyphony, on its part, was crucial in order to achieve this sense of dialogue, and therefore plurality, reinforced by strategies of discursive fragmentation like intertextuality (Voldeng 1987) and parody (Hutcheon 2000). The resulting instability of meaning aligns with the Derridean premises so closely followed by feminists, particularly, but not exclusively, French ones⁵⁷, between the late 70s and early 80s. With the strong antecedent of Québécois formalist poetics, especially in Nicole Brossard's case, the de-construction of etymological meaning undertaken through each novel's dialogues became a distinctive sign of the "Écriture au féminin", denouncing the progressive "semantic derogation of women" (Schultz 1975; see also Daly 1978) in which French, like all other national languages, had been engaged since its origins.

Finally, liberating metaphors between female bodily and creative experiences are found all across the Québécois-feminist literary spectrum, revolving around two interrelated axes. The first is the connection between the female body's sexuality and the female text, as well as female pleasure and the female writing experience, underscoring how "sexual" experiences (De Lotbinière-Harwood 1991) allowed for women's much needed self-knowledge and the identification of natural female processes previously censored by patriarchy. As neologisms like the previous show, linguistic innovation constitutes another salient trait of this Écriture. The second is the link between female body and Québécois geography, particularly Montréal's urban and industrial geography as the setting where the province's forms of intra-patriarchal dissent arose, essentially channelled by the Québécois working-class's Marxist and unionist approaches to their oppression. Since the Quiet Revolution, the fact that the province's means

⁵⁷ Beyond Cixous' well-known relationship with Jacques Derrida, it must be noted that Gayatri Spivak translated his *Of Grammatology* (1976). Much has been said about the potential inaccuracy of translations of both French feminism and French philosophy undertaken in the U.S. or in Anglophone Academia in general (see, for instance, Brufau Alvira 2010). However, assimilation of popular foreign currents of thought by powerful systems is inevitable and deserves analytical attention.

of production were in the hands of Anglophone patrons, and that local workers had become a source of cheap labour, encouraged male writers to forget rural Québec as an oppressive, priest-ridden space, and see Montréal as a literary location inspiring self-critique. As Marie-Claire Blais' novel *Une saison dans la vie d'Emmanuel* (1965) shows, their female counterparts would not forget the province's obsession with protecting its traditional rural lifestyle as easily. However, most representatives of the "Écriture" thought community were urban women, whose range of experiences generally concerned Montréal. Québécois urban society, as Blais would also demonstrate in later 70s novels, were still burdened by some of the archaic social conventions, marginalising not only independent women, but also the LGBTQ+ communities, and other non-hegemonic groups. It is essentially for this reason that Blais' work, once again, proves to have acted as a continuum between the first and second feminist generation of the "Écriture" thought community, discussing femininity in conjunction with other forms of marginality deeply feared by traditional forces. Homosexuality was one of those forms, with a great impact in Brossard's and Jovette Marchessault's (1938-2012) production, among others. In my view, such tropes are essentially challenging the so-called "coloniality of gender" (Lugones 2016), responsible for the metaphoric connections established by patriarchy between traditional gender roles and territorial domination. On the nature of the Québécois female experience, this colonisation is embodied by different lines of oppression, and crucially faced up via discourse, and therefore textuality. This explains why "translation", in the theoretical apparatus developed both parallel to, and through this "Écriture au féminin", is understood as an act of discursive de-stabilisation entailing, or not, language shifts, is the space in which gender, territorial politics, and discursive politics productively encounter:

Ce je(u) d'entre est figure dans le discours féministe par le topoi de la traduction (traduction intralinguale ou intersémiotique, selon Jakobson) en tant que transcodage et transformation. C'est une traduction en deux sens: en tant que la notation du gesturale et de la parole des femmes inédits et en tant que répétition et de / placement du discours dominant par l'effet de l'étranger (Godard 1989: 42).

As a result of this, a new concept of fiction, interspersed with metadiscursive reflection, transforms the literary text into a theoretical and political canvas. Already in the metafeminist stage, the "afterlife" of Québécois feminism was, as the next chapter shall try to prove, in another form of collaborative, polyphonic venture typical of female thought communities, Québécois feminist writers join forces with Anglophone Canadian feminist authors and translators to define this ground-breaking "fiction theory":

(...) Nicole Brossard uses “fiction” negatively in *L’Amer* to imply that fictions or constructs created by the patriarchy and compliant women in which women are made into objects [*sic*]. But her “fiction théorique” is something else--the text as both fiction and theory--a theory working its way through syntax, language and even narrative of a female as a subject, a fiction in which theory is woven into the texture of the creation, eliminating (...) distinctions between genres, between prose, essay, poetry, between fiction and theory (Godard, Marlatt, Mezei, and Scott 1986: 7-8).

As the previous quote underscores, a variety of genres and outlets, as well as of hybrid practices, from writing to editing, from critique to theory, were tackled by the members of the "Écriture au féminin" community in order to breach the barriers between their female characters' private, 1st-person testimonies, and Québécois women's real political progress. Combining, therefore, private and public projections of the political constitutes another defining trait of female thought communities, as much as developing hybrid roles, across different artistic domains and book-industry professions. It is on this last aspect of the group which I am describing here that I would like to focus in the next section. Barbara Godard's stage of academic maturity inspired in her an attitude of overture toward certain pending tasks in her trajectory, and much-needed self-criticism regarding the limits of her agency. Hers was the inspiring force behind a second generation of theorists whose brief but intense dedication to this field certainly contributed to giving it the prominent place it has enjoyed in international academia ever since. As a young scholar, Sherry Simon had collaborated with Godard in *The Tangible Word*, being, as acknowledged in the prologue, one of the "eagle eyes" who "spotted missing words and phrases thus enabling [her] to reconstruct in English the complete network of linguistic signs of Théoret's text" (Godard 1991: 14). As a continuum with Barbara Godard's legacy, she had also taken a first step into the field, as many other young agencies throughout the 80s, in *Tessera*, with what potentially was one of her inaugural papers, an already mentioned essay regarding notions of Suzanne Lamy's fiction theory.

Curiously enough, this work was not part of the 1989 issue, devoted to the *traduction au féminin*, but appeared in the 1988, concerned with collaboration in feminist writing. This certainly underscores what seemed to be, as consistently argued throughout this thesis, a common path to literary scholarship in Canada: the "comparative-literature" track, with no translation praxis, feminist or otherwise, in her record. Her comparatist agency, however, was uncommon. In many ways, her systematic revision of "the Story So Far", as Brossard and Godard would put it (1979), pinpoints the main concerns of this second, more revisionist wave. Understandably, the previous decades had brought about much methodological and operational

novelty to the intersection between gender and textuality in Canada, which, as Boisclair argues for the case of Québécois feminism (1999: 100), “ (...) l’appareil critique en place ne pouvait déterminer avec exactitude”. Thus, while the scope of feminist translation critique in Godard's work was on discerning women writers's subjectivities and reflecting on processual means to properly render them in a different language, Simon's standpoint is self-reflective, tackling the "translatress" own identity:

“While the encounter between gender and translation studies was predictable, translation studies have been somewhat slow in fully negotiating the “cultural turn” announced in the mid-1980s. They have only begun to engage with the complexity of identity, including gender. (1996: IX)

After several stages of fierce operation, aimed at subverting and exposing patriarchal "politics of transmission" (Simon 1996), a period of self-critique follows, advocating for a deep analysis and rationalisation of the fields wildly explored by Canadian feminisms and the resources at their disposal. As sufficiently argued throughout this thesis via multiple quotes of her seminal work, *Gender in Translation* (1996), her intervention in the field has an anthologising purpose, drawing on the Canadian "translator's portrait" model in order to undertake an "archaeology" of multiple feminist agencies across time and space. While historical, her approach is mainly (pseudo-)biographical, focusing on factual information about the selected female translators' lives. Her broad map-out of these agencies, however, allows her to identify the main spaces where female and feminist translation praxis has inserted itself, from best-selling novels to Bible translations and pious treatises. As a result, Simon advances certain useful hypothesis on the historical implications of some female translation agencies of different epochs and cultures, which, albeit displaying some limitations, have set the path for the research currently conducted in the so-called Feminist Translation Studies.

Today, Simon's main field of research, nevertheless, is what she refers to as "hybridité culturelle" (1999), a widespread phenomenon in multicultural and multiethnic Montréal, her home town. Indeed, Simon's Anglophone-Jewish background seems to have played a capital role in inspiring her passion for difference. And yet, as already argued, her scholarly agency has been powerfully defined by her background. Having graduated from Brandeis University (Boston), a private Jewish institution, she teaches at Anglophone Concordia University and has formerly been director of the Concordia Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies. Her multiple works on the identity of Montréal's Jewish communities (see Simon 2004; Simon, Ravvin, and

Anctil, 2007; and Simon 2014, among others), have been consistently combined with an overriding interest in urban cultural hybridity. Besides having undertaken the project "Zones de tension: expressions de la conflictualité dans la littérature québécoise et canadienne 1981-2006", in 2015 her work *Villes en Traduction* (2014) was shortlisted for the Prix du Canada. Indisputably, after having a pivotal role in rationalising and institutionalising the legacy of Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies, Simon's agency has evolved toward other interests and fields of research, concerned with Canadian life in general and with this obsessive "image" of respectful multiculturalist and civility in which institutional forces have been invested for decades.



FIGURE 48: SHERRY SIMON.

Luise von Flotow, on her part, is also a hybrid profile, whose personal history and mentions to her German background (see Flotow 1995) reinforce Canada's multicultural project. In contrast with Simon's agency, essentially theoretical, particularly since the 90s Flotow has translated various works by feminist writers, both Québécois and from other parts of the globe. As already explained, she followed Godard's lately embraced interest in France Théoret by undertaking the translation of her more recent novels: *The Man Who Painted Stalin* (*L'homme qui peignait Staline*, 1988), published 1991; *Girls Closed In* (*Huis clos entre jeunes filles*, 2000), launched in 2005; and *Such a Good Education* (*Une belle éducation*, 2006), issued in 2010. Additionally, she has also translated less known figures of the Québécois feminist movement, such as Anne Dandurand's, Claire Dé's, and Hélène Rioux's 80s' short stories in the anthology *Three by Three: Short Stories*; or Madeleine Monette's *Le Double Suspect* (1980), issued as late as in 2000 under the title *Doubly Suspect*.

But it is in this scholar's translation praxis that an overture of the Canadian-Feminist Translation Studies community is most clearly observed. Given her excellent command of German, Flotow has often translated feminist German authors like Christa Wolf, an East-Germany novelist whose work *Der Geteilte Himmel* (1963), was recently rendered in English under the title *They Divided the Sky* (2013). Similarly, she has prepared an English anthology of Ulrike Meinhof's political writings: *Everyone Talks about the Weather: We Don't* (2011). As a theoretical reflection of her efforts into translating Central-European women, Flotow has also co-edited with Agatha Schwarz *The Third Shore: Women's Fiction from East Central Europe* (2006). In the last decade, Flotow has provided the continuum between the Canadian-Feminist legacy and the new transnational approaches of Feminist Translation Studies (see Castro and Ergun 2017). With her recent edited volume *Translating Women: Different Voices and New Horizons* (Flotow and Farahzad 2016), she has explicitly responded to Larkosh's criticism (Flotow and Farahzad *ibid*: xi) on the Eurocentric nature of previous works edited by her in this line, such as the first so-called volume *Translating Women* (2011). All in all, Flotow's role in the overture to the transnational of an originally Canadian field of experience has been capital. While this spreading of the Canadian-Feminist legacy is much responsible for its institutionalisation as a specifically Canadian heritage, its international appeal has also encouraged a fruitful critique of a very limited notion of transnational dialogue, relying on Canada's eternal "two solitudes"



FIGURE 49: LUISE VON FLOTOW.

6. Conclusiones

Esta tesis pretende ser un cruce de caminos, un intersticio entre disciplinas, cuyas preocupaciones conciernen a más de un campo del saber, resistiéndose así a los procesos de etiquetado y categorización de la epistemología tradicional. Nuestro propósito a lo largo de las páginas anteriores ha sido sugerir y ejemplificar, en lugar de definir de manera fija, posibles espacios de investigación, así como revisar los cauces metodológicos disponibles, con el fin de invitar a los estudiosos/as de la traducción de todas las ideologías e intereses, y no solo a los/las feministas, a problematizar verdaderamente los *sujetos*, y no tanto los objetos de estudio, en los contextos amplios y complejos en los que estos operan. Si bien la problematización del sujeto traductor es una perspectiva por la que muchos autores/as abogan hoy en día, pocos/as han abordado realmente las dificultades metodológicas que conlleva un diseño disciplinario honesto de los estudios de traductores/as: uno que problematice también al sujeto investigador, y que produzca discursos conscientes de que la neutralidad científica no es más que una argucia de las voces epistémicas dominantes. Pese a la enorme cantidad de reflexiones existentes hoy día en torno a las políticas que sustentan las grandes disciplinas tradicionales, muchos/as todavía actúan como si las declaraciones ideológicas audaces fueran incompatibles con el estatus "científico" que Holmes tanto codició para nuestro campo, protegiendo así a estas voces del debate y la confrontación intelectuales que el funcionamiento de toda disciplina requiere.

Ciertamente, existe una "ciencia" de la traducción, en la medida en que la ciencia es un esfuerzo humano, marcado, con orgullo, por nuestras aspiraciones, pasiones y limitaciones. Por tensiones entre lo individual y lo colectivo; lo personal y lo político. Los Estudios de traducción son una ciencia social en la misma medida que la Historia, cuyo resultado analítico, como todos/as reconocemos hoy, está inevitablemente mediado por diversas ideologías. Es más: los acontecimientos, proyectos y (des-)encuentros alentados por las relaciones que la traducción ha engendrado a lo largo de los siglos han sido, en la mayoría de los casos, determinantes en el resultado de muchos de los procesos que habitualmente analizan los historiadores/as. Sin duda, y en gran medida gracias a las historiadoras feministas, hemos asistido a una toma de conciencia por parte de la historiografía en lo relativo al carácter discursivo de la llamada "verdad histórica", invariablemente al servicio de unas hegemonías que cada grupo divergente cataloga de una manera, pero que en última instancia se miran al espejo de la dicotomía

primigenia: la asimetría de poder en los binomios de género. Se han realizado notables intentos de problematizar la noción estática de "identidad", objetivizada por el todopoderoso cronista, subrayando las construcciones de género que sustentan los protagonismos en grandes hitos de las narrativas históricas patriarcales. Sin embargo, por su potencial, todavía no explotado, para la aplicación de metodologías de crítica discursiva, hemos defendido que los Estudios de la traducción gozan de una posición excelente para analizar la naturaleza performativa e inestable, siempre cambiante, de las identidades, precisamente en espacio donde estas se han (re-)negociado a través de la historia: los textos traducidos, sorprendentemente bastante descuidados por los historiadores/as de todas las tendencias.

En esta tesis, el apartado teo-metodológico ha partido de una revisión crítica del concepto de "metadiscurso" a partir de aportaciones mayoritaria pero no exclusivamente procedentes de nuestra disciplina. Dado que la finalidad de los estudios descriptivos de la traducción es historiográfica, hemos querido subrayar el avance que han supuesto para la Historiografía el denominado "giro discursivo" y el consiguiente tratamiento de los sujetos históricos desde la noción de "agencia", de carácter discursivo y performativo, frente a su alternativa clásica, la de identidad. La historiografía social feminista nos lleva ventaja en su crítica rigurosa de los conceptos que permiten caracterizar las operaciones históricas de los sujetos. En la práctica, no obstante, esta ha demostrado carecer de metodologías discursivas adecuadas para problematizar las agencias en la gran variedad de textos en los que los/as historiadores/as sociales reconocen valor histórico. La traducción, al igual que otros géneros tradicionalmente considerados inconsecuentes, debería gozar, bajo estas premisas, de un protagonismo histórico que lamentablemente solo se ha reclamado, y de manera todavía minoritaria, desde nuestra disciplina, por parte de autores como Anthony Pym o Christopher Rundle. Existe, pues, la necesidad de desmontar los discursos históricos sobre traducción y traductores/as, y, dada la incidencia de las mujeres en la práctica de la traducción a través de las épocas, de tratar con cautela la "relevancia" histórica que muchas traductólogas feministas hoy otorgan a las mujeres traductoras.

En lo que respecta a la Hipótesis número 1, habíamos propuesto, por un lado, que una metodología efectiva para analizar agencias traductoras femeninas y feministas requería una naturaleza tanto transnacional como interdisciplinaria. Por otro, intuíamos que las teorías descriptivistas de la traducción responden a la búsqueda interesada que las sociedades

patriarcales persiguen de estructuras culturales opresivas. Nuestra sección teo-metodológica ha culminado, pues, en una propuesta que, a pesar de su aparente especificidad, es apta para abordar una amplia variedad de fenómenos desde un enfoque interdisciplinar: Los Estudios de las traductoras feministas. Las etiquetas, sin embargo, son elementos que hemos preferido relativizar en nuestras discusiones, debido a su esencia tiránica. El verdadero avance metodológico que esperamos haber ilustrado aquí es la necesidad de marcos procesales no deterministas, siendo nuestra propuesta fácilmente aplicable a ideologías distintas al feminismo y agencias distintas a las de la traducción. De hecho, esta tesis argumenta cómo las agencias rara vez se componen de actuaciones aisladas, limitadas a campos de acción singulares. Generalmente implican a diferentes comunidades de práctica y, a veces, está mediadas por premisas ideológicas superpuestas, incluso contradictorias. Si bien creemos haber validado satisfactoriamente la Hipótesis número 1, relativa a la idoneidad de este marco metodológico para una historia feminista de las traductoras, es precisamente esta deliberada falta de definición, de requisitos previos para la identificación de sujetos "adecuados" y, por lo tanto, su gran aplicabilidad a otro tipo de sujetos, lo que la hace más adecuada para la línea de investigación inaugurada por Los Estudios feministas transnacionales de la traducción.

Un aspecto crucial de este cauce metodológico, sin duda un logro común de la serie de disciplinas aquí discutidas, radica en la de-construcción de la "nación" como el rasgo definitorio de las agencias por excelencia, así como en el cuestionamiento de las idolatrías nominales que subyace a muchos de los esfuerzos de historización de la literatura. Estos dos rasgos, observables en los métodos descriptivistas tradicionales de nuestra disciplina, han sido analizados en dos sentidos a lo largo del tercer y cuarto capítulos: como fruto de los esfuerzos de las élites patriarcales en su (auto-)definición de polisistemas, y por tanto presente en los discursos que los han configurado; y como imposibilidad absoluta, a medida que la realidad discursiva de dichos polisistemas se impone. Parte del cuestionamiento del descriptivismo tradicional radica, asimismo, en de-construir el personalismo y la idolatría nominal que caracterizan a los sistemas literarios patriarcales. Por ello, si bien esta tesis trata la figura múltiple, híbrida y cambiante de Barbara Godard, hemos evitado un protagonismo excesivo, que borre la importancia de otras agencias e ideologías en los proyectos en los que esta figura participó. Esta es, en nuestra opinión, la esencia de las alternativas nocionales que hemos sugerido, y particularmente del concepto de "comunidades de ideas" (*thought communities*), que, si bien se observa en los colectivos patriarcales que originan los distintos polisistemas,

desaparece rápidamente en pos de la institucionalización voraz, necesaria en los sistemas tradicionales para alcanzar la hegemonía. Una idea subyacente a toda esta tesis es, pues, el riesgo que reside en asumir un éxito en toda agencia femenina o feminista que el patriarcado ha considerado oportuno reflejar en sus narraciones. Muchas de estas agencias han sido consideradas como productivas por un movimiento de disidencia intra-patriarcal determinado, lo cual, en nuestra opinión responde a las dinámicas comunicativas más eficientes que poseen las mujeres: han sido, hasta la fecha, excelentes agentes de negociación al servicio de diversas facciones patriarcales. Por ello, a la hora de describir las operaciones de colectivos femeninos y feministas, hemos tratado de reflejar una cierta tensión entre los roles que percibimos como típicos en las comunidades de ideas y aquellos que las instituciones patriarcales contemplan. Lo fememino y lo feminista, tal y como argumentaremos, han constituido elementos esenciales en el proceso de creación de una identidad canadiense que, dada su neutralidad en la Historia de occidente, ha optado por definirse como un modelo de éxito de "ciudadanía cívica universal".

