Publishing in the Contact Zone:
Linguistic Properties of the Book Publishing Field in Montreal

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis I explore an understudied area of communications – the practice of book publishing. Through an in-depth look at the Montreal book publishing field, I examine the relation between publishing and language arguing that language represents a system of power and social relations and that as such, it is one of the major structuring forces of the field of book production, defining possibilities or constraints for agents active in the field. Focusing my analysis on Montreal's peculiar geographic location as a "contact zone" of French and English languages, I explore how the interplay between the two tongues has contributed to shaping and defining the book publishing field in the city. I argue that this process of structuration through language takes place on three levels: first, on a political level, through the formation of the power dynamics and the set of rules that orient the functioning of the field and affect the positioning of Montreal publishers in it; second, on an economic level, through the expansion of markets abroad based on publishing strategies, among which translation is one of the most viable methods for market extension as well as inter-cultural communication; and third, on a cultural level, through the possibility of inter-cultural contact specifically between anglophone and francophone publishers in the city. My focus throughout this thesis is mainly on small literary presses and I use the findings from the interviews that I conducted with six publishers working on both sides of the linguistic divide in Montreal in order to provide a more thorough and engaging study.

Keywords: book publishing, English/French, linguistic minorities, linguistic markets, translation, inter-cultural communication, Quebec.

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Andy Brown, publisher of Conundrum Press
Robert Giroux, publisher of Les Éditions Triptyque
Kate Hall, publisher of Delirium Press
David Widgington, publisher of Cumulus Press

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Aujourd'hui je dirais que mon rapport à la langue est tout à la fois curieux, laborieux, doté d'une bonne dose d'ambivalence, d'émerveillement, de fascination.

Nicole Brossard
(quoted in Gauvin, 1990)

Parce que sous un faible volume il possède un contenu intellectuel et formel de haute densité, parce qu'il passe aisément de main en main, parce qu'il peut être copié et multiplié à volonté, le livre est l'instrument le plus simple qui, à partir d'un point donné, soit capable de libérer toute une foule de sons, d'images, de sentiments, d'idées, d'éléments d'information en leur ouvrant les portes du temps et de l'espace, puis, joint à d'autres livres, de reconcentrer ces données diffuses vers une multitude d'autres points épars à travers les siècles et les continents en une infinité de combinaisons toutes différentes les unes des autres.

Robert Escarpit
(1970)

Introduction

The relation between language and publishing

First published in French in 2000, the novel *Un dimanche à la piscine à Kigali* by Montreal author and journalist Gil Courtemanche became a best-seller in Quebec where it sold more than 45 000 copies and received the Prix des libraires – the booksellers' award for outstanding book of the year. Despite this local success however, the novel's original publisher, Les Éditions Boréal, found it difficult to get the book noticed on the international publishing scene. "We circulated copies everywhere, but it generated little interest," the president of Boréal, Pascal Assathiany, said (quoted in Aubin, 2003: 52).

The fate of the book changed once Knopf Canada published it in English in 2003 with the title *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali*. The cost for the translation by Montreal translator Patricia Claxton, was financed in part by a grant from Quebec's Société de développement des enterprises culturelles (SODEC) and in part by Knopf. Later on, the book was nominated for a Governor-General's Literary Award for French to English translation. Editions in the US, UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Spain soon followed and today the rights of the book have been sold to more than 20 countries and the novel has been translated into more than 15 languages. *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali*, a love story set in Rwanda at the wake of the genocide, received favourable reviews from *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *The Guardian* and *The New York Times,* among others. Furthermore, in 2006, the book was transformed into a film – *Un dimanche à Kigali* – featuring a cast of actors from Quebec and France.

With its double French-English life, the book traveled around the world, earning international acclaim for its publishers and a world-wide recognition to its author Gil Courtemanche. Moreover, it achieved the kind of media crossover (a book made into a film) that ensures the highest use value for a cultural product. As such, it also served as a means to raise the profile of Quebec – and, by extension, Canadian – literature abroad, thus acquiring a symbolic value as well.

Unfortunately, such a successful path of a book from Quebec on the international and even the national, Canadian, publishing scene, is an exception. The reasons for this are multiple and include historical configurations, geo-political arrangements, government cultural policies, publishers' economic reach (that the English version of the book was published by Knopf, a major international publishing house, accounts to a large extent toward its success). Nevertheless, what interests me in this story is the role that language plays in predetermining the fate of a book on the international market and even the national one, in the case of countries like Canada where two or more national languages co-exist.

The story sheds light on some of the language dynamics that characterize the Canadian book publishing industry. In particular, it questions the flow of books between Quebec and English Canada and the current state of book translations into Canada's two official languages. In a *Maclean's* article on this story Benoit Aubin comments:

> One of the lessons to take from all this is that at least some great books from Quebec aren't getting the attention they deserve. "The situation of translation of French books into English is appalling," Dennys[1] observes. "We are living in a

[1] The author refers to Louise Dennys, the president of Knopf Canada.

> world in which countries are more and more closely linked, but there are fewer and fewer foreign-speaking readers in English publishing houses [...]" (2003: 52).