En los capítulos tres y cuatro, hemos operado de lo general a lo particular. En primer lugar, y dado que hemos defendido una perspectiva "sociocrítica" de las producciones discursivas, hemos tratado de analizar los mitos y autopercepciones que han permitido a las sociedades patriarcales involucradas, el Canadá Anglófono y Québec, una (auto-)definición defensiva y contrastiva de su producción literaria nacional: una forma de metadiscurso crítico que desafía los supuestos de las literaturas nacionales europeas. Hemos argumentado que el concepto europeo de "nación", fuertemente dependiente de su adscripción a una producción literaria reconocible, constituye una búsqueda permanente no solo de la diferencia, sino de una diferencia superior a la de otras. Como naciones resultantes de asentamientos blancos en Norteamérica, tanto el Canadá Anglófono como Québec han percibido como una dificultad los legados de superioridad nacional de sus metrópolis, que no han hecho sino invisibilizarlas. Así, a su evidente antagonismo cultural dentro del territorio del actual estado canadiense, que ha forjado gran parte de su carácter nacional, estas dos comunidades han debido inventar mitos de excepcionalidad que les permitan marcar su superioridad con respecto a dicho legado europeo: los denominados "Mitos del Nuevo Mundo", identificados por la autora quebequesa Marie Vautier. De acuerdo con estas narraciones, en gran parte auspiciadas por filosofías de la Ilustración como la teoría del "Buen salvaje" de Rousseau, América constituía la *tabula rasa* sobre la que se construirían sociedades moralmente superiores a las ya conocidas en las

corruptas naciones europeas, permanentemente en guerra, e inmersas en el fin dramático del Antiguo Régimen. Así, tal y como hemos argumentado, si bien una parte de su auto-definición como sociedades inevitablemente recae en sus polarizadas herencias coloniales, marcadas por dicotomías como las existentes entre el protestantismo y el catolicismo, entre otros muchos aspectos, su diferencia como naciones se ha construido en base a una supuesta superioridad moral en sus formas de gobierno.

Esta superioridad moral es fruto, no obstante, de un cierto grado de hipocresía, en particular si consideramos el alto grado de violencia étnica que condujo a la formación de estos asentamientos blancos. Hemos argumentado, en este sentido, que Québec ha sabido utilizar la corta hegemonía colonial de Francia como pretexto para argumentar que la suya ha sido siempre una sociedad opuesta a la violencia, incluso durante la administración francesa, en la cual, según los discursos históricos imperantes, las relaciones interraciales eran características. Esto evidentemente permite marcar una superioridad no ya con la metrópolis (de hecho, la superioridad cultural de Francia ha constituido hasta hace poco una estrategia de diferenciación para los quebequeses dentro de Norteamérica); sino con los otros asentamientos blancos: los británicos y, en menor medida, los ya desaparecidos españoles) Nosotras hemos desmontado esta idea en base a premisas históricas, y defendido que Québec ha creado un relato excesivamente amable de Francia, conocida por su aversión a la libertad lingüística y tiránica en su gobierno de la denominada Francofonía. Hemos destacado, asimismo, el impacto decisivo del catolicismo francés en el establecimiento de un orden colonial que descansaba en constructos de género patriarcales como los de las relaciones entre etnias, poco a poco prohibidas por la Iglesia; los modelos de poblamiento de la colonia y la selección de agentes interculturales para la negociación con los pueblos indígenas, en su mayoría mujeres indias que respondían al estereotipo colonial de "La Malinche", en el imperio español, y de las "bibis" y los "diccionarios de cama" en el británico.

Hemos lamentado, por otro lado, que este orgullo de los asentamientos blancos en su constitución como naciones haya generado entre algunas mujeres canadienses anglófonas y las quebequesas un sentimiento de pertenencia nacional disfrazado, que Henderson ha denominado "feminismo de asentamientos" (*settler feminism*). Dicho fenómeno subyace a algunas de las conclusiones de valor histórico sostenidas por las críticas literarias feministas de hoy. Para ellas, Canadá y Québec destacan por la amplia incidencia de mujeres escritoras

desde el origen de sus respectivas administraciones coloniales, lo cual prueba que el orden del Nuevo Mundo invitaba a la emancipación femenina. Hemos sostenido que esta actitud no es una forma de feminismo, especialmente por cuanto ensalza, en muchos casos, incluido el de la historia de Québec, formas de violencia patriarcal contra otras etnias, que se han borrado con esfuerzo de la memoria colectiva canadiense en los últimos años. Resulta, por tanto, de la aceptación de los roles de *feminidad* impulsados en los asentamientos para su perpetuación, y no de actitudes femeninas divergentes. El hecho de atribuir "relevancia" histórica al trabajo físico de las mujeres en las granjas del Nuevo Mundo, o a su conciliación de dicho trabajo con la literatura, en casos muy particulares de mujeres privilegiadas, ha conducido a impresiones falsas de la mujer en la realidad colonial. Esta noción no matizada de "relevancia" histórica lleva asociadas formas de literatura como la de viajes, o las denominadas narrativas de cautiverio (*captivity narratives*), altamente productivas para las finalidades de control territorial y asimilación de las culturas nativas que estas sociedades patriarcales han orquestado. En definitiva, el feminismo de asentamientos no hace sino reforzar la superioridad a la que aspiran todas las naciones patriarcales en su (auto-)definición, y ayuda a justificar la antigüedad de las correspondientes literaturas nacionales, algo con frecuencia puesto en cuestión por los críticos/as, particularmente en el caso de Canadá Anglófono.

En la crítica literaria *mainstream*, e incluso en la feminista, del Canadá anglófono actual, hemos demostrado como estos preceptos siguen en vigor, bajo una serie de discursos que se han denominado "civilismo blanco" (*white civility*). Estos discursos han proporcionado un sólido apoyo al movimiento cultural de "Canadianización" alentado por el primer centenario de existencia de la confederación canadiense. Por "Canadianización", como ya se ha indicado, entendemos una serie de proyectos y políticas de índole cultural, y con frecuencia literario, diseñados como respuesta a la indefinición identitaria que muchos agentes de la época observaban con preocupación en el Canadá de aquellos años. Tras comprender que su apego, primero por el viejo imperio (Reino Unido), y más recientemente por el nuevo (Estados Unidos), había contribuido a dicha indefinición, se iniciaron procesos de diferenciación con respecto a ambas culturas anglófonas. El estado canadiense se convirtió, pues, en un centro cultural efervescente y moderno, con una literatura propia y distinta de la única que se venía estudiando en las universidades del país: la británica. También se erigió como un país orgulloso de su multiculturalidad: un estandarte del liberalismo y la tolerancia, opuesto a las políticas reaccionarias e imperialistas de su vecino del sur. Por desgracia, los discursos, tan comunes en

aquellos años, en defensa de la igualdad pronto encontrarían un frente abierto dentro de sus propias fronteras: Québec había iniciado en aquella misma época un despertar, la llamada Revolución Tranquila (1960-1966), que desembocaría en un sólido movimiento nacionalista. La constitución de un estado canadiense conocido por su civismo y tolerancia debía atajar los discursos divergentes emitidos por las élites políticas y culturales de la provincia, y construir vías para un encuadre definitivo de la identidad quebequesa en el proyecto confederal.

Los movimientos de la crítica literaria de esta época, impulsados en los mismos espacios académicos donde Godard inició su carrera, reflejan bien la inestabilidad del proyecto de "Canadianización" de entonces. Por un lado, los departamentos de inglés de las provincias anglófonas comenzaron a diseñar el currículo de una nueva disciplina: Literatura Canadiense. La producción escrita anglófona, desde tiempos coloniales a nuestros días, comenzó a estudiarse y, con frecuencia, incluso a editarse y publicarse por vez primera en ediciones críticas. Poco a poco, nuevos grupos de investigación y proyectos pusieron su empeño en desmitificar el supuesto oxímoron que Europa imponía entre "colonia" y "literatura". La producción literaria "nacional" ya no era cosa de las metrópolis. Los agentes que auspiciaron este reconocimiento se esforzaron por revalorizar los escritos de exploradores, las crónicas coloniales y otras formas tradicionalmente desprovistas de condición "literaria" como base legitimadora de una literatura nacional, autoproclamándose así "postcoloniales".

En lo que respecta al polisistema canadiense anglófono, hemos concluido, tal y como avanzaba la Hipótesis 2.1., que responde de manera estereotípica a la definición y las fases de las llamadas "facultades invisibles" (*invisible colleges*), establecidas por Hermans, si bien los diferentes estadios originalmente contemplados por este estudioso han sido matizados *ad-hoc*, como resultado de la labor arqueológica realizada. Así, para nosotras, las fases atravesadas por esta literatura son las de disociación, durante los años cincuenta, contagio, durante los sesenta, consolidación, durante los setenta, divergencias y declive, a partir de los 80. Todas ellas impulsadas, efectivamente, desde una serie de facultades, entre las cuales se encontraba Glendon College, de la Universidad de York (Ontario), cuyo Departamento de Inglés trabajaron tanto Frank Davey como la propia Barbara Godard. Hemos identificado en el origen de este polisistema una voluntad académica de modificar las percepciones imperantes en lo que a literatura canadiense respecta. Estas, efectivamente, estaban marcadas por un colonialismo cultural, que asumía que la única literatura de valor en lengua inglesa era la

británica, y que en Canadá solo se habían producido manifestaciones historiográficas e institucionales propias de la administración colonial y la exploración de nuevos territorios, carentes de valor literario. Esta posición, argumentada por el famoso crítico canadiense Northrop Frye, posiblemente el mayor exponente de la llamada Crítica literaria canadiense (*Canadian Criticism*), no le impidió, sin embargo, participar en los primeros proyectos de antologización y, por tanto, de legitimación de la literatura canadiense, que erosionaron progresivamente este complejo de inferioridad de Canadá con respecto a su literatura.

Sostenemos, no obstante, que la iniciativa auténtica de crear una noción de literatura canadiense moderna y de calidad, abierta a lo experimental, partió de un grupo de profesores que adicionalmente eran autores, editores y traductores, desde Frank Davey hasta D.G. Jones, entre muchos otros. Hemos explicado que esta comunidad de ideas, denominada "CanLit" en honor al acrónimo con el que los académicos denominaron a la disciplina resultante, experimentó una rápida institucionalización, particularmente desde principios de los setenta, auspiciada por las subvenciones de las nuevas políticas culturales del Canada Council. Sus miembros originales, como corresponde a las comunidades de ideas, desempeñaban funciones híbridas, que, sin embargo, no se tradujeron en mayores diálogo y colaboración, como en el caso de las comunidades de ideas femeninas/feministas. Contrariamente a esto, evolucionaron hacia la clásica tiranía nominal de los polisistemas patriarcales, en los cuales la institucionalización de una determinada facción sobre otras abre las puertas a una imposición de sus preceptos a través de múltiples vías. Así, Davey, por ejemplo, además de controlar los discursos académicos sobre una producción literaria de la que él mismo era partícipe, fue durante muchos años editor en Coach House Press, editorial fundamental en la evolución de la agencia traductora de Godard. Gracias a las subvenciones concedidas por el Canada Council a dicha editorial, Davey y Godard editaron traducciones de otros/as traductores/as. Pese a que nuestra protagonista nunca figuró oficialmente como miembro de ningún comité editorial de Coach House, sí tradujo, a diferencia de Davey, algunas de las obras que finalmente aparecieron en la colección *Québec Translations*. Ambos desempeñaron, por tanto, un papel crucial en la recepción de la literatura quebequesa, cuya importancia para la constitución de un polisistema auténticamente canadiense defendieron como pocos/as críticos/as de entonces.

Es aquí donde se perfila el principio de un desengaño. Tras años de esfuerzos a instancias de las instituciones lingüísticas y culturales canadienses, y en particular, como ya se ha dicho, del renovado Canada Council, se había construido, aunque en vano, un espacio

“intercultural”, de acuerdo con la terminología de Pym, en gran parte sostenido, como se argumenta en el capítulo cinco, por un sólido aparato de traducción/recepción de la literatura quebequesa. Si bien los impulsores de dicha intercultural, todos ellos anglófonos, oficialmente perseguían una involucración de los agentes literarios, intelectuales y académicos quebequeses, el compromiso final de ambas comunidades no fue simétrico. Esto, por otro lado, resulta lógico, dado que Québec, como recordamos más abajo, estaba viviendo la consolidación de su propia literatura nacional en esa misma época.

Los frentes, no obstante, no se limitaban a la presión ejercida por las élites nacionalistas quebequesas, en gran parte artífices del gran movimiento intelectual y literario vivido por la provincia entonces. Pese a la firme defensa que las instituciones canadienses habían hecho del multiculturalismo como rasgo definitorio del civismo canadiense, a partir de los ochenta la falta de representación de las literaturas de etnias minoritarias en un polisistema completamente occidental (y eminentemente masculino) comenzó a evidenciar que dicho civismo era, efectivamente, el civismo blanco propio de una sociedad neocolonial. La difícil argumentación que muchos sostenían de la realidad canadiense como propia de una sociedad *colonizada*, tanto por su antigua metrópolis como por el gran imperio estadounidense, se tornó definitivamente imposible. Canadá no había hecho sino asimilar la diferencia, quebequesa e inmigrante, con arreglo un proyecto de “Canadianización” insuficientemente consensuado. Solo a partir de los 90, con lo que podría considerarse como un declive de los supuestos sobre los que descansaba dicho proyecto (multiculturalismo y civismo), hemos podido observar un cambio sostenido en sus voces dominantes, cada vez más abiertas a un Canadá auténticamente mestizo y multicultural.

Por otro lado, las tensiones del proceso de “Canadianización” con la realidad poblacional del estado, especialmente patentes desde los ochenta, adquieren una dimensión mayor si añadimos a la ecuación el factor del género. En lo que respecta a la Hipótesis Número 2.3., ya se ha indicado que, dado el amplio espectro que trata de cubrir esta tesis, la caracterización de la literatura anglófona de mujeres en el polisistema canadiense requiere mayor desarrollo en un futuro. No obstante, esta tesis ha tratado de discutir su inserción dentro de dicho polisistema y, en especial, la “imagen” interesada que este ha establecido de ella, con el fin de consolidar una presencia internacional en gran medida sostenida por figuras femeninas (véanse, por ejemplo, los casos de Alice Munro y Margaret Atwood). De manera preliminar,

asimismo, se ha mostrado cómo algunas de estas voces femeninas han desarrollado agencias críticas, similares a las desarrolladas por figuras como la de Davey. En su faceta de antologista, Margaret Atwood, por ejemplo, demuestra alinearse con el cánón masculino y con el proyecto nacionalista impulsado en los setenta, aceptando así el papel que dicho proyecto otorga a las figuras literarias femeninas de primer orden como ella.

De alguna manera, la Crítica literaria feminista no ha podido evitar unirse a algunas de las afirmaciones que han permitido a las voces académicas hegemónicas asimilar la rica producción femenina en su defensa de la superioridad cívica canadiense. La supuesta gran incidencia, ya matizada, de mujeres en la producción literaria nacional desde sus orígenes se ha percibido como productiva en el retrato del civismo canadiense, supuestamente capaz de restablecer el orden patriarcal europeo desde sus orígenes coloniales. Lejos de problematizar la asimilación del legado textual de estas mujeres por parte del estado, muchas críticas se han recreado en una discusión acrítica de afirmaciones generalizadas sobre dicho legado. Hasta bien entrados los años 80, y pese a la incursión que ciertas literatas hicieron en cuestiones de desigualdad de género y etnia, tampoco se ha dado suficiente énfasis a la falta de inclusión de distintas feminidades canadienses en los recién creados cánones femeninos. No obstante, se observa en la Crítica feminista canadiense una voluntad manifiesta de romper con los preceptos metodológicos y conceptuales de la recién nacida pléyade de expertos masculinos en la materia. Sus protagonistas, entre ellas Barbara Godard, dieron un primer paso hacia la creación de un espacio intercultural efectivo entre Canadá y Québec, los Estudios canadienses feministas de la traducción, en su tratamiento, generalmente indiscriminado, de las literaturas de mujeres anglófonas y francófonas de Canadá.

En el caso de Québec, y de acuerdo con la Hipótesis Número 2, las élites políticas nacionalistas patriarcales también han experimentado serias dificultades para sacudirse los resabios del ya citado civismo blanco. En su caso, no obstante, este los ha llevado a defender, a menudo en contra de evidencias históricas y científicas, el mestizaje como proceso mayoritario en el establecimiento de la actual población quebequesa. En consecuencia, las voces aborígenes y auténticamente mestizas de la provincia reclaman hoy esta apropiación inexacta de su cultura. Entre los colectivos feministas, si bien estos han sido capaces de ofrecer visiones más realistas y críticas del pasado de Québec, se aprecia también un tenue “feminismo de asentamiento”, que ha llevado a muchas historiadoras feministas a ensalzar las pocas figuras femeninas retratadas por la historiografía dominante, gratificadas por su compromiso con el

modelo de poblamiento colonial o por proezas como la defensa de los asentamientos blancos ante las ofensivas indígenas.

Sin duda, y pese a las alianzas precarias que formó con algunas de las comunidades originarias, Nueva Francia emprendió un gran número de conflictos contra estas poblaciones. Casi un siglo de la historia de dicha colonia, por ejemplo, se vio diezmado por las Guerras de los Castores, acontecimiento que, tras nuestra revisión arqueológica de la historiografía disponible, recibe un tratamiento matizado y prudente. Comprensiblemente, la violencia étnica en Nueva Francia constituye un escollo en el posicionamiento anticolonial que los discursos mayoritarios quebequenses vienen defendiendo desde los años sesenta. La Iglesia católica, que desde tiempos fundacionales tuvo un papel esencial en la construcción de la sociedad colonial francesa, desempeñó un papel protagonista en esta violencia por defender moralmente la consolidación de relaciones desiguales con los nativos, ampliamente basadas en constructos de género patriarcales. Permitió muy pocos matrimonios interraciales, y siempre entre hombres franceses y mujeres indias, cuidadosamente seleccionadas, convertidas y generalmente bilingües. Entre el resto de contactos de los que tenemos constancia destacaban los llamados "matrimonios al estilo del país", consistentes en uniones temporales y de hecho entre hombres, generalmente empleados en la industria peletera, y mujeres indígenas que les servían de enlace con sus respectivos pueblos. Pese a esta realidad de violencia, donde desigualdad racial y género iban indiscutiblemente de la mano, Québec ha sabido consolidar un discurso histórico de no violencia, de tolerancia hacia la diferencia y, durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, de feminismo. En los orígenes de la gran búsqueda identitaria emprendida por la provincia desde finales de los sesenta, basada en su recuperación orgullosa de un pasado francófono (bajo el ya conocido lema *je me souviens*), ciertas tensiones afloran entre el discurso del reformismo social impulsado por el Parti Québécois y auténtica herencia colonial de Québec. Parte del injusto estereotipo atávico que muchos anglófonos conservaban de la *belle province* descansaba precisamente en la imagen tradicional del *paysan* o campesino quebequés, defendida a ultranza durante siglos por supervivencia lingüístico-cultural. Asimismo, y dada la importante defensa del *joual* en esta búsqueda, debe considerarse como acrítica la alianza que promovieron las instituciones quebequenses desde finales de los sesenta con Francia. Como estado moderno, la antigua metrópolis fue pionera en la erradicación institucional de variedades lingüísticas como la que sobrevive en Québec hoy día, con frecuencia estigmatizada por los anglófonos por su condición dialectal. Dado que la pérdida de Canadá es anterior a la Revolución Francesa, la

evolución de dicha variedad no se ha visto afectada por las subsiguiente uniformización dialectal francesa.

Como se ha argumentado, los constructos de género heredados del modelo colonial francés por la identidad tradicional quebequesa han producido interferencias con la ideología que el Québec moderno del Parti Québécois adoptó desde los años setenta. Pese a su voluntad explícita de combatirlos, los discursos nacionalistas de la época reflejan tensiones considerables entre una nostalgia del pasado colonial francés, pero forzosamente presentado como mestizo, y su posicionamiento anticolonialista. Como resultado de esto, hemos argumentado que las políticas de cambio propuestas por las élites nacionalistas fueron limitadas e insatisfactorias, particularmente en lo que respecta a la muy esperada emancipación femenina. Al menos durante su primera candidatura, el Parti Québécois supo canalizar los apoyos de las feministas a un programa que prometía la independencia de la provincia como herramienta para lograr igualdades interseccionales. No obstante, y como atestiguan los resultados del referéndum de autodeterminación de 1980, entre las las filas femeninas nacionalistas se produjo un rápido desgaste ante las vacuas promesas nacionalistas. Una vez más, hemos tratado de demostrar cómo, en momentos clave de su establecimiento, los estados-nación tradicionales (véase patriarcales) utilizan las voces femeninas y sus causas como estandarte, sin que estas últimas constituyan realmente una preocupación esencial de las élites masculinas.

Nuestro retrato histórico del Québec del siglo XX ha perseguido una búsqueda de claves sociocríticas que expliquen la aparición de numerosas autoras femeninas y feministas en la provincia entre mediados de los cuarenta y nuestros tiempos, así como su relación, ora convergente, ora dialéctica, con la literatura masculina nacional, que vivió desde mediados del siglo XX una etapa de esplendor inédita. Por ello, su estructuración por etapas, que sigue, con los matices ya comentados, el esquema propuesto por Hermans para la noción de "facultades invisibles", trata de presentar contexto histórico y análisis literario de manera integrada y sinérgica. La finalidad de las sub-secciones de carácter historiográfico ha sido retratar la importante evolución sufrida por los constructos de género dominantes en Québec desde el primer tercio del siglo XX hasta el último, a través de las vicisitudes políticas de calado experimentadas a lo largo de estas décadas. Posteriormente, las sub-secciones análogas de análisis literario han tratado de conectar dicha evolución con la composición rápidamente cambiante de los cánones estéticos tanto en la literatura masculina como en la femenina y

feminista. Como resultado de esta labor, hemos podido validar satisfactoriamente la Hipótesis 2.2., y confirmar, por tanto, que un estudio sociocrítico de la literatura quebequesa, ya sea bajo sus cánones oficiales o desde perspectivas feministas, se resiste hasta cierto punto a la artificialidad de nociones como la de "facultades invisibles", que, en cambio, sí permitían trazar un recorrido de la Literatura canadiense. Ciertamente, a diferencia de esta última, no fue auspiciado en su mayoría por los esfuerzos de académicos o grupos de investigación. No obstante, por cuanto sí responde a alianzas entre distintas instituciones patriarcales, hemos argumentado que su evolución ha seguido fases similares a las reseñadas por Hermans. Dado que esta tesis se interesa por la producción femenina y feminista, nuestra presentación de las corrientes literarias oficiales está supeditada a observar los contrastes entre una y otra. Por ello, nos hemos centrado en las fases de contagio (años sesenta) y establecimiento (años 70). Para nosotros, las disensiones en el discurso literario dominante son coincidentes con la fase de consolidación de la literatura feminista: los años ochenta. Así lo hemos argumentado.

Desde al menos el primer tercio del siglo XIX, la población de la actual Québec ha sido consciente de producir una literatura particular y distinta a la de sus referentes culturales: tanto a la del referente ideal, la literatura de la antigua metrópolis, Francia, como a la del opuesto, la del Canadá anglófono. Hemos comenzado, pues, por revisar las funciones que estas dos literaturas han desempeñado dentro del polisistema quebequés. Ello lógicamente implica una toma de posiciones ideológica de partida: nuestro análisis ha tratado los polisistemas anglófono y quebequés como independientes, de acuerdo, principalmente, con el sentir de los agentes que operan en este último, pero también con la realidad observable en las operaciones del polisistema anglófono. Como ya se ha indicado, los discursos emitidos por Davey y otras voces de renombre en torno a la existencia de un polisistema canadiense bi-cultural y bi-lingüe no se han correspondido con la actuación de dichas voces, ni en su facultad de críticos/as ni como traductores/as de la literatura quebequesa.

Si bien es indudable que sus esfuerzos consiguieron cambiar la "imagen" condescendiente y simplista que muchos agentes anglófonos conservaban de la literatura y la cultura quebequeses hasta bien entrado el siglo XX, dicha imagen nunca dejó de pesar en la psique quebequesa. Sospechamos, de hecho, que gran parte de las actuaciones observables en los agentes principales del polisistema quebequés no son ajenas a estos estereotipos, razón por la cual los hemos retratado detalladamente. No obstante, hemos insistido en que, lejos de reforzar la diferencia cultural de Québec, la imagen de la vieja metrópolis francesa no ha hecho

sino invisibilizar la identidad quebequense. Como se ha explicado detenidamente, y dado su fracaso militar en la empresa colonial, Francia ha ido construyendo a lo largo de los siglos una forma de colonización más sutil y, según creemos, más efectiva: los protectorados lingüísticos y culturales que conserva, con mano férrea, como cabeza de la llamada Francofonía.

Con su ya argumentada obsesión por la estandarización del francés y su tiránico y no consensuado establecimiento de la norma, reticente, por cierto, a avances como la escritura epicena, que se vienen produciendo en Québec desde los setenta, el prestigio internacional de la lengua y la cultura francesas puede haber tenido un efecto contraproducente en el proceso de diferenciación quebequesa. Tanto es así que, con frecuencia, los canadienses anglófonos han desautorizado su variedad lingüística como una vulgarización de la gran lengua de Molière. Desde un punto de vista político, el Québec de la Revolución Tranquila y, más tarde, el nacionalista de René Lévesque, han visto en la antigua metrópolis un aliado cultural. Francia, por su parte, sobre todo en épocas de máxima rivalidad con Reino Unido, ha sabido explotar esta alianza para su propio beneficio. Sin embargo, no podemos concluir que esta línea de actuación haya sido productiva para la provincia, que hoy día invierte fondos en doblar las películas de cine a su variedad dialectal, y que ha rebautizado su *Office de la langue française* como *Office Québécois de la langue française*.

La centralidad de esta variedad dialectal, también conocida como *joual*, en el movimiento literario nacionalista los años sesenta y setenta, es sin duda prueba de que la emancipación cultural de Québec era incompatible con una añoranza acrítica de la influencia lingüístico-cultural de Francia. Con el fin de ilustrar las fuerzas dominantes del polisistema quebequés bajo el régimen neo-nacionalista de esas décadas, hemos revisado críticamente el rápido surgimiento de su cánón, encarnado en las figuras diversas de Jacques Godbout, Victor Lévy-Beaulieu y André Major. Nuestra elección de dichas figuras no implica que sean las únicas que consiguieron alcanzar posiciones canónicas. No obstante, además de haber sido antologados como representativos del cánón de la época por expertos como Jacques Pelletier, estos tres autores permiten ilustrar, en los términos empleados por Lefevre, tanto la "ideología" como la "poética" patriarcales de su movimiento. Hemos argumentado, no obstante, que sus aportaciones, funciones y posicionamiento en dicho cánón son diversos.

André Major, padre del denominado *langagement*, o compromiso ideológico a través de la lengua, ilustra certeramente el camino privado que muchos de los escritores de su época

hicieron para deshacerse de las convenciones atávicas del Québec de la primera mitad del siglo XX. Pese a haber mantenido conexiones fuertes hasta hoy con ciertos rasgos tradicionales de la identidad quebequesa, Major es el único de los tres autores aquí reseñados que ha pertenecido al colectivo *Parti pris*, la cara literaria e intelectual de los desaparecidos movimientos secesionistas de finales de los sesenta y principios de los setenta. Pronto se distanció de estos movimientos, lo cual, según hemos argumentado, ha facilitado su inclusión en el cánón, por ser este un espacio central y, como tal, equilibrado, entre los extremos del tradicionalismo y el rupturismo secesionista. No obstante, hemos argumentado cómo colectivos de la talla de *Parti Pris* desempeñan un papel simbólico, quasi-mitológico en las narraciones que sustentan la literatura nacional de Québec. De hecho, si bien ninguno de estos autores ocupó puestos en los gobiernos del *Parti Québécois*, otros escritores que ostentan posiciones más periféricas en el cánón si los obtuvieron. Esto señala, tal y como hemos insistido a lo largo de esta tesis, que los polisistemas se enmarcan en sistemas mayores que sustentan las ideologías patriarcales, sometidos, lógicamente, a pugnas de poder que regularmente desplazan a sus élites y las sustituyen por antiguos miembros de la contracultura, en un ciclo sin fin. Hemos probado de diversas formas, si bien preliminarmente, que existían conexiones entre ciertas instituciones quebequesas, empresas privadas de primer orden en la provincia y el progreso de estos autores, todos ellos masculinos, en su carrera literaria; así como en la progresiva construcción de un ecosistema editorial que diera salida a sus obras.

En este sentido, se ha presentado a Victor Lévy-Beaulieu como la figura menos convencional de todas. Nacido no en Montreal, como la mayoría de intelectuales de su generación, sino en el Québec rural de Trois-Pistoles, Beaulieu ha sabido construirse una "imagen" de *paysan*, de auténtico campesino quebequense, tras su distanciamiento, ya en los ochenta, de un ecosistema editorial fuertemente institucionalizado. Efectivamente, este autor expresó como pocos las contradicciones que, sin embargo, una gran mayoría de la población quebequesa humilde experimentó durante los años treinta y cuarenta, al abandonar los núcleos rurales en pos de la gran Montreal. Vinculado a varias editoriales a lo largo de su carrera, Beaulieu resistió la institucionalización de su labor editora durante años, hasta que un cierto desgaste comenzó a hacer mella. Hoy en día gestiona una pequeña editorial independiente, *Éditions Trois-Pistoles*, desde su región natal, y la que fundó décadas antes bajo su propia firma, BLV éditeur, sigue operando, por su gran prestigio, respaldada por el gran conglomerado que Québecor ha constituido las principales editoriales nacionales. La crítica sutil y no beligerante, pero consistente, de este autor hacia las políticas erráticas del Parti Québécois

constituye una rareza entre los autores de su generación. Sin embargo, su visión divergente del nacionalismo no le ha impedido alcanzar posiciones centrales en el cánón, dados la innegable calidad de su obra y su espíritu crítico en la crónica de un pueblo que intenta encontrarse a sí mismo. Beaulieu ha alcanzado a retratar más profundo de la sociedad quebequesa.

Finalmente, Godbout es el escritor *joual* por excelencia. Fundador de la revista *Liberté*, principal medio de difusión cultural del nacionalismo quebequense, Godbout es hoy una figura institucionalizada en más de un campo intelectual: desde director de documentales hasta decano de la Universidad de Ottawa, Godbout simboliza la asimilación, por parte del Québec contemporáneo, de un pasaje de su historia reciente ya zanjado: el nacionalismo soberanista y su literatura-estandarte, que constituyen hoy un rasgo identitario fundamental de esta sociedad. Como tal, su figura refleja las contradicciones de un intelectual pequeño-burgués que pasa de su connivencia con las élites afrancesadas a la contracultura, y de esta, a la institucionalización, en menos de diez años. Efectivamente, entre 1965 y 1975 encontramos en este y en la mayoría de autores del movimiento esta metamorfosis veloz, comprensiblemente, con las diferencias que cada una de sus identidades y circunstancias provee en la ecuación. No puede negarse que la literatura quebequesa moderna se haya visto auspiciada, en gran medida, por la institucionalización de este colectivo, originalmente una comunidad de ideas que hemos llamado aquí *écrivains joual*, en honor a las crónicas de la época, y cuyo establecimiento de los códigos discursivos y genéricos oficiales constituyó el punto de partida para la principal corriente divergente de la época: la literatura femenina y (proto-)feminista quebequesa.

Nuestro estudio de esta literatura ha sido considerablemente detallado, pues son sus obras principales las que inspiraron en Barbara Godard un progresivo viraje hacia el feminismo en su carrera, tanto como crítica literaria como en calidad de traductora y traductóloga. Tal y como hemos indicado, nuestra intención ha sido conectar la metamorfosis de dicha literatura con los correspondientes periodos en la evolución socio-histórica del Québec del siglo XX, y en particular, con el consiguiente restablecimiento de los constructos de género imperantes. Para nosotras, hasta los años sesenta, se observa en la literatura producida por mujeres de esta provincia una relación dialógica entre diferenciación de los códigos masculinos, y de operación propiamente dicha, o, en otras palabras, de construcción de espacios propios. Una diferencia importante entre las comunidades de ideas y otras estructuras es que las primeras nunca dejan de funcionar en los espacios hegemónicos, pues es en el diálogo y la creación de contra-discursos constructivos donde construyen discursivamente su agencia. Por otro lado, la

condición femenina de estas autoras las ha obligado a generar sus propios campos de actuación, dada la dificultad que experimentaban para penetrar en los masculinos.

En este sentido, consideramos refrendada la hipótesis Número 2.4. Sostenemos, pues, que la literatura femenina y (proto-)feminista producida en Québec durante el amplio periodo del siglo XX aquí analizado responde a una voluntad de de-construir las convenciones de género que pesaban en la sociedad quebequesa tradicional. Asimismo, defendemos que este fin se ejecutó, tal y como hemos augurado, a través de mecanismos meta-discursivos: es decir, re-interpretando los cánones poéticos e ideológicos establecidos por los *écrivains joutil* para defender una emancipación femenina paralela a la de Québec y que, sin embargo, los nacionalistas pronto dejaron de lado. Hemos reflexionado brevemente sobre el contexto en el que emergieron las primeras voces femeninas, Gabrielle Roy y Anne Hébert, hoy asimiladas como grandes escritoras quebequesas y no, pese a las múltiples lecturas *au féminin* de su obra, como voces discordantes de mujeres.

Hemos recordado las oscuras primeras décadas del siglo XX en la provincia, fuertemente católica y rural, bajo el nacionalismo tradicionalista y reaccionario de Duplessis. Tras narrar la evolución sufrida por las convenciones de género en dicho periodo, de la mano de la exhaustiva investigación del Colectivo Clio, hemos presentado el salto de Québec a la vida urbana, espacio en el que las autoras que aquí nos conciernen, nacieron, crecieron y comenzaron a operar, al igual que sus análogos masculinos. Hemos discutido los intentos fallidos de la Revolución Tranquila por hacer partícipes a las mujeres de una modernidad comedida, ajena a los grandes saltos que los gobiernos del Parti Libéral sí dio en otros ámbitos. En paralelo, se han retratado las primeras voces *femeninas* de la literatura quebequesa, en un principio deseosas de ofrecer su propia versión de las premisas ideológicas y poéticas impulsadas por el *roman national*, eminentemente masculino, del Québec de esos años. Inevitablemente, lejos de problematizar el imperialismo anglófono, como hacían los *écrivains joutil*, su mero autorretrato las llevó a evidenciar el involucionismo de la sociedad quebequesa, y la dura constatación de que en el nacionalismo, ya en sus orígenes, no había cabida para la emancipación femenina.

Sin embargo, los colectivos feministas de la década siguiente no desistirían en su defensa de “les femmes libres dans un Québec libre”, eslogan empleado con frecuencia en aquellos tiempos. De hecho, las llamadas “ficciones teóricas”, ficciones que imbrican una

discusión teórica de la opresión femenina, con frecuencia entrañan paralelismos entre la colonización de Québec y la de la mujer. No obstante, es difícil obviar que el agente colonizador de la mujer quebequesa es el Québec tradicional. Durante la década de los setenta, y en particular a partir de la primera victoria de Parti Québécois, nuevas promesas afloraron en pos de la igualdad de los géneros, una gran tarea pendiente de los anteriores movimientos de aspiración (proto-)nacionalista. No obstante, se ha demostrado, en línea con las convicciones de la politóloga quebequesa Diane Lamoureux, los mecanismos por los cuales los gobiernos nacionalistas no hicieron sino asimilar a los constructos de género clásicos funciones de mayor protagonismo, pero en cualquier caso productivas para la causa nacionalista masculina.

Poco a poco, en este contexto de alta agitación social, no desprovisto de episodios violentos como los sucesos de Octubre de 1970, las mujeres fueron abriéndose camino no solo dentro de los parámetros creativos patriarcales (el número de voces literarias femeninas fue creciendo), sino fuera de ellos, dada la necesidad de encontrar instrumentos discursivos y editoriales propios. Hemos establecido, pues, distinciones entre una primera generación de voces femeninas, agencias que por primera vez juzgaron su experiencia como mujeres relevante para el retrato de la llamada *québécoitude*, y una segunda, en la que se ha centrado nuestra atención, (proto-)feminista y plenamente dissociada del *roman national* masculino. Tras una discusión terminológica que nos ha permitido mejor establecer estas diferenciaciones, hemos analizado esta literatura (proto-)feminista, con sus matices y diversos grados de compromiso, no como resultante de una brecha con la anterior producción femenina, sino como un *continuum* en el que los posicionamientos feministas van tomando mayor protagonismo, bajo actuaciones discursivas más o menos homogéneas y fines colectivos.

Hemos denominado a esta comunidad de ideas *écriture au féminin*, como resultado de la ya citada discusión terminológica llevada a cabo previamente. Hemos comenzado por ilustrar, uno a uno, los rasgos propios de estas comunidades en las operaciones de sus miembros. Si bien hemos podido observar estos mismos rasgos en las primeras fases de ciertos grupos masculinos retratados en esta tesis, su rápida institucionalización y la falta de jerarquías horizontales en sus operaciones constituyen las principales diferencias con respecto a las comunidades de ideas femeninas. No obstante, nuestro análisis también ha revelado las limitaciones de la *écriture au féminin* en tanto que comunidad de ideas, a saber, aquellos aspectos en los que sus miembros no consiguieron alcanzar las dinámicas idealmente generadas por esta modalidad colaboracional. En particular, hemos observado que sí parece existir una

cierta jerarquía entre las figuras canónicas que aquí se han estudiado con fines ilustrativos: Nicole Brossard es, sin duda, quien ha marcado los rasgos que hoy en día se consideran representativos de toda esta generación de autoras, relegando, quizá, a un segundo plano la riqueza discursiva de muchas propuestas divergentes. Brossard, debemos decir, ya era una figura conocida en el panorama literario e intelectual quebequés cuando su nuevo giro al feminismo terminó de lanzar su carrera. No obstante, y como hemos argumentado aquí, su producción anterior al año 1975, año en que comenzó, según sus propias declaraciones, su exploración del feminismo, es generalmente poética, con la excepción de alguna primera novela. Efectivamente, Brossard era conocida entre los círculos eminentemente masculinos del formalismo quebequés, razón que explica su protagonismo en eventos literarios de gran calado ideológico desde principios de los setenta (véase la *Nuit de la poésie* de 1970). La suya, no obstante, era una presencia aislada, minoritaria, por femenina, y falta de las conexiones que más tarde generaría con otras autoras feministas.

Es su salto a la novela femenina, y en particular a la novela lesbiana, el que le permite explorar el que se convertirá en el género por excelencia del movimiento: las ficciones teóricas. Con el fin de ilustrar mejor la labor traductológica de Godard, que, como ella misma ha reconocido, se nutre de las propias estrategias de Brossard, hemos discutido los rasgos discursivos que caracterizan a dicho género, marcado por el gusto formalista de esta autora. Por un lado, estamos ante textos polifónicos, donde se superponen multitud de voces femeninas. La voz de la propia escritora produce, de hecho, un constante metadiscurso al presentarse con frecuencia como protagonista de la obra, explícitamente presentada como un manuscrito en ciernes, en un claro ejercicio de autoficción que recuerda al *roman de l'écriture* típico de los *écrivains joual*. Aquí, sin embargo, la toma de conciencia que se produce no tiene que ver con la colonización de Québec por parte de Angloamérica, sino con la explotación de las mujeres como meros cuerpos reproductivos, y la consiguiente búsqueda de formas de sexualidad liberadoras, no subordinadas a la maternidad. La temática de la relación entre madres e hijas, generalmente motivo de angustia en las novelas femeninas de la ya reseñada primera generación de escritoras quebequenses, desaparece, pues, con la propio vínculo materno-filial.

El discurso femenino se caracteriza por rasgos léxicos innovadores, desde neologismos que permitan contar las experiencias inéditas de la feminidad voces alteradas gracias a deconstrucciones etimológicas que ponen de manifiesto la manipulación patriarcal del

vocabulario. La sintaxis, por otro lado, es fragmentaria, vacilante, imitando así no solo el autodiscurso de los monólogos interiores, sino las formas más puras de lengua materna que existen: las de los bebés. El desorden discursivo, además, cumple otras funciones de calado ideológico: niega la linealidad y, por tanto, la neutralidad de las narraciones patriarcales, incluidas las de las historias nacionales. abogando por nuevos relatos. Revaloriza, de igual manera, la histeria con la que muchos hombres asocian el hablar femenino, y que no es sino producto de una maquiavélica desarticulación de la auténtica lengua materna por parte del patriarcado. Finalmente, encontramos una serie de metáforas que relacionan texto con cuerpo, escritura con experimentación y sexualidad. Dada la centralidad de la vida urbana montrealés en la experiencia de estas mujeres, Brossard también extiende esta última metáfora entre texto y cuerpo a la geografía de la gran urbe, comparando su exploración con la del cuerpo de una mujer.