This story raises such questions as: In a country like Canada, where French and English are granted by law equal and official status, what kind of communication exists between publishers working in the two languages? Are there points of contact between them? Can their collaborations be mutually beneficial? In a larger and more critical context, the story provides an acute example of the rapport between the language of publication and the subsequent life of the book, that is, after printing has given it materiality. It questions the economic and cultural venues and opportunities that print language offers. Thus, this story illustrates some of the complex and co-extensive ways in which language and publishing relate, especially in the context of a globalized world.

I will continue, and enlarge, this line of inquiry throughout this thesis. Using John Thompson's (2005) concept of "linguistic properties of the book publishing field" as a point of departure, I will argue that language represents a system of power and social relations and that as such, it is one of the major structuring forces of the field of book production, defining possibilities or constraints for agents active in the field. Publishers work within pre-defined linguistic fields, which pre-suppose specific power structures, economic opportunities, and cultural attitudes, all of which impact the publishers practice and everyday activities.

Focusing my analysis on Montreal's peculiar geographic location as a "contact zone" of French and English languages, I will explore how the interplay between the two tongues has contributed to shaping and defining the book publishing field in the city. I will argue

that the process of structuration through language takes place on three levels: first, on a political level, through the formation of the power dynamics and the set of rules that orient the functioning of the field and affect the positioning of Montreal publishers in it; second, on an economic level, through the expansion of markets abroad based on publishing strategies, among which translation is one of the most viable methods for market extension as well as inter-cultural communication; and third, on a cultural level, through the possibility of inter-cultural contact and communication specifically between anglophone and francophone publishers in the city. Thompson rightly points out that one should speak of multiple publishing fields encompassing the different segments of the industry, each with its own specifications and internal logic. My focus throughout this thesis will be on small-press literary publishing.

Language and publishing

Language is first and foremost our innate capacity as human beings to express thoughts and emotions, ideas, opinions, viewpoints; in short, it allows us to name and articulate our place in the world and communicate it to others. In the words of Quebec sociologist Fernand Dumont: "Chacun parle pour se décrire en son intimité, pour dire le sens de ses relations de famille et d'amitié, pour donner forme aux pratiques de la société" (1997: 130). Language, therefore, is deeply linked to human consciousness and to each individual's identity. Writing endows language with visible contours while publishing provides it with materiality, visibility and endurance. Language is a constitutive element of the very existence of the book as an artifact, as it is through words that content and

meaning are created in the form of texts and transmitted in books. So, the first and fundamental role of language in publishing is *communicative*.

Other than being a natural human faculty, language is also a system, a repository for particular worldviews or ideologies. As a system, language plays a role in the creation and maintenance of social relations and institutions and therefore relates to, and can even predetermine, human agency and social action (Carter & Sealey, 2000). For example, a strong connection exists between language and the idea of national identity and the relevance and legitimacy of this connection is reinforced and reproduced by social institutions such as the educational system. Publishing, and cultural production in general, is embedded within, and indeed dependent on, such larger social institutions and structures. Language, therefore, is one of the factors that shape the social conditions, which enable the publication of books and their circulation and which can also play a role in the very constitution of publishing as an institution in and of itself. Thus, the second function of language, as it relates to publishing, is *structural*.

It is important to underline that for the purposes of this thesis I understand language as a system and not as speech or discourse. This perspective is similar to what Harold Schiffman calls "linguistic culture," denoting a social background predetermined by language, which shapes human action and, moreover, consciousness. Schiffman offers the following definition of linguistic culture:

> the set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language (1996: 5).

Publishers are social actors whose practice is informed by their linguistic culture. In other words, their decisions and actions are influenced by the institutions, political processes, economic opportunities and cultural attitudes related to language that characterize their particular linguistic culture.

The publishing of a book is a specialized practice, comprised of a series of activities – selection, commission, editing, design, printing, marketing, distribution, networking, etc. – through which creative content is transformed into the object of the book, a cultural commodity that is then placed in a market for monetary exchange. The book provides a material support for the dissemination of written texts, but, as a tangible object, it also physically limits the text within the space of its covers and pages. It fixes the text spatially all the while limiting writing temporally. As Philippe Haeck notes: "Un texte n'est jamais fini tant qu'il n'est pas publié" (quoted in Robert, 1989: 40). Once published, the text becomes part of the social sphere – from a private act, the activity of writing becomes social (Robert, 1989). It is through the book and the act of publication that writing acquires both a social and an economic value. This is the moment when the structural role of language comes into play.

Although not the sole element, language is directly relevant to the "identity" of the book. As mentioned above, the book is a product of, and belongs to, a certain linguistic culture, a fact that has a direct bearing on the book's intellectual distinctiveness; it also determines its geographical place of birth. Language also reveals other, less easily identifiable characteristics of the book such as its belonging to a particular national

culture distinguished by language policies and attitudes towards language. Language also affects how the book will travel to and circulate in international markets. Thus, language lends the book a triple identity – which could roughly and generally be classified as cultural, political and economic – each of which inscribes the book within larger social structures and processes.