Efectivamente, si Brossard y su estilo complejo, inasible, han devenido el estandarte de un feminismo quebequés complejo y variado, ha sido en gran medida por la promoción que un nacionalismo interesado ha hecho de su producción. Esta autora ha operado desde el principio de su carrera entre nacionalismo y feminismo de manera interseccional. Cuando su generación comprendió que el combate ideológico contra la opresión de Québec se libraría en la novela, y no en una poesía abstracta, onírica y evasiva, ella actuó en consecuencia. Como preludeo a su salto al feminismo, marcado por una serie de proyectos en el marco del Año internacional de la mujer (1975), Brossard también aprovechó su aceptación en los círculos literarios masculinos para embarcarse en la edición de revistas literarias que recogían entonces la más innovadora de las producciones literarias de la provincia. Poco a poco, y mientras sus considerables diferencias con otros miembros se lo permitieron, Brossard fue tomando las riendas de *La Barre du Jour*, donde publicó a muchas de las escritoras que formarían parte de esta segunda generación, plenamente feminista. También fundó, junto con France Théoret, la efímera *Têtes de pioche*. Indudablemente, por su control de los primeros medios de difusión de la literatura feminista quebequesa, la visibilidad de Brossard no tardó en llamar la atención de Barbara Godard, con quien ya había coincidido durante sus años de estudiante en la Universidad de Montreal. Parte de su institucionalización a escala nacional, mediante la obtención de las más altas distinciones canadienses, se debe, sin duda, a la promoción incesante que Godard realizó de su obra durante más de una década. Con el auge del feminismo entre los círculos intelectuales de la Angloamérica de los ochenta, su contribución literaria pronto se percibió como productiva por parte de las élites institucionales de Ottawa. Desprovistas, en

cambio, del afán traductor de Godard o de algunas otras académicas, intelectuales y escritoras anglófonas que poco a poco se congregaban en torno a ella, las otras dos figuras del cánón feminista quebequés aquí reseñadas no han corrido la misma suerte.

France Théoret ha recibido, sin duda merecidamente, numerosos reconocimientos a su trayectoria literaria. A mediados de los setenta, todavía no había abandonado su carrera como profesora de secundaria, y se dedicaba a la literatura solo a tiempo parcial. No obstante, ello no le impidió participar en las iniciativas editoriales de Brossard, tanto fuera como dentro de *La Barre du Jour*. Sin embargo, su visión del discurso femenino comenzó a distanciarse muy pronto de la de la propia Brossard. Para Théoret, la literatura feminista debía ser clara, y el *joual* extremo que algunas autoras emulaban de los autores masculinos no hacía sino distorsionarla. Atribuía, pues, gran importancia a una transmisión efectiva de una ideología emancipatoria, que problematizaba, en su caso, figuras poco trabajadas en su generación, pero de gran importancia, como las de las prostitutas. Si bien la literatura de Théoret comparte con la de Brossard la superposición de voces y el tratamiento de la voz narradora como una forma de metadiscurso crítica con la realidad, entre otros rasgos, su desafío del formalismo *brossardiano* puede haber contribuido a su exclusión tácita de muchos proyectos de promoción. Hasta 1991, con la antología que Godard preparó con las traducciones de sus primeros relatos, nadie había tratado de traducir su obra al inglés. La mayoría de sus novelas habrían de esperar hasta la década de los 2000 para ser traducidas, esta vez, por Luise von Flotow, miembro de la segunda ola de traductoras feministas que reseña esta tesis.

La producción de Louky Bersianik, por su parte, también debió esperar al menos una década para comenzar a verse traducida. No obstante, sus líneas maestras se asemejan más a las de Brossard. Por un lado, ha explorado con detalle las limitaciones que la maternidad impone a las mujeres, así como los vestigios de abuso sobre el género femenino en el léxico de la lengua francesa. En sus textos, las deconstrucciones etimológicas con fines paródicos son frecuentes, y, sin embargo, su discurso resulta algo más transparente que el de Brossard. De nuevo, observamos cómo Bersianik, al igual que Madeleine Gagnon y varias otras autoras feministas de una generación que muchos/as simplifican como *brossardiana*, recibió reconocimiento, e incluso participó junto con Théoret en los primeros intentos de Godard por establecer una crítica literaria transnacional (Canadá-Québec) a través de *Tessera*. Sin embargo, nadie hizo de la traducción de sus textos un asunto personal, ni se enfrentó sistemáticamente con un comité editorial durante años con el fin de promocionarla, como

Godard sí hizo con Brossard. Las limitaciones del propio movimiento feminista traductor en las provincias anglófonas, que resumiremos algo más abajo, son indisociables de la composición y la percepción finales de esta tríada de autoras y de su generación. De hecho, gran parte de la internacionalización de la escritura feminista quebequesa se produjo con la de la escuela traductora feminista que fundó Godard, y ha sido comentada, revisada e incluso traducida, al francés y a otras lenguas como el español, gracias a su tesón. Podemos, por tanto, defender, que también ha existido un *continuum* entre las literatas feministas quebequesas y las traductoras que, a lo largo de más de dos décadas, se fueron encargando de traducirlas al inglés para la población canadiense anglófona. Su historia, pues, no concluye con la progresiva asimilación de su escritura por parte de los nacionalismos imperantes. Esta concluye con el salto a los entornos académicos feministas anglófonos, e incluso con su instrumentalización como parte de un civismo canadiense que escucha y defiende a las mujeres de Québec mejor que sus élites nacionalistas.

En general, hemos argumentado que, hasta su asimilación definitiva dentro del movimiento nacionalista patriarcal, los feminismos literarios, al igual que los asociacionismos políticos de esta corriente, han resistido con cierta habilidad los esfuerzos de institucionalización a los que el patriarcado los ha sometido. De nuevo, las causas de disensión intra-patriarcal perciben como productivas las voces femeninas e incluso las feministas para sus propios fines, en momentos en los que se requiere o establecer o reforzar las identidades nacionales. Bajo sus diversos pretextos y fórmulas, tanto el nacionalismo quebequés como el anglófono han fagocitado, en la medida de sus posibilidades, los feminismos variados que se han producido en Canadá durante las últimas décadas. La agencia feminista de Barbara Godard, en sus facetas tanto de crítica como de traductóloga/traductora, ha sido sometida a un proceso similar por parte de los discursos dominantes de la Literatura Canadiense y los Estudios Canadienses de la traducción.

El tercer capítulo, como hemos visto, ha proporcionado una panorámica de los campos de la Literatura Canadiense y su crítica feminista, proveyendo así el debido contexto sociocrítico a la faceta de crítica literaria de Godard. En el caso del cuarto, el objetivo principal ha sido ubicar la literatura feminista traducida por esta figura dentro de su sistema de partida, el quebequés. Esto, si bien *a priori* puede parecer ajeno a su agencia, permite evaluar con mayor rigor la aproximación que Godard hizo a la literatura producida en la provincia por aquellos años, tanto masculina como femenina y feminista. Hemos llegado al convencimiento de que su

éxito en la creación de una intercultural feminista entre el Canadá anglófono y Québec, a través de prácticas subversivas tanto de crítica literaria como de traducción, se debe en gran parte a que la literatura feminista quebequesa recibió en este nuevo espacio, esta nueva comunidad de ideas, un nuevo encuadre, más justo que el que obtuvo en el sistema literario quebequés. Asimismo, y dado que las novelas feministas que aquí nos ocupan son *interseccionales*, por cuanto no son ajenas a las condiciones desfavorecidas de la llamada *québécoisité*, se ha constatado que Godard mostró ante dicha interseccionalidad una sensibilidad mayor que la del resto de traductores y traductoras anglófonos/as de la época.

Así, el quinto y último capítulo de nuestra tesis, dedicado por fin a un retrato sociocrítico de la figura de Godard, procede, una vez más, de lo general a lo particular. Un primer paso, por tanto, ha consistido en describir la aparente búsqueda de relaciones más estrechas entre las llamadas “dos soledades” de Canadá que propiciaron las instituciones federales durante aquel tiempo. Sin duda, la agencia traductora de Godard no constituía un fenómeno aislado, por lo que, pese a su gran independencia y singularidad, ha de contextualizarse en el movimiento de consolidación de la profesión traductora que el estado canadiense consideró instrumental para su proyecto de “Canadianización”. A través del Canada Council, como ya se ha dicho, se pusieron en marcha una serie de políticas culturales, a las que nuestra traductora en modo alguno fue ajena, que trajeron asociadas cuantiosas subvenciones para el intercambio traductor entre las dos culturas mayoritarias del país. Así, nuestra crítica de la figura de Godard requiere la revisión previa de dos asociaciones con funciones inapelables en el nuevo polisistema canadiense: La *Association of Canadian and Québec Literatures* (ACQL) y la *Canadian Translators Association*, hoy conocida como la *Literary Translators Association of Canada* (LTAC).

La ACQL constituyó la materialización, personalista y unidireccional, de los esfuerzos de los académicos anglófonos por fundar un campo de crítica literaria *intercultural* en Canadá, que congregara a expertos de cada una de estas “dos soledades”. Su objetivo, realizado a través de conferencias anuales, era promover una investigación de ámbito nacional en las dos literaturas mayoritarias del país, que permitiera integrarlas en un todo sistémico. Como se ha observado, el fracaso de esta asociación en su búsqueda de académicos quebequeses verdaderamente comprometidos con este proyecto se debió, en gran parte, a que, pese a los discursos benevolentes de los agentes anglófonos implicados, los proyectos de consolidación

nacional anglófono y quebequés eran opuestos e incompatibles. Asimismo, y como ya se ha dicho, estos discursos, negacionistas en lo que respecta a desequilibrios de poder entre el Canadá anglófono y Québec, desentonaban con la realidad de la investigación literaria en las facultades anglófonas, todavía centrada exclusivamente en la literatura en inglés. Pese a la obtención de cambios importantes en el currículum de los primeros programas doctorales en Literatura Canadiense (por ejemplo, la exigencia, antes inexistente, de certificar un conocimiento elevado de francés), la ACQL tuvo serias dificultades para definir en los espacios académicos quebequeses un nicho similar al que expertos como Frank Davey o D.G. Jones habían generado en su entorno. Asimismo, como se ha indicado, el papel otorgado por Robin Mathews, poeta y fundador de la asociación, a figuras feministas emergentes como la propia Godard refleja fielmente la subestimación inicial del feminismo por parte de las estructuras académicas imperantes. Hoy, sin embargo, y en gran medida a través de homenajes a la figura liminar de Godard, la Literatura canadiense ha sabido asimilar la causa de género, y contabilizar entre sus éxitos el acercamiento efectivo a un polisistema equilibrado, bicultural y bilingüe, que esta académica logró.

Por otro lado, la LTAC, en aquel entonces la *Canadian Translators Association*, se constituyó como respuesta a la nueva demanda de traductores/as y proyectos de traducción literaria generada por el Canada Council. Resulta interesante, como hemos observado, que Godard rechazara un puesto como coordinadora de subvenciones para sus programas de traducción. No obstante, como también hemos subrayado, en el contexto de su alianza editorial con Frank Davey, esta académica supo responder con rapidez a las benignas condiciones que Canadá estaba ofreciendo para la traducción de literatura entre sus dos lenguas oficiales. En cualquier caso, la progresión de la *Canadian Translators Association* se ha narrado aquí como completamente independiente, en sus fases y propósitos, de la carrera de Godard, y ello por buena razón. Más allá de la evidente frialdad con la que las estructuras sistémicas trataron el feminismo en un principio, que se ilustra con mayor claridad a través de la revisión pormenorizada de la trayectoria de Godard, las primeras secciones se han ocupado de responder a la Hipótesis Número 3.1., relativa a la tendencia general observada entre los traductores/as anglófonos/as canadienses. Resulta importante retratar la función de la literatura quebequesa traducida, sea esta patriarcal o femenina/feminista, en especial por cuanto la propia contribución traductora de Godard se ha visto asimilada bajo intereses mayoritarios de unificación nacional. De hecho, de acuerdo con Mezei, "asimilación" resulta la palabra

adecuada para definir la “tendencia” traductora, de acuerdo con la terminología de Toury, de las agencias traductoras dominantes en el polisistema canadiense, que esquematizaron la literatura combativa quebequesa de los sesenta y setenta hasta tornarla en un producto coincidente con las limitadas expectativas del lectorado anglófono. Ciertamente, su intervención en las relaciones entre ambas poblaciones ha perseguido un acercamiento de la cultura quebequesa a la anglófona, que muchos consideran positivo y lamentablemente inexistente en los entornos literarios quebequeses. No obstante, se trata de una intervención ideologizada, fundada en un determinado proyecto de estado-nación que no todos los agentes implicados comparten. En este sentido, nuestra descripción de las distintas etapas experimentadas por la agencia de Barbara Godard ha permitido demostrar, como indicábamos anteriormente, su mayor sensibilidad que su feminismo le confería hacia las preocupaciones lingüísticas y culturales de la provincia.

Las secciones finales de la tesis tratan de responder, pues, al sentido general de la Hipótesis Número 3, y más concretamente la Hipótesis Número 3.2., concerniente al papel pionero de la agencia feminista de Godard en la creación de una intercultura que permitió el diálogo entre las ya citadas “dos soledades” canadienses. Hemos sostenido que la consolidación de esta intercultura, una comunidad de ideas que hemos denominado Estudios canadienses feministas de la traducción, constituyó el punto álgido de la trayectoria de Godard: la época de consolidación de una praxis eminentemente feminista en los distintos campos de la Literatura Canadiense. De acuerdo con los estadios ya discutidos para las comunidades de ideas, hemos dividido el estudio de la carrera de Godard en cuatro fases. La primera, correspondiente al inicio de su carrera, desde la segunda mitad de los setenta hasta mediados de los ochenta, Godard comenzó un proceso de disociación de las estructuras ya consolidadas de la Literatura canadiense. Parte de dicha disociación se produjo, como hemos argumentado, en el campo académico, a través de su reivindicación de asignaturas centradas en la producción literaria feminista y feminista tanto anglófona como francófona. Sus dificultades para la inserción de la crítica literaria feminista que ella misma practicaba en el currículum general de los programas de literatura en York han sido descritas con detalle. No obstante, con el paso de los años y su propia consolidación como investigadora, nuestra protagonista fue logrando una mayor influencia en el diseño de estos programas.

Otra parte de sus esfuerzos de disociación, como se ha dicho, se produjo en los ya consolidados espacios editoriales anglófonos. De la mano de Frank Davey, Godard comenzó a ganar

influencia en la toma de decisiones del comité editorial de Coach House Press con respecto a su recién inaugurada colección *Québec Translations*. Esta colección, de hecho, fue promovida por Godard, ante la gran afluencia de subvenciones ofrecidas por el Canada Council a la traducción de obra francófona. Se ha narrado, pues, el desgaste progresivo que su creciente interés por la literatura feminista quebequesa produjo en sus relaciones con agentes decisivos en la editorial, opuestos, en particular, al gran número de obras de Nicole Brossard cuya traducción Godard proponía. Su trayectoria de once años como editora de la ya citada colección de traducciones no estuvo exenta de otras dificultades, en parte propiciadas por la escasa colaboración brindada por las editoriales quebequesas, que gestionaban los derechos de traducción de los originales. Creemos que los procesos de negociación de los que Godard se ocupaba personalmente con el fin de obtener dichos derechos le permitieron forjar una serie de alianzas editoriales que más tarde le serían enormemente útiles. Por otro lado, pensamos también que su formación híbrida, realizada entre Toronto, Montreal y Burdeos le confería la sensibilidad de la que otros agentes carecían en su entorno para estas negociaciones. Como se observa, disociación y operación son inseparables en labor de Godard durante estos años.

Como colofón a esta primera fase de su carrera hemos ofrecido un análisis crítico-discursivo, de corte feminista, de una de las obras que Godard tradujo en este periodo, esta vez para Clarke Irwin, dada su preexistente posesión de los derechos de traducción: *Don L'Orignal*, de la autora acadiana Antonine Maillet (1972/1978). Pese a su aparente objetivo nacionalista, hemos tratado de demostrar cómo esta obra albergaba también convenciones de género muy modernas y esperanzadoras, vehiculadas, en línea con los esfuerzos de los *écrivains joual* quebequeses, por un dialecto acadiano en el que pocos/as pensaban en la época. Efectivamente, estamos ante la inauguración del llamado *roman acadien*, término paralelo al del *roman québécois* de aquellos años, con aspiraciones políticas y lingüísticas propias. Tras un estudio pormenorizado de original y traducción, hemos demostrado cómo la agencia feminista de Godard ya operaba en sus primeras traducciones, aunada a una apertura inédita entre los traductores/as anglófonos hacia las preocupaciones políticas y lingüísticas que entraña la obra.

La segunda fase reseñada en la carrera de Godard responde a los inicios de su agencia feminista, tanto en su faceta de crítica como en su praxis traductora, en una época en que el auge del feminismo en Angloamérica era evidente. Es a partir de entonces cuando sus constantes esfuerzos por incluir asignaturas de crítica literaria feminista en el currículum de los programas

de inglés de York comienza a dar sus frutos, tras varios desencuentros con los respectivos coordinadores/as. Ante la apropiación generalizada del feminismo, como ideología productiva para el proyecto cívico candiense, editoriales como la propia Coach House Press comienzan a aumentar su interés por las autoras feministas quebequenses. Parte de la ya citada centralidad de Brossard en el cánón feminista quebequense se debe a una esquematización de las pocas incursiones traductoras que la industria del libro anglófona había realizado en esta corriente, esencialmente impulsadas por nuestra protagonista. De hecho, la última traducción que Godard elaboró personalmente para Coach House, antes de cortar definitivamente sus relaciones con ella, correspondió a una novela de Nicole Brossard, *L'amèr, ou, Le Chapitre Effrité* (1977/1984). Precisamente por simbolizar su escisión definitiva del sistema, hemos elegido un fragmento de esta traducción para ilustrar discursivamente las operaciones la académica y traductora en este periodo. El fragmento en cuestión, correspondiente a un retrato divergente de la maternidad, central en la aportación ideológica de esta obra, nos ha permitido ejemplificar las características de las "ficciones teóricas" que la propia Godard definiría y estudiaría pocos años más tarde a través de su labor en *Tessera*. Asimismo, y lógicamente, se han discutido las estrategias desarrolladas como respuesta a los innovadores rasgos discursivos del original. Estas constituyen, gracias a su suplementación con prefacios, notas al pie, y posteriores artículos académicos, ejemplos excepcionales de una agencia feminista autoconsciente y autocrítica en traducción.

La tercera fase experimentada por la carrera de Godard, contextualizada en los años ochenta, es la de consolidación de una agencia plenamente feminista en el amplio abanico de actividades híbridas, académicas y traductivas, en las que venía involucrándose. Hemos sostenido que, en esta etapa de madurez académica Godard comenzó a expandir su concepción de la crítica literaria feminista hacia la praxis traductiva, con la que había establecido sus primeros contactos. No obstante, la suya no fue una evolución aislada, sino que armonizó su metamorfosis individual con el establecimiento de una red de relaciones creativas a través de la revista *Tessera*. Efectivamente, los proyectos que Godard impulsó a través de este cauce, por ella creado, congregaron en torno a su figura a numerosas mujeres, francófonas y anglófonas, con perfiles creativos e identidades diversos, desde escritoras como Daphne Marlatt o France Théoret a académicas como una joven Sherry Simon, la también escritora Lise Gauvin, o Josée Lambert. Un primer paso en la creación de esta "intercultural" feminista, poblada, como se ha dicho, de afinidades de todo tipo, ideológicas, profesionales e incluso

emocionales, algo en lo que hemos hecho incapié en todas las comunidades de ideas masculinas y femeninas aquí presentadas. El segundo paso dado por Godard en la consolidación de esta intercultura ha consistido en el salto, tanto crítico como práctico, a lo que ella denominó en el año 1989 la "traduction au féminin", y que constituyó lo que aquí hemos denominado Estudios Canadienses Feministas de la Traducción. Para nosotras, no había ilustración más clara del funcionamiento de esta comunidad de ideas que un estudio de las operaciones de *Tessera* y, más concretamente, el análisis crítico-discursivo de un texto traducido colectivamente en el número de 1989. Se trata de un poema de Lola Lemire Tostevin, autora feminista bilingüe, acompañado por las distintas traducciones elaboradas y comentadas por varias colaboradoras habituales de la revista, entre ellas la propia Godard. Este ejercicio, tan propio de las comunidades de ideas femeninas que esta tesis persigue describir, nos ha permitido explorar con detalle los textos poéticos inspirados por las llamadas "ficciones teóricas", poco comunes en esta corriente, bajo una perspectiva feminista. Nuestra decisión de centrarnos principalmente en el género narrativo para nuestro análisis, como se ha argumentado en la sección teo-metodológica de esta tesis, reside en las conexiones que observamos, como muchas críticas feministas antes que nosotras, entre el cultivo de la novela y la constitución o el refuerzo de estados-nación. Consecuentemente, su apropiación por parte de las feministas canadienses, y particularmente por las quebequesas, resulta especialmente significativa en la configuración de grupos femeninos afines que tradicionalmente han quedado fuera de la construcción patriarcal de las identidades nacionales.

Finalmente, la cuarta fase en la carrera de Godard corresponde a su progresivo relevo por parte de una nueva generación de críticas y traductólogas feministas canadienses, particularmente Sherry Simon y Luise von Flotow. En esta década, profundamente consciente de las limitaciones del movimiento que ella misma había iniciado la década anterior, Godard trató de emprender la traducción de una gran autora quebequesa, France Théoret, a quien hasta entonces nadie había publicado en inglés. Asimismo, se aprecian en su agencia gestos inéditos por reflejar en sus últimos artículos la gran diversidad cultural y racial que el movimiento fue incapaz de integrar en los ochenta. Ambas líneas de actuación, no obstante, fueron continuadas por la ya citada segunda generación de lo que ya entonces constituía una nueva escuela. Ha sido, de hecho, la revisión historiográfica y antológica que estas dos autoras realizaron en la década de los noventa la que ha permitido a los Estudios Canadienses Feministas de la Traducción su apertura definitiva a la transnacionalidad, inspirando movimientos similares en

otras partes del globo. En esta empresa, no obstante, Simon ha tenido un papel secundario a partir del nuevo milenio. Como se ha dicho, ha sido Flotow quien, por un lado, ha continuado la tarea de traducir a las escritoras olvidadas en los ochenta, y particularmente a France Théoret. Su gran relevancia como teórica de la traducción feminista, por otro lado, ha sabido abrirse a las nuevas transnacionalidades durante las dos últimas décadas, creando así un puente entre la escuela canadiense original y la multiplicidad de nuevos espacios de debate que la traducción feminista ha inspirado en los últimos años, por primera vez no circunscritos al primer mundo. Así pues, hemos planteado, a modo de interrogante, si esta escuela canadiense primigenia de traducción feminista no ha acabado por devenir una “facultad invisible” y, de ser así, si su funcionamiento como tal difiere de sus análogos masculinos, retratados también en esta tesis. Estas nuevas líneas de investigación, no obstante, deberán continuarse en trabajos futuros.

Las próximas décadas traerán consigo un crecimiento considerable de los esfuerzos por retratar a las mujeres en aquellos espacios de donde han sido borradas por la historiografía patriarcal. Dichos esfuerzos, lógicamente, superarán las fronteras epistémicas conocidas, no solo por el encorsetamiento masculino de las disciplinas existentes, sino por la falta de transversalidad en el gran baile de egos que muchas veces han protagonizado los espacios de debate académico en el pasado. Resulta trágico, no obstante, que el feminismo, como forma de “civismo blanco”, todavía sea, a día de hoy, una ideología necesaria. Que invisibilice, como denuncian los feminismos no hegemónicos, la lucha igualmente urgente de agencias divergentes distintas a las motivadas por la asimetría entre hombre y mujer. Hoy se impulsan desde las fronteras disciplinares lo que Lionnet y Shih llaman “transnacionalidades mínimas”. Sin duda, la constante erosión de fronteras que Godard encarnó a lo largo de su trayectoria constituyó una forma de “transnacionalidad dominante”, realizable entonces, y analizable ahora, por aprovechar cauces de divergencia ya existentes. Sus andanzas en teoría de la literatura, únicas en su generación, se nutrieron, no obstante, del impulso que Davey y otros antes que ella dieron a la posibilidad de un polisistema canadiense bicultural y bilingüe, ante la indiferencia de la mayoría de agentes en la época. La progresiva influencia de esta nueva élite de académicos, en modo alguno transversal, permitió que alguien como Barbara Godard, alineada con los principales ejes de hegemonía en la sociedad canadiense, pudiera introducir un factor moderadamente discordante a la ecuación: el de género, que exigía el reconocimiento de las mujeres quebequenses y proponía una horizontalidad dialógica, en cuya búsqueda sus análogos masculinos habían fracasado.

Solo hacia el final de su carrera, nuestra protagonista comenzó a prestar su voz a las agencias anticoloniales más extremas de Canadá, aquellas que experimentaban de manera aguda las "transnacionalidades mínimas" del país, sobreviviendo mientras todos (y todas) hablaban de las famosas "dos soledades" y el drama confederal. Mujeres indígenas, afrocanadienses, asiáticas, musulmanas, inmigrantes de todos los rincones del planeta. Quebequenses o anglófonas, todas ellas quedaron fuera de los espacios interculturales que los feminismos aquí retratados generaron para su público más fácil, el que las élites patriarcales escucharían con mayor probabilidad: sus mujeres, hermanas y colegas. Esta tesis se ha querido ubicar en un espacio que consideramos muy poco transitado: el de las disquisiciones metodológicas que puedan conducirnos a una historia feminista de la traducción rigurosa.

Dada la aquiescencia de Barbara Godard con los diversos espacios aquí retratados, algunos de ellos divergentes, pero la mayoría hegemónicos, nuestra primera experiencia de análisis historiográfica ha resultado menos dificultosa, seguramente gracias a la existencia de los ya citados cauces previos. Innegablemente, el esfuerzo arqueológico requerido para su ejecución ha sido considerable. Sin embargo, si bien de manera engañosa, y al servicio de los intereses de siempre, el mapa cuyas líneas hemos redibujado ya existía. En cambio, de los territorios que abarcarán los mapas futuros, pese a los esfuerzos de exploración cada vez más comunes en nuestra disciplina y en otras, sabemos poco. No hay cauces, ni líneas ni fronteras. Quizá, no obstante, los colectivos que aguardan a que les prestemos una voz auténticamente comprometida no necesitan mapas. Necesitan el tiempo que Barbara Godard, como muchos/as otros/as, no tuvo para terminar de cuestionar su propia agencia. La cantidad de experiencias sin retorno que en Canadá, como en el resto de empeñados estados-nación, se están dando cada día sin que puedan seguir pasando desapercibidas. Esta tesis invita a las Barbaras Godard del nuevo milenio a continuar narrando por donde Barbara Thompson Godard dejó la historia.

7. References

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8. Appendix

8.1. A Chronology of Barbara Godard's Career in Context

TABLE 10: A CHRONOLOGICAL AXIS COMPARING THE EVOLUTION OF BARBARA GODARD'S CAREER WITH RELEVANT EVENTS IN THE CANADIAN/QUÉBECOIS CONTEXT.

Year	Events in Barbara Godard's Life/Career	Other events
1934		Canada's Translation Bureau/Bureau de la traduction is born.
1936		Maurice Duplessis is elected Québec's Prime Minister for the first time. The <i>grande noirceur</i> begins.
1939		Maurice Duplessis is defeted in Québec's provincial elections..
1940		Québec passes female suffrage act on Thérèse Casgrain's initiative. The Société des traducteurs du Québec is born.
1942	Barbara Godard's birth.	
1944		Maurice Duplessis is elected Québec's Prime Minister for the second time.
1945		Gabrielle Roy publishes <i>Bonheur d'occasion</i> .
1947		The first translated Francophone novel winning the Governor General's Award is by a woman: Gabrielle Roy's <i>The Tin Flute</i> .
1948		The Automatists, among whom Claude Gauvreau, release the anti-establishment, anti-religious, <i>Refus Global</i> manifesto.
1949		The Massey Commission is appointed by Premier Louis St-Laurent.

1950		<p>A second Francophone novel in translation, again authored by a woman, wins the Governor General's Award: Germaine de Guèvremont's <i>The Outlander</i>.</p> <p>The journal <i>Cité Libre</i> is founded on Gérard Pelletier's and Pierre Elliot Trudeau's initiative.</p>
1953		Éditions de l'Hexagone is born.
1957		<p>Gabrielle Roy wins the Governor General's Award again with her translated novel <i>Street of Riches</i>.</p> <p>The Canada Council for the Arts is born.</p>
1959		<p>Québécois Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis dies while in office. The Grande Noirceur ends.</p> <p>The Canada Council for the Arts start to consider Francophone literature eligible for its Governor General's Award.</p> <p>The journal Canadian Literature is born.</p> <p>The journal <i>Liberté</i> is born on the initiative, among others, of Jacques Godbout.</p>
1960		<p>Jean Lesage, elected Prime Minister of Québec. The Quiet Revolution begins.</p> <p>The Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance nationale is born .</p> <p>Anne Hébert wins the Governor General's Award with her anthology <i>Poèmes</i>.</p>

1961		<p>The Office de la Langue Française and the Conseil des Arts du Québec are born.</p> <p>Marie-Claire Kirkland-Casgrain, first female member of the Québec Parliament.</p> <p>Jean Lesage visits France, treated like a head of state.</p> <p>Publisher Éditions du Jour is born.</p>
1963	<p>Godard and other student activists organise a demonstration and draft a brief requesting the Ontario government to acknowledge “le fait canadien-français”.</p>	<p>The Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) is born.</p> <p><i>Parti Pris</i>, a pro-independence political journal, is born.</p> <p>The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is born.</p> <p>The so-called Commission Parent, concerned with education in Québec, starts.</p> <p>The Rhinoceros Party is founded on Jacques Ferron’s initiative.</p> <p>Publisher Boréal Express (Éditions du Boréal) is born.</p>
1964	<p>BA (Honours) at the University of Toronto</p>	<p>Passing of the Loi sur la capacité juridique de la femme mariée/ An Act Respecting the Legal Capacity of Married Women, on Kirkland-Casgrain’s initiative.</p> <p>The Journal de Montréal is born.</p> <p>Éditions Parti Pris is born.</p>

1965		<p>La Barre du Jour is founded by Nicole Brossard, Marcel Saint-Pierre, Roger Soublière and Jan Stafford.</p> <p>Coach House Press is founded on the initiative of Stan Bevington and Dennis Reid.</p> <p>Open Letter is founded by Frank Davey.</p>
1966		<p>The Fédération des Femmes du Québec is born on Thérèse Casgrain's initiative.</p> <p>The Quiet Revolution ends.</p> <p>Margaret Atwood wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Circle Game</i>.</p> <p>Claire Martin wins the Governor General's Award with <i>La joue droite</i>.</p>

1967

MA degree at the Université de
Montréal
(Final dissertation: comparison of
English and French Canadian novels,
sup. by Philippe Stratford)

Canadian Centennial: 100 years of the
Canadian Confederation.

The Royal Commission on the Status
of Women in Canada (Bird
Commission) begins.

Expo 67', celebrated in Montreal.
Charles De Gaulle makes a
controversial statement: Vive le
Québec libre !

The Mouvement souveraineté-
association is born on René
Lévesque's initiative.

The journal Voix et images du pays
(later UQAM's Voix et images) is
born.

Feminist playwright Françoise
Loranger wins the Governor General's
Award with *Encore Cinq Minutes*.

Feminist writer Louise Maheux-
Forcier wins the Governor General's
Award with *Un Forêt pour Zoé*.

Nationalist writer Jacques Godbout
wins the Governor General's Award
with *Salut Galarneau!*

<p>1968</p>	<p>Barbara Godard begins teaching at Paris VIII-Vincennes, at the same department as Hélène Cixous, till 1970.</p>	<p>Pierre Elliott Trudeau, elected Prime Minister of Canada.</p> <p>Journal <i>Parti Pris</i> becomes inactive. The publishing house under the same name continues.</p> <p>The Parti Québécois is born.</p> <p>Member of the <i>Front de Libération du Québec</i> Pierre Vallières releases <i>Nègres blancs d'Amérique</i>, comparing Québécois with African-American slaves.</p> <p>Literature and translation journal <i>Ellipse</i>, is born on the initiative of D.G. Jones and other faculty members of Université Sherbrooke.</p> <p>The journal <i>Herbes rouges</i> is born.</p> <p>Feminist writer Marie-Claire Blais wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Manuscripts de Pauline Archange</i>.</p> <p>Nationalist writer Hubert Aquin wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Trou de Mémoire</i>.</p> <p>Alice Munro wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Dance of the Happy Shades</i>.</p>
<p>1969</p>	<p>Maîtrise at the Université de Paris VIII – Vincennes (Final dissertation: the American novel, sup. by Pierre Dommerges)</p>	<p>Passing of the Official Languages Act. Co-officiality of French, plus encouragement and financial support of translation between Canada's two official languages.</p>

1970		<p>The October Crisis takes place.</p> <p>The pro-independence conflict in Québec is taking shape.</p> <p>The <i>Front de Libération du Québec</i> (FLQ) kidnaps British diplomat James Cross and deputy premier Pierre Laporte, killing the latter shortly after.</p> <p>Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, passes the War Measures Act, therefore authorizing the Canadian militia to take control over Québec.</p>
1971	<p>PhD, Doctorat 3e Cycle, at the Université de Bordeaux ("God's Country": L'homme et la terre dans le roman des deux Canada, supervisor Robert Escarpit)</p> <p>Barbara Godard begins teaching at York University.</p>	<p>Sheila Fischman prepares <i>Ellipse's</i> special issue (no. 6-9) featuring translations of vindictive texts on October Crisis.</p> <p>The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concludes.</p>
1972	<p>Barbara Godard gathers and translates several texts by Québec poets for Frank Davey's <i>Open Letter</i> 1972 issue, "Art >n Action".</p>	<p>The Canada Council starts a founding program to support the translation of literature between Canada's two official languages.</p> <p>The Conseil du Statut de la Femme is born on Claire Kirkland-Casgrain's initiative (Bill 63).</p> <p>First Rencontre québécoise internationale des écrivains, on the initiative of journal Liberté.</p>

1973	Barbara Godard declines an offer to become the Canada Council program's first translations officer.	<p>The Centre des femmes de Montréal is born.</p> <p>The feminist Théâtre des cuisines is born.</p> <p>The Canada Council starts its block grant program, suppressing part of the preliminary scrutiny previously mandatory for eligibility.</p>
1974	Barbara Godard and Frank Davey begin the Coach House Press Québec Translation series, on Godard's initiative.	<p>Concordia University is born.</p> <p>The Association for Canadian and Québec Literatures is born.</p> <p>The journal Québec Français is born.</p> <p>Madelaine Gagnon's <i>Pour les femmes et tous les autres</i> is released.</p>
1975	Coach House Press release Sheila Fischman's translation of Victor Lévy-Beaulieu's <i>Jack Kerouac</i> .	<p>Women's International Year.</p> <p>Brossard, Theoret, and others launch the play <i>La nef des sorcières</i>, Québec's first totally feminist text.</p> <p>Feminist publishing house Éditions de la pleine lune is born.</p> <p>Publisher Éditions Quinze is born.</p> <p>Anne Hébert wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Les Enfants du Sabbat</i>.</p>

<p>1976</p>	<p>Coach House Press release Larry Souldice's translation of Nicole Brossard's <i>Un livre</i> as <i>A Book</i>.</p> <p>Coach House Press release Patricia Claxton's translation of Nicole Brossard's <i>Sold-Out</i> as <i>Turn of a Pang</i>.</p>	<p>The leader of the pro-independence Parti Québécois (PQ), René Lévesque, becomes Québec's prime minister.</p> <p>The Summer Olympics are celebrated in Montreal.</p> <p>Feminist journal <i>Têtes de Pioche</i> is born on Nicole Brossard's initiative.</p> <p>Feminist publishing house Éditions du remue-ménage is born.</p> <p>The Canadian Translators Association is born.</p> <p>Publisher VLB éditeur (Victor-Lévy Beaulieu).</p>
<p>1977</p>	<p>Coach House Press release Sheila Fischman's translation of Victor Lévy-Beaulieu's <i>Don Quichotte de la Démanche</i> as <i>Don Quixote in Nighttown</i>.</p>	<p>Passing of the Charte de la langue française, declaring French Québec's only official language, while also recognising the linguistic rights of the 1st Nations and the Inuit.</p> <p>The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is born.</p> <p>The Union des écrivaines et écrivains québécois (UNEQ) is born on Jacques Godbout's initiative.</p> <p>France Théoret's <i>Bloody Mary</i> is released.</p> <p>Gabrielle Roy's <i>Ces enfants de ma vie</i> is released.</p>

1978	<p>Clarke Irwin release Barbara Godard's translation of Antonine Maillet's <i>Don L'Original</i> as <i>The Tale of Don L'Original</i>.</p>	<p>Maïr Verthuy creates the Simone de Beauvoir Institute at Concordia University.</p> <p>The Université Laval creates its Chaire Claire-Bonenfant-Femmes, savoirs et sociétés.</p> <p>The academic journal Canadian Women Studies is born.</p> <p>Denise Boucher's controversial <i>Les fées ont soif</i> is released.</p> <p>Yolande de Villemaire's <i>La vie en prose</i> is released.</p> <p>Alice Munro wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Who Do you Think You Are?</i></p>
1979	<p>Barbara Godard and Nicole Brossard co-edit bilingual anthology <i>Les stratégies du reel/The Story So Far</i>, focusing on 1970's Québec writing.</p> <p>Coach House Press Manuscript Editions release Linda Gaboriau's translation of <i>La nef des sorcières</i> as <i>A Clash of Symbols</i>.</p>	<p>Marie-Claire Blais wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Le sourd dans la ville</i>.</p>
1980	<p>Barbara Godard and Frank Davey release Larry Souldice's translation of Brossards <i>Mécanique Jongleuse</i> as <i>Daydream Mechanics</i>.</p>	<p>Celebration of Québec's first Independence Referendum, resulting in the province's stay within the Confederation.</p> <p>Nicole Brossard's <i>Amantes</i> gets shortlisted for the Governor General's Award.</p> <p>Publisher Éditions du Jour disappears.</p>
1981	<p>Barbara Godard organises the Dialogue Conference, held at York University.</p>	

1982		The Federal Parliament passes a new Constitution, which Québec refuses to sign.
1983	Barbara Godard translates Nicole Brossard's <i>L'Amèr</i> as <i>These Our Mothers</i> for Coach House Press.	Nicole Brossard wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Double Impression</i> .
1984	Barbara Godard organises bilingual conference <i>Les femmes et les mots/Women and Words</i> . Barbara Godard, Daphne Marlatt, Kathy Mezei, and Gail Scott found feminist writing journal <i>Tessera</i> .	Éditions Parti Pris becomes inactive.
1985		Margaret Atwood wins the Governor General's Award with <i>The Handmaid's Tale</i> . The Translation Bureau Act is passed in order to regulate the competences of the Translation Bureau.
1986	Coach House Press release Patricia Claxton's translation of Brossard's <i>French Kiss</i> as <i>A Pang's Progress</i> . Barbara Godard and Frank Davey resign from their positions as editors of the Coach House Press Québec Translation series over differences with the editorial board. Barbara Godard translates Nicole Brossard's book <i>Amantes</i> as <i>Lovhers</i> for Guernica Press.	Alice Munro wins the Governor General's Award with <i>The Progress of Love</i> .
1987	Barbara Godard edits and releases <i>Gynocritics/La Gynocritique</i> , a bilingual volume stemming from the conference <i>Les femmes et les mots/Women and Words</i> , for ECW Press.	Meech Lake Accord intends to incorporate some of Québec's demands into the Constitution. The Canada Council creates a Translation section for the Governor General's Awards. The Canadian Association for Translation Studies is born.