I will explore those processes and their relation to publishing in Montreal in the three subsequent chapters of this thesis. I will begin by looking at the political context of publishing as it relates to language. In Chapter 1 I will first introduce the notions of "book publishing fields" and "publishing models" in order to better explain the practice of publishing books and its connection to language. I will then address the association of language with concepts of nationalism and national identity, an especially pertinent point in the context of Quebec publishing, because this connection precisely has provided the ideological basis for the rise of an original, *Québécois*, literature from the 1960s on. The belief that language is a constitutive part of national identity is accompanied by the appropriate provincial language policies with the purpose to make it legitimate and socially accepted. In an indirect way, those policies also affect publishing, as much as any other cultural production, because they solidify the ideological background where social agents, such as publishers, act. In such a way, they also influence the process of institutionalization of the book publishing field.

Favouring one language as the national or official tongue of a territory, inevitably leads to exclusion of other languages from a dominant status and the subsequent creation of

linguistic minorities differentiated by the unequal distribution of power between groups possessing different linguistic capital. In the context of Quebec, this process is of extreme interest and significance, because it provides an example of a language shift, a reversal of positions of English and French languages, which is in turn directly associated with a reversal of the social stance of francophones and anglophones in the province. From a dominated idiom, French became the dominant, official language in the province as a result of state intervention following the Quiet Revolution, and of social appropriation of language as a defining symbol of what constitutes the Quebec identity. However, this very important moment of social emancipation also has to be seen in its dimension as a mechanism for the segregation of other linguistic groups in the province. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be looking at English in particular and will describe the specific social location of the anglophone linguistic community in Montreal and analyze how that location enables and predetermines the cultural production of this community, specifically that of books.

Building on this political context, in Chapter 2 I will veer toward an economic perspective of the publishing practice and the role of language in it. The effect of government linguistic policies is not only to create a legitimate state language, but also to put in place a linguistic market, related to the official language (Bourdieu, 1991). The worth of linguistic capital on the national and international markets is proportional to the process of valorization of language, which is also an outcome of the linguistic state policies. To give an example with Quebec again – before the 1960s the French language in the province was not an asset that could be measured in economic terms in the sense

that English was. Proficiency in French did not guarantee the same employment and career advancement opportunities as did English, which was the language of work and business. The language shift that occurred as one of the outcomes of the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s and 70s achieved precisely the opposite – through government policies and change in social attitudes, the Quebec French-speaking society reversed the underprivileged linguistic conditions which characterized it until then and valorized – socially, symbolically and economically – the French language. By extension, cultural production created in French increased the symbolic and economic value of the language as well. That is one of the reasons why the 1960s and 70s are considered to mark the beginning of modern *Québécois* cultural industries including publishing and literature.

How does the print language of a book predetermine its access to international markets? John Thompson argues that one of the effects of colonialism was the establishment around the globe of "linguistically homogenous and geographically extended publishing fields" which constituted supplementary markets where publishers could in principle distribute their books. This process continues today under the somewhat different conditions and regulations of internationalization and globalization. For example, the fact that English is the *lingua franca* of today's world has major repercussions on international book publishing. As the story of *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali* demonstrated, an English edition of a book can warrant its global success. The world-wide market for English books is huge (an estimated 508 million speakers around the globe), which means that English has a higher economic and symbolic capital than, say, French, which, as another former colonial language, also has an extensive network of

markets around the world. French, however, is no longer a universal language and cannot compete with the growth and spread of English (I will touch upon the relation between both languages in Chapter 1).

Based on Thompson's outline of four tactics for publishers to expand their markets abroad – producing co-editions with foreign publishers, working with an agent and distributor in the foreign market, establishing a physical presence overseas, selling rights for translations – I will explore how these strategies apply to publishers working in Montreal, using the findings from the interviews I conducted with six small-press, mostly literary, publishers in the city (I provide a detailed description of the presses and people I interviewed further on in this chapter as well as in the Appendix). One (somewhat expected) revelation from these conversations, was the fact that francophone publishers in Montreal seek partnerships with French publishers or distributors with the goal to establish a presence on the French book market, which also gives them access to a larger francophone world market. Anglophone publishers, on the other hand, are more inclined to collaborate with Toronto-based presses or to initiate contacts with US publishers. Without doubt, language is one of the explanations for this state of affairs. Linguistic affinities with foreign markets determine the possibilities for future economic ventures and opportunities.

After having specified the political and economic context within which publishers in Montreal work, I will then explore, in Chapter 3, the question of inter-cultural relations that exist between publishers working in the two languages in the city. One of the major

phenomena in the field of Montreal book publishing observable in recent years is the gradual constitution of what is increasingly referred to as "anglo-québécois literature," a corpus of English-language writing by authors living in Quebec. The concept does not denote simply another "genre" in literary studies, but has become symptomatic for a new configuration in the very architectonics of the book publishing field in the city. Throughout the years, English-language book publishing in Montreal has grown alongside its French counterpart, as I will show in the same chapter, but only of late has an intensified process of its legitimization ensued.

This has prompted me to problematize the idea of contact and communication and to inquire whether dialogue exists between anglophone and francophone publishers. I will use again findings from the interviews I conducted, which revealed that there is not much contact (if any) between them. However, my belief is that bilingual communication in the field of book publishing in Montreal is possible and I will conclude the discussion in the three chapters by contending that the cultural practice of translation provides a singular conceptual space where such a communication and inter-cultural exchange can take place.