1988		<p>Passing of Canada's Multiculturalism Act.</p> <p>The Women's Press release Marlene Wildeman's translation of Nicole Brossard's <i>La lettre aérienne</i> as <i>The Aerial Letter</i>.</p>
1989	Coach House Press release Fiona Strachan's translation of Nicole Brossard's <i>Sens apparent</i> as <i>Surfaces of Sense</i> .	
1990		<p>Refusal of the Meech Lake Accord.</p> <p>The Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) inaugurates de <i>Institut de recherches et d'études féministes</i>.</p> <p>Feminist writer Jovette Marchessault wins the Governor General's Award with the play <i>Le voyage magnifique d'Emily Carr</i>.</p>
1991	Barbara Godard edits and translates an anthology of France Théoret's short stories from the 70s under the name <i>The Tangible Word (1979-1983)</i> , for Guernica Press.	Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood releases <i>Re-Belle et Infidèle: The Body Bi-Lingual</i> .
1992		<p>Louise Von Flotow's translation of Anne Dandurand's book <i>Deathly Delights</i> gets shortlisted for the Governor General's Award.</p> <p>Anne Hébert wins the Governor General's Award with <i>L'Enfant Chargé de Songes</i>.</p>
1995		<p>Sherry Simon releases <i>Culture in Transit: Translating the Literature of Québec</i>.</p> <p>Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth release <i>Translators through History</i>.</p>

1996		Sherry Simon releases <i>Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission</i> . Marie-Claire Blais wins the Governor General's Award with <i>Soifs</i> .
1997		Louise von Flotow releases <i>Translation and Gender: Translating in the Era of Feminism</i> .
1998		
1999		Jean Delisle releases <i>Portraits de traducteurs</i> .
2000		
2001		
2002		Jean Delisle releases <i>Portraits de traductrices</i> .
2003		
2004		
2005		Agnes Withfield releases <i>Le Métier du Double: Portraits de traductrices et traducteurs littéraires</i> .
2006		Agnes Withfield releases <i>Writing between the Lines: Portraits of Canadian Anglophone Translators</i> .
2008		Smaro Kamboureli edits <i>Canadian Literature at the Crossroads of Language and Culture: Selected Essays by Barbara Godard, 1987-2005</i> .
2011	Barbara Godard's death.	

8.2. A Comparison between Invisible Colleges and Thought Communities

TABLE 11: A COMPARISON OF THE EVOLUTION OF CANLIT, QUÉBÉCOIS NATIONAL LITERATURE, THE ÉCRITURE AU FÉMININ AND CANADIAN FEMINIST TRANSLATION STUDIES.

Period	CanLit (Invisible College)	Québécois National Literature (Invisible College)	Écriture au féminin (Thought Community)	Canadian Feminist Translation Studies (Thought Community)
40s		Differentiation	Dissociation Operation	
50s	Differentiation	Differentiation	Dissociation Operation	
60s	Contagion	Contagion	Dissociation Operation	
70s	Establishment	Establishment Divergence	Operation Contagion	Dissociation Operation
80s	Divergence	Divergence	Consolidation	Operation
90s	Decline	Decline	Decline Overture?	Consolidation

8.3. Most Relevant Maps and Big-Scale Graphics Appeared in this Thesis

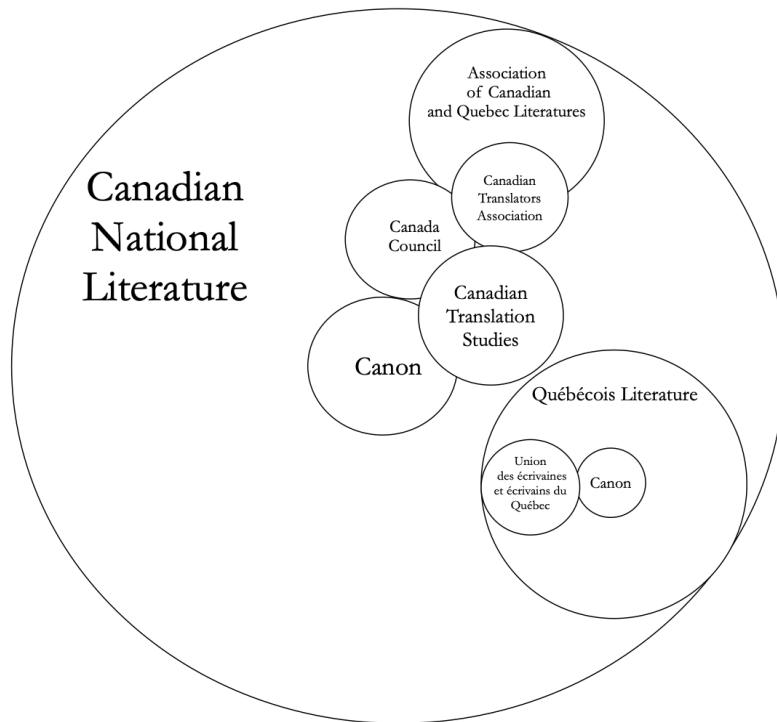


FIGURE 50: THE CANADIAN POLYSYSTEM AFTER AN EFFECTIVE ASSIMILATION OF QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURE.

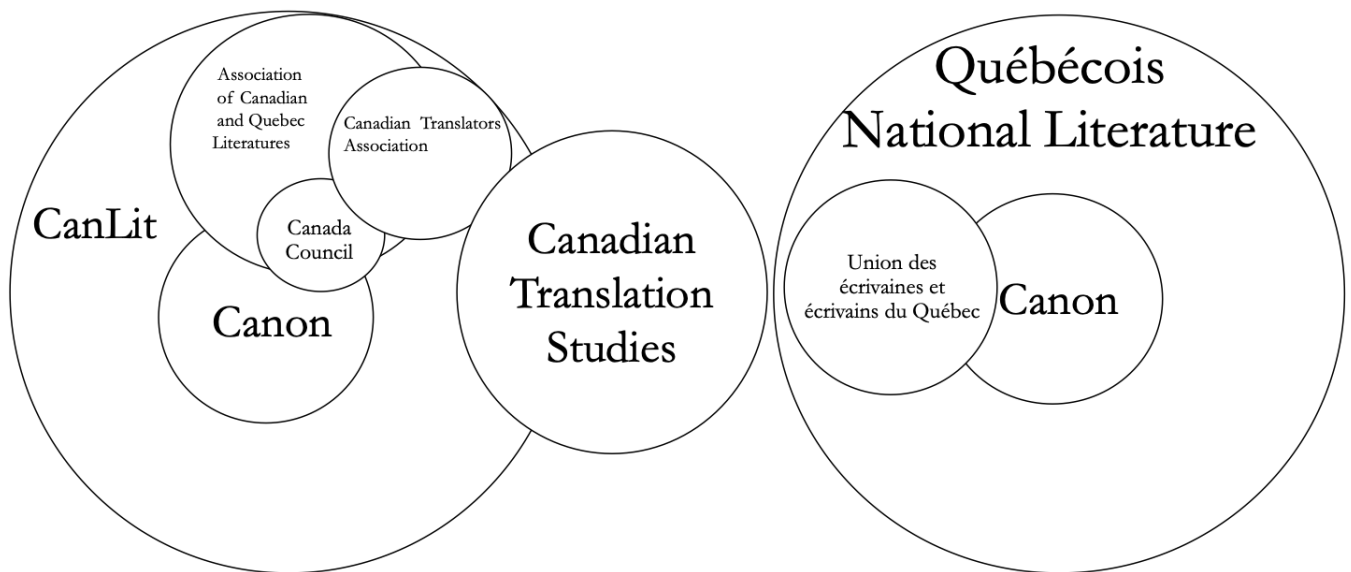


FIGURE 51: CANLIT'S ATTEMPTED INTER-SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH QUÉBÉCOIS NATIONAL LITERATURE THROUGH CANADIAN TRANSLATION STUDIES AS AN INTERCULTURAL SPACE.

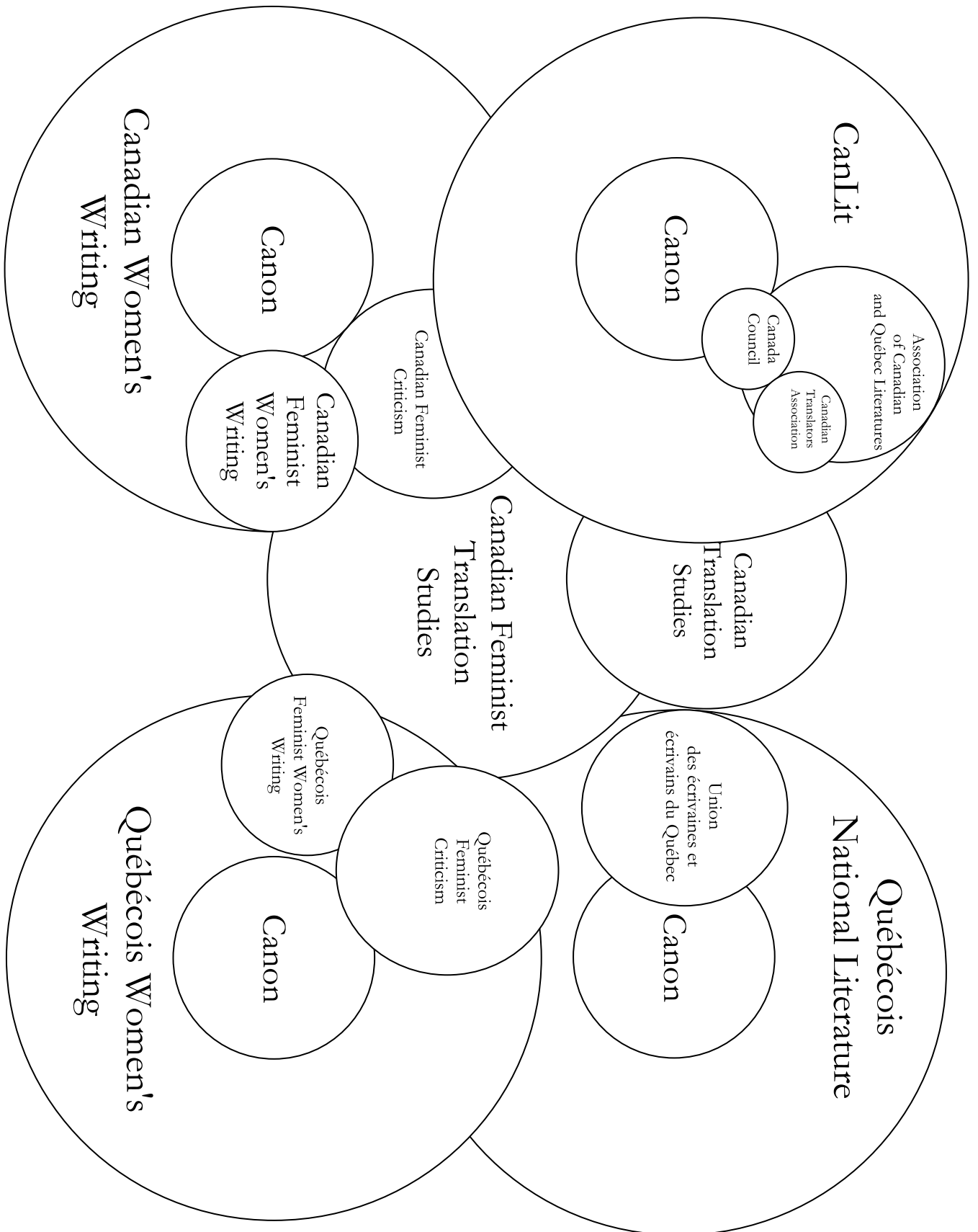


FIGURE 52: AN OVERVIEW OF CANADIAN AND QUÉBÉCOIS LITERATURES, BOTH MAINSTREAM AND FEMALE/FEMINIST, AS PORTRAYED IN THIS THESIS.

9. Resumen

Esta tesis pretende ser un cruce de caminos, un intersticio entre disciplinas, cuyas preocupaciones conciernen a más de un campo del saber, resistiéndose así a los procesos de etiquetado y categorización de la epistemología tradicional. Nuestro propósito a lo largo de las páginas anteriores ha sido sugerir y ejemplificar, en lugar de definir de manera fija, posibles espacios de investigación, así como revisar los cauces metodológicos disponibles, con el fin de invitar a los estudiosos/as de la traducción de todas las ideologías e intereses, y no solo a los/las feministas, a problematizar verdaderamente los *sujetos*, y no tanto los objetos de estudio, en los contextos amplios y complejos en los que estos operan. Si bien la problematización del sujeto traductor es una perspectiva por la que muchos autores/as abogan hoy en día, pocos/as han abordado realmente las dificultades metodológicas que conlleva un diseño disciplinario honesto de los estudios de traductores/as: uno que problematice también al sujeto investigador, y que produzca discursos conscientes de que la neutralidad científica no es más que una argucia de las voces epistémicas dominantes. Pese a la enorme cantidad de reflexiones existentes hoy día en torno a las políticas que sustentan las grandes disciplinas tradicionales, muchos/as todavía actúan como si las declaraciones ideológicas audaces fueran incompatibles con el estatus "científico" que Holmes tanto codició para nuestro campo, protegiendo así a estas voces del debate y la confrontación intelectuales que el funcionamiento de toda disciplina requiere.

Así, se ha pretendido generar no un discurso terminado, finito, sino como un eje metadiscursivo, un punto de encuentro interdisciplinario para el estudio de las agencias traductoras y traductoras feministas del pasado. En los Estudios de la traducción, un "agente de traducción" se define generalmente como un actor/actora que opera en una posición intermedia entre el traductor/a y el/los/las usuarios/as finales de una traducción (Sager 1994: 321 en Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 7). "Estos/as agentes pueden ser tanto los productores/as de textos como los mediadores/as que lo modifican, o quienes producen resúmenes, editores/as, revisores/as y traductores/as, gestores de proyectos y editores/as"(Milton y Bandia 2009: 1, nuestra traducción). Esta definición es fundamental para nuestra tesis, ya que las agentividades traductoras feministas suele estar mediada como nos recuerda una y otra vez la Escuela de Manipulación, por otros/as con un papel normativo dentro del polisistema, responsables, por tanto, de las "imágenes" que traductores/as y traducciones ostentan entre la población teóricamente abarcada por cada polisistema (Lefevere 1993). A lo

largo de esta tesis, efectivamente, se argumenta que las operaciones de las mujeres han estado constantemente sujetas a una normalización, que garantice el respeto a las normas sociales patriarcales. Con frecuencia, estas agentividades son sometidas a un proceso de asimilación, con el fin de convertirse en voces productivas para el patriarcado. Sin embargo, como se demostrará en los apartados siguientes, esta definición parece excluir injustamente una percepción de los/as traductores/as como auténticos/as agentes de recepción textual dentro de los polisistemas. No subraya las capacidades individuales para efectuar cambios, esencial para analizar las operaciones traductivas aquí abordadas.

Como se discute a lo largo de esta tesis, sostenemos que las mujeres pueden operar bajo el modelo organizativo de las "comunidades afectivas" por cuanto padecen una forma universal de opresión independiente de las naciones, los grupos étnicos y las comunidades de fe a las que pertenezcan, entre otras variables de impacto. Aquí radica, en mi opinión, la contribución crucial de los denominados Estudios transnacionales feministas de traducción (Castro y Ergun 2017) al pensamiento feminista. Efectivamente, estos proporcionan una fructífera encrucijada entre los Estudios de género, los de la traducción y, al menos a nivel teórico, los Estudios del discurso (Castro 2009). Si bien construcciones de género diversas subyacen a las distintas asimetrías de poder, tanto locales como globales, el binomio hombre / mujer, con sus variaciones, sigue siendo el patrón central para la representación de desigualdades de cualquier tipo en las sociedades patriarcales (Scott 1999). Dado que la opresión se ejerce a través del discurso, hemos propuesto aquí formas de contrarrestar la falta de atención práctica otorgada hasta ahora a las metodologías feministas de crítica discursiva (Lazar 2005) por los Estudios feministas de traducción, y particularmente los transnacionales.

La importancia de perspectivas centradas en el discurso para el estudio de las agencias femeninas y feministas resulta obvia cuando se considera cómo, según Chamberlain (1988), el acceso desigual al poder discursivo se ha representado tradicionalmente bajo la metáfora de lo masculino y lo femenino. Como extensión a dicha metáfora, esta autora propone que traducción y original sean consideradas bajo la óptica metafórica del matrimonio tradicional: si bien las infidelidades intertextuales del texto fuente (masculino) no son problemáticas, la infidelidad de la traducción (femenina), directamente proporcional a su belleza (creatividad), se entiende como inmoral. Bajo esta perspectiva, las agencias no solo son discursivas, sino que están mediadas por penetrantes metáforas de género. La traducción, como espacio donde se renegocian las identidades, reclama en este contexto la debida atención por

parte de los Estudios crítico-discursivos. En nuestra opinión, centrarse en la actuación discursiva de las agencias femeninas como forma reconocible de resistencia colectiva que, sin embargo, puede tomar diferentes formas, evita recurrir a los descriptores sociales existentes y, por tanto, a análisis esencialistas de la "feminidad" (Scott 1986). Además, como señalan las historiadoras feministas (Scott 1999), algunas prácticas historiográficas operadas a través de categorías analíticas absolutas como la que acabamos de mencionar tienden a objetivizar aún más a las mujeres. En esta tesis se han propuesto nuevas categorías analíticas que enfatizan las redes operativas de mujeres y la multiplicidad de formas bajo las cuales puede tener lugar la acción discursiva femenina, más que la "esencia" de las "mujeres" como colectivo abstracto.

El sujeto traductor escogido para el presente estudio es Barbara Godard (Toronto, 1942-2010). Una agente que ha operado, aunque con distintos grados de compromiso, en la multiplicidad de campos y espacios ideológicos que revisa esta tesis. Godard es lo que podríamos identificar como un sujeto liminal en lo que ella misma definía como el "tráfico fronterizo" de la traducción (Godard 1987, nuestra traducción). La generación de Barbara Godard tuvo la oportunidad de participar activamente en los proyectos lingüísticos y culturales de la era Trudeau, y en particular en la llamada "Canadianización", término referido al establecimiento de un verdadero, y hasta entonces inexistente, ecosistema cultural canadiense. En este contexto particular, instituciones de educación superior como la Universidad de York, donde Godard trabajó durante la mayor parte de su carrera, desempeñaron un papel destacado en este proyecto de refuerzo de la identidad canadiense, coincidente con el Centenario de la Confederación (1867-1967). De hecho, de la mano de investigadores como Frank Davey, el Departamento de inglés de York contribuyó en gran medida a difundir la noción de una "literatura canadiense", hasta ahora inexistente, entre la población.

El proyecto de "Canadianización", desarrollado desde los años setenta en adelante, constituye un escenario interesante para analizar la agencia traductora feminista de Godard, en la medida en que responde al patrón patriarcal de sinergias entre un polisistema y el ideal de sociedad subyacente al Estado-nación que lo define. Comprensiblemente, este proyecto tuvo que enfrentarse a una serie de dificultades que los descriptivistas suelen descuidar en su descripción de los sistemas literarios. Una de ellas es el hecho de que Canadá haya surgido de una serie asentamientos coloniales (Preston 2017), el cual ha despertado una notable conciencia anticolonial en su amplia población migrante, y particularmente entre las mujeres (Dua 2007). Por tanto, esta tesis trata de mostrar cómo la mayoría de los actores involucrados en el

establecimiento de un polisistema canadiense fracasó en sus percepciones de la colonialidad canadiense. Algunos/as, como ocurre con la propia Barbara Godard, solo lo lograron aproximarse a un cierto grado de realismo en los últimos años de su carrera. Lo que sin duda preocupó a los responsables de la "Canadianización", ya sean político/as, académicos/as o agentes de la industria del libro en general, es el conflicto creciente con el despertar nacional de Québec, paralelo a sus propios esfuerzos por consolidar una nación sólida y reconocible. Partiendo del patrón analítico de la Teoría del polisistema, se ha proporcionado una descripción sociocrítica tanto del polisistema canadiense como del quebequense, a fin de determinar mejor la agencia feminista de Godard. Originalmente experta en literatura canadiense, la formación perfectamente bilingüe de Barbara Godard implicó un periplo por Europa y América del Norte, en pos, como muy pocos académicos de su generación, de una formación académica más enriquecedora, repartida entre Francia, Québec y Ontario. Formaba parte de un movimiento de académicos/as que, como Frank Davey, fomentaron un concepto de literatura nacional verdaderamente comprometido con el biculturalismo y el bilingüismo, opuesto al experimento anglófono que dicho polisistema sonía en la práctica. Su defensa de la literatura canadiense, una constante a lo largo de su carrera, incluso pese a su creciente posicionamiento feminista, se benefició de esta apertura que caracterizó su carrera desde sus inicios.