Where appropriate and necessary, the discussion in these three chapters will be supported by facts from the history of book publishing in Montreal with the purpose to enlarge the context of the topic and also to establish continuity and a sense of grounding in time and space of the processes described. Also, in certain cases, history brings to light the work or aspirations of individuals who have attempted change or reversal of the status quo. Revived, these gestures can sometimes be very inspiring.

A city of words

I chose Montreal as the location for this study first because it is a city with an extremely dynamic publishing activity, marked by a French-English duality. With its more than 125 publishing houses – young or established, small or corporate, innovative or traditional, specialized or general, creating books in all possible genres – Montreal is without doubt the centre of book publishing in Quebec. It is often, and with pride, referred to as a "city of words" because writing and literature, in all their genres, forms and incarnations, thrive here. Montreal is an intellectual nodal point, home of francophone and anglophone authors alike along with a great number of writers from around the world who write in French, English, their native language(s), or all three at once. The city itself is an inspiration and has been the backdrop for numerous literary works. Pierre Nepveu and Gilles Marcotte's remark aptly captures this spirit:

> Il est évident que, sans Montréal, la littérature québécoise n'existe pas. Montréal, c'est l'institution littéraire elle-même : ses instances, l'édition, la critique, les académies, la plupart des écrivains, mais aussi la source même d'une certaine idée de la littérature (1992: 7).

Second, Montreal is, and has always been, a place of linguistic unrest. Language here is not a given, but a constant negotiation, a site of contestation of identity and power. This restlessness and constant quest for identity as expressed through language (French and English, specifically) have fostered a particular intellectual and social climate, favourable to the emergence of cultural and ideological movements, political processes and reforms.[2] The result is the percolation and the articulation of some of the major issues and questions which shape the core of the Quebec society. In this sense, I would argue that

[2] I am thinking in particular of some of the major political and cultural movements that were propelled from the events in the 1960s and 70s Quebec and in which the role of intellectuals was of great significance: the establishment of the Parti Québécois, the Quiet Revolution, and the *joual* movement in literature.

the French-English duality of Montreal is, in fact, a creative force. In her book *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the life of a divided city*, Sherry Simon puts it this way: "The divided city gives rise to literary projects activated by translingualism" (2006: xiii). This thesis is premised on the idea that Montreal represents, and has always represented, a "zone of contact"[3] between the two official linguistic communities in Canada and that the interactions taking place in such a contact zone are at the same time asymmetrical and creatively charged.

For a long time the city was divided – geographically and spiritually – along linguistic lines: a French East end, an English West end. Today, those differences, although still perceptible, are much more attenuated. Montreal is a truly bilingual metropolis, whose population has been growing in recent years in numbers and diversity, a process that has furthermore intensified issues of language and identity and has questioned established conceptions of what constitutes the Quebec nation. These linguistic dynamics deserve to be studied in depth as they certainly affect all areas of activities in the city, especially culture and cultural production; however, this thesis will concentrate only on French and English and their rapport to publishing.

Literary review and methodology

One of the major challenges that I encountered in the preparation of a research study like this, was to amalgamate the many resources that I consulted, extremely diverse in scope

[3] I first encountered the notion of "contact zone" in Catherine Leclerc and Sherry Simon's (2005) article "Zone de contact. Nouveaux regards sur la littérature anglo-québécoise". They, in turn, use the idea originally formulated by Mary Louise Pratt (1999) in the article "Arts of the Contact Zone". I will discuss this concept more thoroughly in Chapter 3.

and discipline. Articles related to publishing in Quebec, which I found in periodicals and the trade press, gave me a deep understanding of the present state of the field and of publishers' everyday practices. Francine Bordeleau's (1996, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2006, 2007) special reports for *Lettres québécoises* – an important literary and publishing periodical in Quebec – were invaluable in this respect. Her 1999 dossier *La révolution anglaise* followed in 2006 by *Littérature anglo-québécoise : une minorité forte*, represent two of the most comprehensive studies of this nascent phenomenon from an insider's and a socio-political point of view.

Coupled with these, Jacques Michon's extensive research (1985, 2001, 2004) on the history of Quebec publishers and book production since its beginnings in the province, was very enlightening as he takes into consideration the social life of the book and demonstrates how the development of the industry reflects and is strongly influenced by the larger social, economic and political advancement of Quebec throughout the years. Founder of the Groupe de recherche sur l'édition littéraire au Québec (GRELQ) at the Université de Sherbrooke, Michon has written and edited numerous books and articles on the subject. One of those books, *Les Mutations du livre et de l'édition dans le monde du XVIIIe siècle à l'an 2000*, which groups together the proceedings from the international conference with the same title organized at the Université de Sherbrooke, represents a remarkable summary of the spread and development of publishing in the world from a comparative point of view. In the book, the authors outline several major publishing models – British, French and German among them – originating in Europe at the beginnings of publishing as a cultural enterprise and then argue that despite their global

extension, as a result of colonialism, these models were not universally applied. Instead, a multitude of independent publishing systems emerged, which blended elements from the European models and local conditions of production and distribution. That was also the case in Quebec, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 1.