Hasta ahora, se han dedicado varias contribuciones a la prolífica carrera de Godard, especialmente después de su muerte prematura, a la edad de 62 años, en 2010. La mayoría provienen de sus colegas en York. La labor traductológica de Godard, pese a su soslayamiento por estas contribuciones, la coloca en una posición de extrañamiento con respecto a otros/as traductores/as de su generación, atraídos a la profesión por los generosos subsidios del Canada Council a los esfuerzos bilaterales de traducción literaria entre provincias. Por desgracia, como reconoce Mezei (1995), estos programas a menudo resultaron en iniciativas unilaterales, que asimilaron la cultura quebequense bajo el ideal confederal, incapaces de inspirar en el mercado del libro quebequense una respuesta similar a la que el anglófono daba a literatura francófona. La mayoría de revisiones de su figura, no obstante, se esfuerzan por retratarla esencialmente como colaboradora de la literatura canadiense, y no como la traductora divergente que en realidad era (ver, por ejemplo, Karpinski, Henderson, Sowton y Ellenwood 2013). Se ha proyectado, por tanto, una "imagen" de su producción, en términos de Lefevere (véase Lefevere 1993), como esencialmente convergente con el proyecto de "Canadianización". Esta tesis,

consecuentemente, se ha propuesto deconstruir tal "imagen" y discernir cuál fue la contribución real de nuestra protagonista a su entorno sociopolítico y literario.

En términos de la organización posterior de esta tesis, se han seguido tres objetivos generales, así como propuesto tres hipótesis para su correspondiente validación a lo largo de los diversos capítulos:

Objetivo n. ° 1:

Desarrollar metodologías efectivas para:

(O1.1.) El estudio histórico de las agencias femeninas y feministas en la traducción.

(O1.2.) La descripción crítica de las estructuras sistémicas patriarcales.

Nuestras metodologías propuestas serán de naturaleza interdisciplinaria, además de transnacionales, ya que encuentran fallas en el pensamiento sistémico y su empleo obsesivo de estados-nación patriarcales y artificiales como unidades analíticas. Se ha llevado a cabo una revisión a fondo de lo que significa discurso, y explorado el término "metadiscurso" como una noción potencialmente efectiva para nuestro propósito. Además, como ya se ha indicado, se ha revisado la noción tradicional de "agencia" en nuestra disciplina, gracias al aporte de la historia feminista. La redefinición resultante de este término, que combina la dimensión sociológica de "comunidades afectivas" (Hutchison 2016) y la discursiva en "comunidades de práctica" (Eckert 2006), se ha empleado bajo el nombre de "comunidades de pensamiento", término discutido más adelante en esta tesis, y originalmente muy ambiguo en su formulación. La importancia de esta contribución terminológica no radica, por lo tanto, en el proceso de etiquetado, sino en subrayar las capacidades de desempeño discursivo de las agencias. La agencia, como se demostrará en esta tesis, es múltiple: las agencias de traductores no son solo traslacionales: muchas veces también son académicas, o creativas, o editoriales, o incluso políticas. Asimismo, las únicas agencias que operan a través de la traducción no son las proyectadas por los traductores. Por lo tanto, optaré por el término más amplio "agencias de traducción" para dar mejor cuenta de los diferentes operadores en este estudio.

Una crítica profunda de las metodologías descriptivistas, así como, de manera secundaria, de los grandes marcos epistémicos del deconstruccionismo o el psicoanálisis, ha revelado que estos no han conseguido problematizar la opresión patriarcal implícita en un enfoque regido por “normas” y “leyes”. Desde una perspectiva feminista, las llamadas "normas" (Toury 2012) son formas de (auto-)censura (Tymoczko 2009), ya que su mera formulación tiene un propósito coercitivo, al servicio de la construcción de naciones, y que tradicionalmente descuida y desprecia las prácticas discursivas femeninas. Sin embargo, precisamente por esta razón, si bien aquí se han empleado las "comunidades de pensamiento" para reflejar las etapas de acción más orgánicas y primitivas de un colectivo, se ha utilizado también la noción de Hermans de "colegios invisibles" (1998) para dar cuenta de la institucionalización que estas redes, originalmente marginales, alcanzan como resultado de las luchas patriarcales por el poder. De todas formas, comprensiblemente hemos partido de la convicción de que ninguna realidad pueda ajustarse a estas premisas teóricas y terminológicas de manera absoluta.

Hipótesis Número 1:

La historiografía feminista de la traducción aporta un marco metodológico apropiado, más que una metodología fija, para el estudio de las agencias femeninas y feministas en la traducción.

(H1.1.) Intuimos que una metodología eficaz para el estudio de las agencias femeninas y feministas en la traducción es tanto de naturaleza transnacional como interdisciplinaria, lo cual proporciona un no restrictivo, que puede ser readaptado a cada tema de estudio y contexto.

(H1.2.) Las teorías descriptivistas de la traducción bien podrían ser el reflejo de las opresivas estructuras culturales desarrolladas por las sociedades patriarcales.

Si bien creemos haber validado satisfactoriamente la Hipótesis número 1, relativa a la idoneidad de este marco metodológico para una historia feminista de las traductoras, es precisamente esta deliberada falta de definición, de prerequisites para la identificación de sujetos “adecuados” y, por lo tanto, su gran aplicabilidad a otro tipo de sujetos, lo que la hace más adecuada para la línea de investigación inaugurada por Los estudios feministas

transnacionales de la traducción. Un aspecto crucial de este cauce metodológico, sin duda un logro común de la serie de disciplinas aquí discutidas, radica en la de-construcción de la "nación" como el rasgo definitorio de las agencias por excelencia, así como en el cuestionamiento de las idolatrías nominales que subyace a muchos de los esfuerzos de historización de la literatura. Estos dos rasgos, observables en los métodos descriptivistas tradicionales de nuestra disciplina, han sido analizados en dos sentidos a lo largo del tercer y cuarto capítulos: como fruto de los esfuerzos de las élites patriarcales en su (auto-)definición de polisistemas, y por tanto presente en los discursos que los han configurado; y como imposibilidad absoluta, a medida que la realidad discursiva de dichos polisistemas se impone. Parte del cuestionamiento del descriptivismo tradicional radica, asimismo, en de-construir el personalismo y la idolatría nominal que caracterizan a los sistemas literarios patriarcales. Por ello, si bien esta tesis trata la figura múltiple, híbrida y cambiante de Barbara Godard, hemos evitado un protagonismo excesivo, que borre la importancia de otras agencias e ideologías en los proyectos en los que esta figura participó.

Esta es, en nuestra opinión, la esencia de las alternativas nocionales que hemos sugerido, y particularmente del concepto de "comunidades de ideas" (*thought communities*), que, si bien se observa en los colectivos patriarcales que originan los distintos polisistemas, desaparece rápidamente en pos de la institucionalización voraz, necesaria en los sistemas tradicionales para alcanzar la hegemonía. Una idea subyacente a toda esta tesis es, pues, el riesgo que reside en asumir un éxito en toda agencia femenina o feminista que el patriarcado ha considerado oportuno reflejar en sus narraciones. Muchas de estas agencias han sido consideradas como productivas por un movimiento de disidencia intra-patriarcal determinado, lo cual, en nuestra opinión responde a las dinámicas comunicativas más eficientes que poseen las mujeres: han sido, hasta la fecha, excelentes agentes de negociación al servicio de diversas facciones patriarcales. Por ello, a la hora de describir las operaciones de colectivos femeninos y feministas, hemos tratado de reflejar una cierta tensión entre los roles que percibimos como típicos en las comunidades de ideas y aquellos que las instituciones patriarcales contemplan. Lo fememino y lo feminista, tal y como argumentaremos, han constituido elementos esenciales en el proceso de creación de una identidad canadiense que, dada su neutralidad en la Historia de occidente, ha optado por definirse como un modelo de éxito de "ciudadanía cívica universal".

Objetivo n. ° 2:

Proporcionar un estudio sociocrítico sobre:

(O2.1.) El polisistema de llegada, la Literatura canadiense, así como de la "imagen" y la función asignadas a la literatura femenina y feminista en dicho polisistema.

(O2.2.) El polisistema de origen, la Literatura nacional quebequense, así como de la "imagen" y la función asignadas a la literatura femenina y feminista en dicho polisistema.

Se ha presentado este polisistema como el proyecto académico de un grupo de agentes que desempeñaron roles híbridos en su unidad operativa original. A medida que este grupo se institucionalizó y, por lo tanto, que comenzó a beneficiarse de las subvenciones ofrecidas por el Canada Council, la abrumadora autoridad otorgada a los pocos perfiles involucrados hace que la tiranía de los polisistemas patriarcales resulte evidente. La evolución de CanLit, "facultad invisible" por excelencia, se ha descrito con arreglo a las etapas que atraviesan dichas estructuras según Hermans (1998), aunque con algunas alteraciones menores.

Por su parte, la literatura de mujeres anglófonas-canadienses no constituye un tema central en esta tesis. Por tanto, se ha optado por evitar cualquier formulación categórica sobre si estas escritoras se ajustan a alguna de las estructuras antes mencionadas (comunidades de pensamiento / colegios invisibles). Sin embargo, su función e "imagen" dentro del polisistema anglófono, sus operaciones resultan sin duda relevantes, especialmente porque los primeros intentos de Barbara Godard por desarrollar una agencia feminista no están impulsados por la traducción, sino que pertenecen al espacio de la crítica literaria feminista canadiense, como respuesta a la corriente masculina oficial.

Hemos argumentado que la literatura nacional quebequense muestra una evolución más orgánica que la anglófona canadiense, por cuanto se produce, de manera deliberadamente diferenciadora, desde el primer tercio del siglo XIX. Por lo tanto, se ajusta menos al esquema de Hermans de "facultades invisibles". Sin embargo, los marcos analíticos obsesivos y tiránicos son rasgos de la epistemología patriarcal que las feministas deseamos evitar. La importancia de las "facultades invisibles" radica en su descripción de las luchas de poder como responsables de la institucionalización de ideas particulares sostenidas por grupos específicos. Son el resultado de disensiones intra-patriarcales, así como de la construcción de las identidades patriarcales de Canadá anglófona y de Québec como esencialmente opuestas. Tras

una revisión crítica de los dos polos sobre los que se ha configurado la identidad dominante de Québec (Francia como la eterna metrópolis y el Canadá anglófono como el vecino opresor), se ha demostrado cómo la institucionalización de la literatura quebequense masculina resultó fundamental para la conquista de instituciones provinciales por el nacionalismo quebequense.

Por otro lado, en el análisis realizado de la literatura femenina y feminista ha sido imposible descartar del todo el funcionamiento de las ya citadas "facultades invisibles". La razón de esto es que, desde una etapa muy temprana, la producción literaria femenina y feminista se ha asimilado al proyecto patriarcal construir un estado-nación quebequense, tarea para la cual dicha producción se ha percibido como productiva. Por tanto, se percibe, a lo largo de la tesis, una cierta tensión entre la agencia de las escritoras implicadas y el relato oficial del movimiento. También se ha argumentado que los esfuerzos de las traductoras feministas anglófonas por traducir estas obras fueron asimilados por el proyecto de "Canadianización", a pesar de la voluntad original de dichas traductoras, con el fin de enfatizar la identidad abierta e igualitaria de Canadá.

Hipótesis Número 2:

(H2.1.) En el periodo analizado, intuimos que la Literatura canadiense constituyó un constructo artificial, una etiqueta patriarcal promocionada por las instituciones canadienses, que asimilaron la producción literaria femenina y feminista con el fin de reforzar el particular modelo de nación que defendían.

(H2.2.) Aunque nutrida, quizás, de una producción escrita con una evolución más orgánica, menos artificial, la Literatura nacional quebequesa del periodo estudiado posiblemente persiguiera una finalidad similar a la de la Literatura anglófona: la consolidación de un estado-nación propio, bajo una lucha postcolonial hábilmente metafórica por la emancipación literaria de sus mujeres.

Tanto el polisistema canadiense como el quebequense se han basado en el llamado "Mito del Nuevo Mundo" (Vautier 1998) para defender su especificidad como naciones. Bajo el hechizo de lo que Henderson define como "feminismo colonial" (2016), las mujeres anglocanadienses y quebequenses con frecuencia se enorgullecen de la "relevancia" histórica y textual que se les otorga en los momentos clave de sus respectivos Mitos del Nuevo Mundo.

Esto implica, no obstante, aceptar los constructos de género imperantes en los procesos coloniales de Canadá, también conocidos como "feminidades coloniales" (Allen 2020), y comulgar con los discursos nacionalistas recientes que con frecuencia los han invocado.

En lo que respecta a la Hipótesis 2.1., hemos concluido, tal y como avanzábamos, que el polisistema canadiense anglófono responde de manera estereotípica a la definición y las fases de las "facultades invisibles" (*invisible colleges*) establecidas por Hermans (1998), si bien los diferentes estadios originalmente contemplados por este estudioso han sido matizados *ad-hoc*, como resultado de la labor arqueológica realizada. Así, para nosotras, las fases atravesadas por esta literatura son las de disociación, durante los años cincuenta, contagio, durante los sesenta, consolidación, durante los setenta, divergencias y declive, a partir de los 80. Todas ellas impulsadas, efectivamente, desde una serie de facultades, y en particular Glendon College, de la Universidad de York (Ontario). Hemos identificado en el origen de este polisistema una voluntad académica de modificar las percepciones imperantes en lo que a literatura canadiense respecta. Estas, efectivamente, estaban marcadas por un colonialismo cultural, que asumía que la única literatura de valor en lengua inglesa era la británica, y que en Canadá solo se habían producido manifestaciones historiográficas e institucionales propias de la administración colonial y la exploración de nuevos territorios, carentes de valor literario. Esta posición, argumentada por el famoso crítico canadiense Northrop Frye, posiblemente el mayor exponente de la llamada Crítica literaria canadiense (*Canadian Criticism*), no le impidió, sin embargo, participar en los primeros proyectos de antologización y, por tanto, de legitimación de la literatura canadiense, que erosionaron progresivamente este complejo de inferioridad de Canadá con respecto a su literatura.

Sostenemos, no obstante, que la iniciativa auténtica de crear una noción de literatura canadiense moderna y de calidad, abierta a lo experimental, partió de un grupo de profesores que adicionalmente eran autores, editores y traductores, desde Frank Davey hasta D.G. Jones, entre muchos otros. Hemos explicado que esta comunidad de ideas, denominada "CanLit" en honor al acrónimo con el que los académicos denominaron a la disciplina resultante, experimentó una rápida institucionalización, particularmente desde principios de los setenta, auspiciada por las subvenciones de las nuevas políticas culturales del Canada Council. Sus miembros originales, como corresponde a las comunidades de ideas, desempeñaban funciones híbridas, que, sin embargo, no se tradujeron en mayores diálogo y colaboración, como en el caso de las comunidades de ideas femeninas/feministas. Contrariamente a esto, evolucionaron

hacia la clásica tiranía nominal de los polisistemas patriarcales, en los cuales la institucionalización de una determinada facción sobre otras abre las puertas a una imposición de sus preceptos a través de múltiples vías. Así, Davey, por ejemplo, además de controlar los discursos académicos sobre una producción literaria de la que él mismo era partícipe, fundó su propia editorial, Coach House Press, fundamental en la evolución de la agencia traductora de Godard. Gracias a las subvenciones concedidas por el Canada Council a dicha editorial, Davey y Godard editaron traducciones de otros/as traductores/as. Pese a que nuestra protagonista nunca figuró oficialmente como miembro de ningún comité editorial de Coach House, sí tradujo, a diferencia de Davey, algunas de las obras que finalmente aparecieron en la colección *Québec Translations*. Ambos desempeñaron, por tanto, un papel crucial en la recepción de la literatura quebequesa, cuya importancia para la constitución de un polisistema auténticamente canadiense defendieron como pocos/as críticos/as de entonces.

En otro orden de cosas, y en línea con la segunda parte de la Hipótesis 2.1., esta tesis ha tratado de discutir la inserción de dicha literatura femenina dentro de dicho polisistema canadiense y, en especial, la “imagen” interesada que este ha establecido de ella, con el fin de consolidar una presencia internacional en gran medida sostenida por figuras femeninas (véanse, por ejemplo, los casos de Alice Munro y Margaret Atwood). De manera preliminar, asimismo, se ha mostrado cómo algunas de estas voces femeninas han desarrollado agencias críticas, similares a las desarrolladas por figuras como la de Davey. En su faceta de antologista, Margaret Atwood, por ejemplo, demuestra alinearse con el cánón masculino y con el proyecto nacionalista impulsado en los setenta, aceptando así el papel que dicho proyecto otorga a las figuras literarias femeninas de primer orden como ella. De alguna manera, la Crítica literaria feminista no ha podido evitar unirse a algunas de las afirmaciones que han permitido a las voces académicas hegemónicas asimilar la rica producción femenina en su defensa de la superioridad cívica canadiense. La supuesta gran incidencia, ya matizada, de mujeres en la producción literaria nacional desde sus orígenes se ha percibido como productiva en el retrato del civismo canadiense, supuestamente capaz de restablecer el orden patriarcal europeo desde sus orígenes coloniales. Lejos de problematizar la asimilación del legado textual de estas mujeres por parte del estado, muchas críticas se han recreado en una discusión acrítica de afirmaciones generalizadas sobre dicho legado. Hasta bien entrados los años 80, y pese a la incursión que ciertas literatas hicieron en cuestiones de desigualdad de género y etnia, tampoco se ha dado suficiente énfasis a la falta de inclusión de distintas feminidades canadienses en los recién creados cánones femeninos. No obstante, se observa en la Crítica feminista canadiense

una voluntad manifiesta de romper con los preceptos metodológicos y conceptuales de la recién nacida pléyade de expertos masculinos en la materia. Sus protagonistas, entre ellas Barbara Godard, dieron un primer paso hacia la creación de un espacio intercultural efectivo entre Canadá y Québec, los Estudios canadienses feministas de la traducción, en su tratamiento, generalmente indiscriminado, de las literaturas de mujeres anglófonas y francófonas de Canadá.

En lo concerniente a la Hipótesis 2.2., nuestro retrato histórico del Québec del siglo XX ha perseguido una búsqueda de claves sociocríticas que expliquen la aparición de numerosas autoras femeninas y feministas en la provincia entre mediados de los cuarenta y nuestros tiempos, así como su relación, ora convergente, ora dialéctica, con la literatura masculina nacional, que vivió desde mediados del siglo XX una etapa de esplendor inédita. Por ello, su estructuración por etapas, que sigue, con los matices ya comentados, el esquema propuesto por Hermans para la noción de "facultades invisibles", trata de presentar contexto histórico y análisis literario de manera integrada y sinérgica. La finalidad de las sub-secciones de carácter historiográfico ha sido retratar la importante evolución sufrida por los constructos de género dominantes en Québec desde el primer tercio del siglo XX hasta el último, a través de las vicisitudes políticas de calado experimentadas a lo largo de estas décadas. Posteriormente, las sub-secciones análogas de análisis literario han tratado de conectar dicha evolución con la composición rápidamente cambiante de los cánones estéticos tanto en la literatura masculina como en la femenina y feminista. Como resultado de esta labor, hemos podido validar satisfactoriamente la ya citada hipótesis, y confirmar, por tanto, que un estudio sociocrítico de la literatura quebequesa, ya sea bajo sus cánones oficiales o desde perspectivas feministas, se resiste hasta cierto punto a la artificialidad de nociones como la de "facultades invisibles", que, en cambio, sí permitían trazar un recorrido de la Literatura canadiense. Ciertamente, a diferencia de esta última, no fue auspiciado en su mayoría por los esfuerzos de académicos o grupos de investigación. No obstante, por cuanto sí responde a alianzas entre distintas instituciones patriarcales, hemos argumentado que su evolución ha seguido fases similares a las reseñadas por Hermans. Dado que esta tesis se interesa por la producción femenina y feminista, nuestra presentación de las corrientes literarias oficiales está supeditada a observar los contrastes entre una y otra. Por ello, nos hemos centrado en las fases de contagio (años sesenta) y establecimiento (años 70). Para nosotros, las disensiones en el discurso

literario dominante son coincidentes con la fase de consolidación de la literatura feminista: los años ochenta. Así lo hemos argumentado.

La centralidad de la defensa de la variedad dialectal quebequense, también conocida como *joual*, en el movimiento literario nacionalista los años sesenta y setenta, es sin duda prueba de que la emancipación cultural de Québec era incompatible con su admiración acrítica de Francia, país proclive a la homogeneización lingüística absoluta. Con el fin de ilustrar las fuerzas dominantes del polisistema quebequés bajo el régimen neo-nacionalista de esas décadas, hemos revisado críticamente el rápido surgimiento de su cánón, encarnado en las figuras diversas de Jacques Godbout, Victor Lévy-Beaulieu y André Major. Nuestra elección de dichas figuras no implica que sean las únicas que consiguieron alcanzar posiciones canónicas. No obstante, además de haber sido antologados como representativos del cánón de la época por expertos como Jacques Pelletier, estos tres autores permiten ilustrar, en los términos empleados por Lefevre, tanto la "ideología" como la "poética" patriarcales de su movimiento. Hemos argumentado, no obstante, que sus aportaciones, funciones y posicionamiento en dicho cánón son diversos. No puede negarse que la literatura quebequesa moderna se haya visto auspiciada, en gran medida, por la institucionalización de este colectivo, originalmente una comunidad de ideas que hemos llamado aquí *écrivains joual*, en honor a las crónicas de la época, y cuyo establecimiento de los códigos discursivos y genéricos oficiales constituyó el punto de partida para la principal corriente divergente de la época: la literatura femenina y (proto-)feminista quebequesa.