Compared to other media, book publishing has received very little attention on the part of communication and cultural studies scholars. This is surprising because, as John Thompson argues, "publishing underpins many spheres of contemporary culture and is a major source of content for other sectors of the media and cultural industries, including film and television" (2005: 3). And Philip Altbach rightly states that "[p]ublishing is an integral part of the intellectual and cultural system of any country" (1976: 3). It is curious that edited collections of essays on the cultural industries rarely, if ever, contain a chapter on book publishing; discussions on the print industry are usually limited to newspapers and magazines. In Canada, research on books (as in many other areas) is divided into English- and French-language scholarship; moreover, they don't reference each other – each focuses on issues and topics related to their respective linguistic sphere.

It was John Thompson's *Books in the Digital Age* that grew to be the inspiration for and the backbone of this thesis. In his study, he furnishes a thorough discussion on the book publishing practice from a sociological perspective. He is one of the very few theorists to discuss language in relation to publishing. Such an approach allows him to analyze the geo-political location of the publishing field as one of its essential characteristics, thus greatly enhancing our very understanding of the publishing practice.

Monica Heller's work (1999, 2003) on bilingualism and linguistic minorities in Canada was especially useful for a study like this as it elucidated the relation between language, nation and ethnic identity and the creation of linguistic minorities through state language planning. Heller's research, which is situated in the field of sociolinguistics, focuses on everyday language practices and challenges of Franco-Ontarians, and particularly, schoolchildren and their parents. Her work became all the more germane for me, while I was reading it in conjunction with the social study *Sorry, I don't speak French: Confronting the Canadian crisis that won't go away* written by Canada's Official Languages Commissioner Graham Fraser. Fraser examines the present-day state of Canadian bilingualism, revisiting some of the defining moments in the implementation of the federal language policy and providing an excellent and up to date overview of the success or failure of the policy's application in different areas of social life.

Pierre Bourdieu's work (1977, 1991, 1993) as well as Robert Escarpit's now classical book *Sociology of literature* (1971), both posit publishing as a social process of culture-making. Escarpit was one of the first scholars to study literature and publishing as instances of social and cultural production realized through three main practices: production, distribution and consumption. Bourdieu views the book production practice as a system of networks of power and social relations, inscribed in what he terms "field of cultural production," which is also the theoretical basis from which John Thompson constructs his argument. In *Language and symbolic power*, Bourdieu provides an especially illuminating study of the causality between the state, language and linguistic markets, arguing that the elevation of one language to the status of "official" or

"national" entails the legitimization of that particular language to the detriment of the other languages spoken within the boundaries of the state. Although Bourdieu understands language as speech and is concerned with the nature of linguistic interactions, his discussion was very informative, particularly for Chapter 2 of this thesis.

My reflections were also informed by a myriad of other comprehensive studies. Lucie Robert (1989) offers a superb analysis of the constitution and institutionalization of the literary field in Quebec; Lianne Moyes's focus (1998, 1999) is on the positionnality of the anglophone writing and publishing community in Quebec and its slow movement toward legitimization. For an inspiring read on the benefits (but also dangers) of translation as a possible strategy for inter-cultural communication, Sherry Simon's (1994, 1999, 2006) extensive work is of note. Josée Vincent's (1997) work on the history of Quebec-France relations in the domain of book exports touches upon some of the basic issues and moments of book distribution and production, which have shaped the present state of the industry.

The synthesis and analysis of this extremely wide range of sources and theoretical paradigms has resulted in a multi-perspectival and multi-disciplinary study. I am aware that a study of these proportions cannot claim to be exhaustive, because it cannot possibly take into consideration all facets of such a complex topic. However, I am convinced that a broader overview such as the one I offer here is helpful for the articulation and analysis of the intricate, and at the same time, fundamental, relation between language and publishing, especially in the context of a multilingual city like Montreal. My goal is to

achieve a better understanding of, first, the relation between language and publishing, second, of the book publishing practice itself, and third, of the book publishing field in Montreal.

This thesis is located in-between disciplines – sociolinguistics, cultural and communication studies – whose connection I view as mutually enhancing and not mutually exclusive. I aim for this study to also make a contribution to a field that Mary Louise Pratt calls "linguistics of contact," which she defines in this way:

> Imagine, then a linguistics that [...] placed at its centre the operation of language across lines of social differentiation, a linguistics that focused on modes and zones of contact between dominant and dominated groups, between persons of different and multiple identities, speakers of different languages, that focused on how such speakers constitute each other relationally and in difference, how they enact differences in language (1987: 60).

Such a theoretical framework acknowledges the heterogeneity of the location from which my analysis and observations derive. "Linguistics of contact" suggests a discussion of interaction – it allows for an inter-relational perspective and analysis. It also allows the mapping of other practices within it – publishing, for instance, as a process of creation and enhancement of a particular method of communication. Finally, this perspective introduces the role of language as a demarcating force that acts between and across communities and which presupposes, but also problematizes, difference(s).

Interviews

In addition to the theoretical resources that I am deploying, I am also using findings from the unstructured interviews that I conducted with six small-press, mostly literary publishers in Montreal in the period of winter 2005-summer 2006. The choice of

participants was motivated by my initial inquiry if contact or other instances of communication exist between publishers working in either French or English languages in Montreal. I selected three francophone and three anglophone publishers who are, respectively: Brigitte Bouchard (Les Allusifs), Martin Brault and Frédéric Gauthier (La Pastèque), Robert Giroux (Les Éditions Triptyque), Andy Brown (Conundrum Press), Kate Hall (Delirium Press), and David Widgington (Cumulus Press).[4] Les Allusifs and Delirium Press are entirely literary presses; Conundrum's catalogue is comprised of literary titles in different genres and book formats; La Pastèque publishes comic books; Cumulus specializes in poetry and books with a political edge; finally, Triptyque is the most seasoned publisher with an extensive catalogue of publications ranging from poetry and general fiction to social studies on popular music.