Nuestro estudio de esta literatura ha sido considerablemente detallado, pues son sus obras principales las que inspiraron en Barbara Godard un progresivo viraje hacia el feminismo en su carrera, tanto como crítica literaria como en calidad de traductora y traductóloga. Tal y como hemos indicado, nuestra intención ha sido conectar la metamorfosis de dicha literatura con los correspondientes periodos en la evolución socio-histórica del Québec del siglo XX, y en particular, con el consiguiente restablecimiento de los constructos de género imperantes. Para nosotras, hasta los años sesenta, se observa en la literatura producida por mujeres de esta provincia una relación dialógica entre diferenciación de los códigos masculinos, y de operación propiamente dicha, o, en otras palabras, de construcción de espacios propios. Una diferencia importante entre las comunidades de ideas y otras estructuras es que las primeras nunca dejan de funcionar en los espacios hegemónicos, pues es en el diálogo y la creación de contra-discursos constructivos donde construyen discursivamente su agencia. Por otro lado, la

condición femenina de estas autoras las ha obligado a generar sus propios campos de actuación, dada la dificultad que experimentaban para penetrar en los masculinos.

Consideramos, pues, refrendada en su totalidad la Hipótesis 2.2. Sostenemos que la literatura femenina y (proto-)feminista producida en Québec durante el amplio periodo del siglo XX aquí analizado responde a una voluntad de de-construir las convenciones de género que pesaban en la sociedad quebequesa tradicional. Asimismo, defendemos que este fin se ejecutó, tal y como hemos augurado, a través de mecanismos meta-discursivos: es decir, re-interpretando los cánones poéticos e ideológicos establecidos por los *écrivains joual* para defender una emancipación femenina paralela a la de Québec y que, sin embargo, los nacionalistas pronto dejaron de lado. Hemos reflexionado brevemente sobre el contexto en el que emergieron las primeras voces femeninas, Gabrielle Roy y Anne Hébert, hoy asimiladas como grandes escritoras quebequesas y no, pese a las múltiples lecturas *au féminin* de su obra, como voces discordantes de mujeres. Posteriormente, hemos ido presentando las dos generaciones de autoras femeninas y (proto-)feministas de los años 60 en adelante, haciendo especial hincapié en la comunidad de ideas que generó la escritura feminista objeto de esta tesis y traducida por Godard, con Nicole Brossard, France Théoret y Louky Bersianik como sus principales voces.

Hemos denominado a esta comunidad de ideas *écriture au féminin*, como resultado de la ya citada discusión terminológica llevada a cabo previamente. Hemos comenzado por ilustrar, uno a uno, los rasgos propios de estas comunidades en las operaciones de sus miembros. Si bien hemos podido observar estos mismos rasgos en las primeras fases de ciertos grupos masculinos retratados en esta tesis, su rápida institucionalización y la falta de jerarquías horizontales en sus operaciones constituyen las principales diferencias con respecto a las comunidades de ideas femeninas. No obstante, nuestro análisis también ha revelado las limitaciones de la *écriture au féminin* en tanto que comunidad de ideas, a saber, aquellos aspectos en los que sus miembros no consiguieron alcanzar las dinámicas idealmente generadas por esta modalidad colaboracional. En particular, hemos observado que sí parece existir una cierta jerarquía entre las figuras canónicas que aquí se han estudiado con fines ilustrativos: Nicole Brossard es, sin duda, quien ha marcado los rasgos que hoy en día se consideran representativos de toda esta generación de autoras, relegando, quizá, a un segundo plano la

riqueza discursiva de muchas propuestas divergentes. Brossard, debemos decir, ya era una figura conocida en el panorama literario e intelectual quebequés cuando su nuevo giro al feminismo terminó de lanzar su carrera. No obstante, y como hemos argumentado aquí, su producción anterior al año 1975, año en que comenzó, según sus propias declaraciones, su exploración del feminismo, es generalmente poética, con la excepción de alguna primera novela. Efectivamente, Brossard era conocida entre los círculos eminentemente masculinos del formalismo quebequés, razón que explica su protagonismo en eventos literarios de gran calado ideológico desde principios de los setenta (véase la *Nuit de la poésie* de 1970). La suya, no obstante, era una presencia aislada, minoritaria, por femenina, y falta de las conexiones que más tarde generaría con otras autoras feministas.

Es su salto a la novela femenina, y en particular a la novela lesbiana, el que le permite explorar el que se convertirá en el género por excelencia del movimiento: las ficciones teóricas. Con el fin de ilustrar mejor la labor traductológica de Godard, que, como ella misma ha reconocido, se nutre de las propias estrategias de Brossard, hemos discutido los rasgos discursivos que caracterizan a dicho género, marcado por el gusto formalista de esta autora. Por un lado, estamos ante textos polifónicos, donde se superponen multitud de voces femeninas. La voz de la propia escritora produce, de hecho, un constante metadiscurso al presentarse con frecuencia como protagonista de la obra, explícitamente presentada como un manuscrito en ciernes, en un claro ejercicio de autoficción que recuerda al *roman de l'écriture* típico de los *écrivains joual*. Aquí, sin embargo, la toma de conciencia que se produce no tiene que ver con la colonización de Québec por parte de Angloamérica, sino con la explotación de las mujeres como meros cuerpos reproductivos, y la consiguiente búsqueda de formas de sexualidad liberadoras, no subordinadas a la maternidad. La temática de la relación entre madres e hijas, generalmente motivo de angustia en las novelas femeninas de la ya reseñada primera generación de escritoras quebequenses, desaparece, pues, con la propio vínculo materno-filial. El discurso femenino se caracteriza por rasgos léxicos innovadores, desde neologismos que permitan contar las experiencias inéditas de la feminidad voces alteradas gracias a deconstrucciones etimológicas que ponen de manifiesto la manipulación patriarcal del vocabulario. La sintaxis, por otro lado, es fragmentaria, vacilante, imitando así no solo el autodiscurso de los monólogos interiores, sino las formas más puras de lengua materna que existen: las de los bebés. El desorden discursivo, además, cumple otras funciones de calado ideológico: niega la linealidad y, por tanto, la neutralidad de las narraciones patriarcales, incluidas las de las historias nacionales. abogando por nuevos relatos. Revaloriza, de igual

manera, la histeria con la que muchos hombres asocian el hablar femenino, y que no es sino producto de una maquiavélica desarticulación de la auténtica lengua materna por parte del patriarcado. Finalmente, encontramos una serie de metáforas que relacionan texto con cuerpo, escritura con experimentación y sexualidad. Dada la centralidad de la vida urbana montrealés en la experiencia de estas mujeres, Brossard también extiende esta última metáfora entre texto y cuerpo a la geografía de la gran urbe, comparando su exploración con la del cuerpo de una mujer.

En conclusión, hemos argumentado que, hasta su asimilación definitiva dentro del movimiento nacionalista patriarcal, los feminismos literarios, al igual que los asociacionismos políticos de esta corriente, han resistido con cierta habilidad los esfuerzos de institucionalización a los que el patriarcado los ha sometido. De nuevo, las causas de disensión intra-patriarcal perciben como productivas las voces femeninas e incluso las feministas para sus propios fines, en momentos en los que se requiere o establecer o reforzar las identidades nacionales. Bajo sus diversos pretextos y fórmulas, tanto el nacionalismo quebequés como el anglófono han fagocitado, en la medida de sus posibilidades, los feminismos variados que se han producido en Canadá durante las últimas décadas. La agencia feminista de Barbara Godard, en sus facetas tanto de crítica como de traductóloga/traductora, ha sido sometida a un proceso similar por parte de los discursos dominantes de la Literatura Canadiense y los Estudios Canadienses de la traducción.

Objetivo n° 3:

Hacer un "retrato" de la agencia de traductores feministas de Barbara Godard. Tras proporcionar un análisis sociocrítico de los polisistemas de origen y destino, se han analizado las "normas" generales, o más concretamente, las "tendencias" según las cuales los traductores canadienses del periodo aquí estudiado operaron bajo las políticas culturales del Canada Council for the Arts. Se ha argumentado cómo la agencia de Godard, lo suficientemente hábil como para evitar choques con las fuerzas dominantes, se ha ido construyendo, no obstante, en contraste con esta generación de traductores, que orquestaron un intento de integrar la literatura quebequense en el polisistema "nacional".

(A3.1.) Analizar las "tendencias" dominantes (Toury 2012) instauradas por el proyecto de "Canadianización", auspiciado por el Canada Council durante los años 70 y 80. Encarnaron

dicho proyecto la Asociación de Traductores Canadienses, la Asociación de Literaturas Canadienses y de Québec (ACQL), y posteriormente, los denominados Estudios canadienses de la traducción. Las dos primeras organizaciones se presentarán como elementos centrales del polisistema CanLit. Su dinámica se expondrá como convergente con el objetivo general de crear un polisistema nacional que integre Québec. No obstante, los metadiscursos de la época ilustrarán las tensiones que estos agentes experimentaron entre la creación de un polisistema canadiense igualitario, y por tanto una recepción de la literatura quebequense comprometida con la diferencia), y la asimilación de la literatura quebequense como una subcultura a escala nacional, asociada a la esquematización de dicha diferencia.

(A.3.2.) Analizar la evolución de la agencia de Godard y su interacción las diferentes redes profesionales y emocionales operantes en Canadá y Québec durante la época estudiada. A través de un análisis crítico-discursivo e históricamente contextualizado de tres extractos de sus traducciones, se ha argumentado una evolución de dicha agencia desde el interés intercultural por la identidad quebequense hasta el compromiso definitivo con la literatura feminista quebequense. Se ha prestado, lógicamente, especial atención a los primeros signos de una conciencia de género, así como a cualquier contradicción o limitación en las operaciones de esta traductóloga y traductora feminista. De nuevo, se percibe una cierta tensión metodológica entre la fuerte asimilación de su figura por el movimiento CanLit y sus propias premisas operativas.

Hipótesis Número 3:

Analizar el papel de la agencia traductora de Barbara Godard en la consolidación de una intercultural canadiense, hasta entonces fallida, a través del feminismo.

(H3.1.) La tendencia general, término quizá más acertado que el de “norma” (para ambos términos, consultar Toury 2012), observada en el tratamiento de las diferencias lingüístico-culturales de Québec por parte de los traductores canadienses parece haber sido la “asimilación” (Mezei 1988).

(H.3.2.) En la empresa de acercar las llamadas “dos soledades” de Canadá, los lazos transnacionales y feministas consolidados por Barbara Godard con las escritoras de Québec podrían haber gozado de mayor eficiencia que los intentos anteriores.

Las secciones finales de la tesis tratan de responder, pues, al sentido general de la Hipótesis Número 3, concerniente al papel pionero de la agencia feminista de Godard en la creación de una intercultura que permitió el diálogo entre las ya citadas “dos soledades” canadienses. Hemos sostenido que la consolidación de esta intercultura, una comunidad de ideas que hemos denominado Estudios canadienses feministas de la traducción, constituyó el punto álgido de la trayectoria de Godard: la época de consolidación de una praxis eminentemente feminista en los distintos campos de la Literatura Canadiense. De acuerdo con los estadios ya discutidos para las comunidades de ideas, hemos dividido el estudio de la carrera de Godard en cuatro fases. La primera, correspondiente al inicio de su carrera, desde la segunda mitad de los setenta hasta mediados de los ochenta, Godard comenzó un proceso de disociación de las estructuras ya consolidadas de la Literatura canadiense. De la mano de Frank Davey, Godard comenzó a ganar influencia en la toma de decisiones del comité editorial de Coach House Press con respecto a su recién inaugurada colección *Québec Translations*. Esta colección, de hecho, fue promovida por Godard, ante la gran afluencia de subvenciones ofrecidas por el Canada Council a la traducción de obra francófona. Se ha narrado, pues, el desgaste progresivo que su creciente interés por la literatura feminista quebequesa produjo en sus relaciones con agentes decisivos en la editorial, opuestos, en particular, al gran número de obras de Nicole Brossard cuya traducción Godard proponía. La segunda fase reseñada en la carrera de Godard responde a los inicios de su agencia feminista, tanto en su faceta de crítica como en su praxis traductora, en una época en que el auge del feminismo en Angloamérica era evidente. Es a partir de entonces cuando sus constantes esfuerzos por incluir asignaturas de crítica literaria feminista en los programas de inglés de York comienza a dar sus frutos, tras varios desencuentros con los respectivos coordinadores/as. En esta época, Godard abandona Coach House Press para poder dedicarse a proyectos de traducción auténticamente feministas.

La tercera fase experimentada por la carrera de Godard, contextualizada en los años ochenta, es la de consolidación de una agencia plenamente feminista en el amplio abanico de actividades híbridas, académicas y traductivas, en las que venía involucrándose. No obstante, la suya no fue una evolución aislada, sino que armonizó su metamorfosis individual con el establecimiento de una red de relaciones creativas a través de la revista *Tessera*. Un primer paso en la creación de esta “intercultura” feminista, poblada, como se ha dicho, de afinidades de todo tipo, ideológicas, profesionales e incluso emocionales, algo en lo que hemos hecho incapié en todas las comunidades de ideas masculinas y femeninas aquí presentadas. El

segundo paso dado por Godard en la consolidación de esta intercultura ha consistido en el salto, tanto crítico como práctico, a lo que ella denominó en el año 1989 la "traduction au féminin", y que constituyó lo que aquí hemos denominado Estudios Canadienses Feministas de la Traducción. Finalmente, la cuarta fase en la carrera de Godard corresponde a su progresivo relevo por parte de una nueva generación de críticas y traductólogas feministas canadienses, particularmente Sherry Simon y Luise von Flotow. En esta década, profundamente consciente de las limitaciones del movimiento que ella misma había iniciado la década anterior, Godard trató de emprender la traducción de una gran autora quebequesa, France Théoret, a quien hasta entonces nadie había publicado en inglés. Asimismo, se aprecian en su agencia gestos inéditos por reflejar en sus últimos artículos la gran diversidad cultural y racial que el movimiento fue incapaz de integrar en los ochenta. Ambas líneas de actuación, no obstante, fueron continuadas por la ya citada segunda generación de lo que ya entonces constituía una nueva escuela. Ha sido, de hecho, la revisión historiográfica y antológica que estas dos autoras realizaron en la década de los noventa la que ha permitido a los Estudios Canadienses Feministas de la Traducción su apertura definitiva a la transnacionalidad, inspirando movimientos similares en otras partes del globo.

Más allá de la evidente frialdad con la que las estructuras sistémicas trataron el feminismo en un principio, que se ilustra con mayor claridad a través de la revisión pormenorizada de la trayectoria de Godard, las primeras secciones se han ocupado de responder a la Hipótesis Número 3.1., relativa a la tendencia general observada entre los traductores/as anglófonos/as canadienses. Resulta importante retratar la función de la literatura quebequesa traducida, sea esta patriarcal o femenina/feminista, en especial por cuanto la propia contribución traductora de Godard se ha visto asimilada bajo intereses mayoritarios de unificación nacional. De hecho, de acuerdo con Mezei, "asimilación" resulta la palabra adecuada para definir la "tendencia" traductora, de acuerdo con la terminología de Toury, de las agencias traductoras dominantes en el polisistema canadiense, que esquematizaron la literatura combativa quebequesa de los sesenta y setenta hasta tornarla en un producto coincidente con las limitadas expectativas del lectorado anglófono.

Ciertamente, la intervención de Godard en las relaciones entre ambas poblaciones ha perseguido un acercamiento de la cultura quebequesa a la anglófona, que muchos consideran positivo y lamentablemente inexistente en los entornos literarios quebequeses. No obstante,

se trata de una intervención ideologizada, fundada en un determinado proyecto de estado-nación que no todos los agentes implicados comparten. En este sentido, nuestra descripción de las distintas etapas experimentadas por la agencia de Barbara Godard ha permitido demostrar, como indicábamos anteriormente, su mayor sensibilidad que su feminismo le confería hacia las preocupaciones lingüísticas y culturales de la provincia. Si bien con las ya citadas limitaciones de su perspectiva, ajena a la diversidad étnica de Canadá hasta el final de su carrera, creemos haber probado satisfactoriamente que Godard constituyó una "intercultural" y, por tanto, un espacio transnacional entre las "dos soledades" del país a través de su proyecto de tender puentes con el feminismo quebequense.

Las próximas décadas traerán consigo un crecimiento considerable de los esfuerzos por retratar a las mujeres en aquellos espacios de donde han sido borradas por la historiografía patriarcal. Dichos esfuerzos, lógicamente, superarán las fronteras epistémicas conocidas, no solo por el encorsetamiento masculino de las disciplinas existentes, sino por la falta de transversalidad en el gran baile de egos que muchas veces han protagonizado los espacios de debate académico en el pasado. Resulta trágico, no obstante, que el feminismo, como forma de "civismo blanco", todavía sea, a día de hoy, una ideología necesaria. Que invisibilice, como denuncian los feminismos no hegemónicos, la lucha igualmente urgente de agencias divergentes distintas a las motivadas por la asimetría entre hombre y mujer. Hoy se impulsan desde las fronteras disciplinares lo que Lionnet y Shih llaman "transnacionalidades mínimas". Sin duda, la constante erosión de fronteras que Godard encarnó a lo largo de su trayectoria constituyó una forma de "transnacionalidad dominante", realizable entonces, y analizable ahora, por aprovechar cauces de divergencia ya existentes. Sus andanzas en teoría de la literatura, únicas en su generación, se nutrieron, no obstante, del impulso que Davey y otros antes que ella dieron a la posibilidad de un polisistema canadiense bicultural y bilingüe, ante la indiferencia de la mayoría de agentes en la época. La progresiva influencia de esta nueva élite de académicos, en modo alguno transversal, permitió que alguien como Barbara Godard, alineada con los principales ejes de hegemonía en la sociedad canadiense, pudiera introducir un factor moderadamente discordante a la ecuación: el de género, que exigía el reconocimiento de las mujeres quebequenses y proponía una horizontalidad dialógica, en cuya búsqueda sus análogos masculinos habían fracasado.

Solo hacia el final de su carrera, nuestra protagonista comenzó a prestar su voz a las agencias anticoloniales más extremas de Canadá, aquellas que experimentaban de manera aguda las "transnacionalidades mínimas" del país, sobreviviendo mientras todos (y todas) hablaban de las famosas "dos soledades" y el drama confederal. Mujeres indígenas, afrocanadienses, asiáticas, musulmanas, inmigrantes de todos los rincones del planeta. Quebequenses o anglófonas, todas ellas quedaron fuera de los espacios interculturales que los feminismos aquí retratados generaron para su público más fácil, el que las élites patriarcales escucharían con mayor probabilidad: sus mujeres, hermanas y colegas. Esta tesis se ha querido ubicar en un espacio que consideramos muy poco transitado: el de las disquisiciones metodológicas que puedan conducirnos a una historia feminista de la traducción rigurosa. Dada la aquiescencia de Barbara Godard con los diversos espacios aquí retratados, algunos de ellos divergentes, pero la mayoría hegemónicos, nuestra primera experiencia de análisis historiográfica ha resultado menos dificultosa, seguramente gracias a la existencia de los ya citados cauces previos. Innegablemente, el esfuerzo arqueológico requerido para su ejecución ha sido considerable. Sin embargo, si bien de manera engañosa, y al servicio de los intereses de siempre, el mapa cuyas líneas hemos redibujado ya existía. En cambio, de los territorios que abarcarán los mapas futuros, pese a los esfuerzos de exploración cada vez más comunes en nuestra disciplina y en otras, sabemos poco. No hay cauces, ni líneas ni fronteras. Quizá, no obstante, los colectivos que aguardan a que les prestemos una voz auténticamente comprometida no necesitan mapas. Necesitan el tiempo que Barbara Godard, como muchos/as otros/as, no tuvo para terminar de cuestionar su propia agencia. La cantidad de experiencias sin retorno que en Canadá, como en el resto de empeñados estados-nación, se están dando cada día sin que puedan seguir pasando desapercibidas. Esta tesis invita a las Barbaras Godard del nuevo milenio a continuar narrando por donde Barbara Thompson Godard dejó la historia.