Except for Triptyque, which celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2007, the other publishing houses included in this study were created in the last 10 to 15 years and are therefore part of *la relève* or the "next generation" of Quebec publishers. As represented by the publishers I interviewed, this "next generation" is characterized by a strong desire to go beyond established publishing practices or genres. They are actively present in the literary field, searching for authors and experimenting with genres and book formats. The books they publish are not only attentively edited, but are created with a particular attention to design as well, thus advancing a vision of the book and the publishing process as an art. Also, their selection of authors and subjects to publish are dictated by such criteria as quality of writing, originality of the idea and its contribution to advancing the house's editorial mandate – all characteristics of a "cultural publisher." At the same

[4] See the Appendix for a detailed description of all six publishing houses.

time, these publishers are also well aware of the business aspect of book production and seek new, ingenious ways to publish, promote and sell their books, rather than to rely solely on the model of government grants prevalent in Canada. In addition, many of them are expanding their creative and commercial opportunities beyond the boundaries of Quebec by creating a stronghold in a foreign market or forging alliances with foreign publishers.

Although the interviews are not the central element of analysis *per se* in this thesis, they represent an invaluable source for better understanding the subject of discussion; moreover, they ground the subject in reality. Andrea Fontana and James Frey argue that unstructured interviews allow for the "establishment of a human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than to *explain*" (2000: 654, italics in the original). In my view, the search for *understanding* from a direct observation and contact with the subject of inquiry is one of the best methods for achieving a truthful and relevant analysis. Furthermore, following Jennifer Mason, I would like to think of the interview as "a site of knowledge construction, and the interviewee and interviewer as co-participants in the process" (Mason, 2002: 227). The emphasis here is on the research consisting of a collaboration between people who are positioned inside and outside of the studied field.

A note on vocabulary

In Quebec, French and English are politically-charged, and therefore, potentially explosive languages, a reflection of the long history of antagonism between them.

Throughout this thesis, I will be using primarily the terms "anglophone" and "francophone" to refer to, respectively, the English-speaking and French-speaking communities in Quebec, their institutions, organizations and cultural production. This choice of appellation should not be seen as a way of homogenizing the two communities or as an attempt to erase or obscure all internal bilingualism, trilingualism or levels of linguistic competence. These terms are meant, for simplicity's sake, to denote a person or a group whose first or main language of usage is English or French.

In the history of Quebec, a change in the collective naming of the people signifies a shift in self-consciousness and identity. Thus, after the Quiet Revolution, the term *Canadien français*, which until then denoted the French-speaking population in Quebec, is replaced in a large social scale by *Québécois*. Quebec's modern literature is also *québécoise*,[5] a term I will be using here as well. An important dimension to this designation is the fact that "la littérature québécoise" is largely perceived as written in French and born in the 1960s out of Quebec's movement for independence (although it is not necessarily a militant literature). Thus, almost by definition, it excludes Quebec literature written in English (or any other language). However, such literature does exist and I will use the phrase currently employed (although disputed) "anglo-québécois literature" to describe it. This hybrid English-French term, in search of its own legitimization, denotes the in-betweeness of English-language writing as it is practiced here and defies the linguistic homogeneity of literature made in Quebec.

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[5] In 1963 writer Laurent Girouard exclaimed in an article in the political magazine *Parti pris*: "Notre littérature s'appellera québécoise ou ne s'appellera pas" (quoted in Grief & Ouellet, 2004: 14).

Chapter 1
Foundations: Language, power structures and the Montreal book publishing field

Language choices are power gestures.
Monica Heller
(quoted in Fraser, 2006)

Language is more than a means and medium for communication. Its role for the creation and maintenance of social institutions and structures of power should be understood beyond discourse and speech acts. The essence of language, as well as its most evasive characteristic, is the fact that it could be thought of as a "bridge" between human subjective consciousness and an objective world or reality that exists before any attempt at its representation or interpretation. What is trafficked through that metaphorical bridge is a way of being in and seeing the world, a state of mind, a reaction to that already existing reality. That means that language is never neutral, that beyond being a purely representational system of signs, it also conveys worldviews and, consequently, ideologies. Or, to use Pierre Bourdieu's argument: "Language is not only an instrument of communication or even knowledge, but also an instrument of power" (1977: 648).

It is on this premise that the present chapter is based. My main inquiry is the following: What is the political and social context, as it relates to language, within which the practice of book publishing in Montreal is situated? The geographical location of the study is of great importance as it presupposes certain characteristics, processes and structures proper to that place. Those include the prominent position of language in almost every sphere of social life here, as well as the connection between language and

nationalism, linguistic policies and linguistic minorities. To see how these social phenomena relate to publishing, I will begin by outlining the notion of "book publishing fields," which can be understood as a conceptual space where these complex relations are actualized.

Characteristics of book publishing fields

Building on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of field of cultural production, John Thompson develops his own model of the field of book publishing. He defines it as:

> A space of positions which are occupied by agents and organizations of various kinds, and these agents and organizations stand in relations of collaboration and/or competition with one another. The field is a market but it is not just a market – it is more than this. It is a complex array of networks and relationships, supply chains, forms of competition, sets of consumers, specific kinds of reward and recognition (such as prizes) and so on. The field is the structured social environment in which firms operate and exist, flourish and fail (2005: 37).

This detailed definition illustrates how intricate and multifaceted the publishing field is. Modern publishing has gone a long way from the early days of the printing press, when the distinction between a printer and a publisher was not clear-cut and when books were distributed and sold by travelling salesmen. Today, the complexity of the industry is remarkable as many more players have joined the field and networks of power relations and prize awarding are as important a factor in the success of a book as the quality of its content or the name of its author.

Thompson argues that one should speak of "publishing fields," in plural, to distinguish their domains of specialization – trade, scholarly, children's, art books, etc. Each field has its own functional and normative logic and is related to other publishing, as well as social

fields. For instance, all publishing fields are tightly linked to the larger fields of education and politics; more specifically, the production of art books, for instance, is associated to the art world and its many organizations and agents – museums, art galleries, curators, etc. To that I would add that publishing fields can be partitioned even further into sub-fields with a dynamic of their own. Thus, the Quebec publishing industry can be seen as part of an overarching Canadian publishing field. In turn, within Quebec publishing itself, one can distinguish smaller fields – English-language book production, for instance. They all relate to each other. This classification is useful for the conceptual and even geographical mapping of the book production process, an approach that will be helpful for the discussion that will follow in this chapter.

I would like to draw attention to two major characteristics from Thompson's definition above: first, the field is structured and second, the relations between agents and organizations active in the field are governed by economic as well as social forces. The two are interconnected as economics and larger socio-political factors, like access to government grants or privileged access to technologies, affect the internal structure of the field, enabling and initiating strategies and relations of power, and creating hierarchies among participating agents. The field's structure presupposes and determines each agent and organization's position in it as well as the positionnality of emerging publishing houses when they first enter the field.

It is important to note that publishing fields are far from being predictable and stable environments and that it is possible for publishers to change their position within it.

Publishers' mobility is conditional on the different types of capital they possess. Thompson identifies four forms of capital essential for every publishing firm – economic, human, symbolic and intellectual. Economic capital refers to publishers' financial resources, which allow them to initiate new publishing projects and to compete in the national or international book markets; human capital is the accumulated knowledge, the expertise and skills of the people working at the press; symbolic capital denotes the prestige and status of the publishing house – prestige is based on award recognitions or a consistent and quality catalogue of titles; and finally, intellectual capital comprises the rights that the firm owns to intellectual content, which it can sell or exploit to further sales or acquire new content. Altogether, these four forms of capital make up the material and symbolic resources of a publisher. The more of each form of capital publishers accumulate, the greater their chances of survival in the field and of advancing their position in it over time in relation to other publishers.

To those four types, can be added a fifth – linguistic capital. As the example of *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali* showed, language can constitute a real asset for publishers, enabling them to expand their markets and, consequently, their economic and symbolic clout in the field. Thompson views language as an essential characteristic of each field not only because language is an inherent element of the book itself, but also because it constitutes a social system that links the practice of publishing to a larger socio-political context, where the constitution of power relations, methods of production and networks of distribution is embedded. Also, language can be defined geographically by the territory or territories where it is spoken and used. This enables Thompson to bring in yet another

important characteristic of publishing fields – their spread and boundaries in space – and, by extension, their relation to the nation.

Linguistic regions are delimited on the basis of geo-political factors and publishing fields are, therefore, inevitably involved in the geo-political dynamics of the region where they are situated. Publishing fields, according to Thompson, can be restricted within the frontiers of a nation-state, can be sub-national or extend beyond the state frontiers. The Spanish language provides an interesting example in this respect. Geographically, the Spanish national publishing field encompasses the territory of Spain, where it is one of the official languages, but it also extends globally over all other territories where Spanish is the predominant language in use, like Latin America. However, within the borders of Spain, other languages are also being spoken, of which Basque is a prominent example. It constitutes a separate sub-national publishing field, which, in its turn, extends geographically within but also beyond the boundaries of Spain to include parts of Southern France where Basque speakers are also present. This example illustrates how one language can predetermine the existence of multiple publishing fields whose spatial boundaries do not necessarily coincide; it also shows that publishing fields can be multilingual.

How these complicated linguistic dynamics come to fruition can be explained by considering patterns of global distribution of power and economic networks. Thompson writes:

> In historical terms, the formation of linguistically homogenous and geographically extended publishing fields was profoundly shaped by the legacy of colonialism.

> The spheres of influence and linguistic continuities created by colonial empires created homogenous linguistic regions, which extended across continents, and within which publishers could in principle distribute and market their books (2005: 41).

Colonialism created the conditions under which languages like English, French, Spanish, Portuguese – "intrusive languages of wider communication" (Williams, 2003) – travelled easily around the globe, expanding their influence and transforming the dominated territories into extended markets for cultural products, including books. The spread and enforcement of just a few tongues as official around the globe perturbed the local "language ecologies" (Pennycook, 2000) and contributed to the creation of linguistic hierarchies on both local and global scales, whereby dominant and dominated languages are differentiated by the symbolic reach and geographic spread of their symbolic and economic power and influence. Book publishing is not neutral to these linguistic configurations, but profoundly affected by them, because as a cultural and business practice it is inscribed within these networks of production and distribution, which are based on language, initiated by colonialism and continued today under different conditions proper to globalization.

English and French on a global scale

The global ascension and expansion of the English language has been the most spectacular. Spoken today by an estimated 508 million people around the globe (the figure for French is 175 million people)[6], English is the official language in an estimated 45 countries, while French ranks second – it has official status in 33 countries (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006: 451). As a "world language" or a *lingua franca*, as it is now known,

[6] These figures are estimates and include native as well as second-language speakers. In Nadeau & Barlow, 2006: 451.

English is widely accepted as the language of global business, international diplomacy, academic exchange as well as mass entertainment. It is the leader of languages in terms of the economic and symbolic capital from which its speakers benefit.

Some scholars (Williams, 2003; Phillipson, 2006) have warned that the extraordinary expansion of English contributes to the amplification of global social and political inequality:

> Language and the ideology it conveys, is thus part of the legitimization of positions within the global division of labour. Attempts to separate English from its British and North American value system are misguided, for English should not be interpreted as if it were primarily a *tabula rasa*. Any claim that English is now a neutral, pragmatic tool for global development is disingenuous, because it involves a 'disconnection between what English *is* ("culture") from its structural basis (from what it *has* and *does*)' (Williams, 2003: 40-1, italics in the original).

Williams identifies an essential characteristic of language as a system, namely that it is not simply a communication medium, but helps shape and maintain structures of power. As a dominant language of world-wide communication, English can also be a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion providing access to international forums and organizations to those who possess this particular linguistic capital and barring others who do not from participation. Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas caution:

> As English is the dominant language of the U.S., the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, many other world policy organizations, and most of the world's big businesses and elites in many countries worldwide, it is the language in which the fate of most of the world's citizens is decided, directly or indirectly (quoted in Pennycook, 2000: 114).

What about French? Does it have similar power and position? In their study *The Story of French*, Jean-Benoît Nadeau and Julie Barlow argue that yes, French is also a language spread world-wide, although in lesser proportions than English:

> It doesn't seem like an exaggeration to claim that French is another global language, and, as we have seen, perhaps *the* other global language, in an increasingly English-dominated world (2006:4, italics in the original).

They go on to say that "more than any other language, it [French] offers a counterbalance to the influence of English" (13). It is interesting to note that the authors present the positioning of the two languages on the world stage in terms of opposition. Indeed, the competition between English and French for influence and power, as an expression of the political and economic might of respective countries, goes back a long way in history and is important to mention here, because almost since its beginnings Montreal was defined by French/English antagonism. In Chapter 3, I will show how this linguistic duality affects everyday relations between francophone and anglophone publishers in the city.

Both English and French are former colonial languages, which accounts for their global reach. But while English is largely considered today as "decentralized" in the sense that London has long ceased to be the imperial centre from where language is controlled and propagated, this is still not entirely the case for French. Paris still safeguards its role as cultural and political core and reference point for what defines the French language worldwide and for what is considered its *bon usage* or "proper" use. This reality extends to the domain of publishing as well whereby a success in Paris represents symbolically a moment of consecration for a French-language book and its author. Quebec publishers can also tell stories about translations done in Quebec and rejected for publication by Parisian presses on the grounds that Quebec French is not sufficiently international. Jean-Yves Mollier remarks that this "hégémonie parisienne sur le livre" (2001: 48), so characteristic of the French publishing system, is present to this day.

There are, nevertheless, signs for a slow movement toward change. For example, in March 2007, 44 authors writing in French from all over the world, including several writers from Montreal, published a manifesto where they declared the dissolution of the centre (Paris), the death of the francophonie and the birth of what they called "littérature-monde en français". This concept denotes all writing in French created in the periphery – outside of the cultural, political, and economic centre of Paris. Although the impact of such a public statement is doubtful (would it facilitate access of francophone world writers to Parisian literary circles and would it prompt higher sales of their books in France?), the significance of such a position is to call attention to a situation that, according to the authors, is long overdue for change. The authors are calling for an opening in the very definition of literature created in the French language, an opening to, and hence a legitimization of, a diversity of voices speaking from a myriad of locations and social positions.

Framed within a post-colonial discourse, the manifesto also touches on one important issue – the connection between language, literature and nation, a three-dimensional relation that the authors who have signed the document perceive as an impediment and limitation to the very practice of writing. They proclaim themselves for a literature in French "libérée de son pacte exclusif avec la nation" (*Le Devoir*, 2007, F2). The point being raised is that the heterogeneity and multiplicity of writing and literature in French around the world cannot be subsumed to a simple colonial bi-polar model of centre-periphery. A change in the paradigm toward a greater inclusion of difference is especially

pressing in our contemporary world under the influence of globalization and the break-down of old ideological systems.

Publishing models

Language and literature are contested arenas of human creativity as they are extremely effective vehicles for political and hegemonic domination, precisely because human consciousness and ways of being in the world are embedded in language systems and then materialized through the practice of book publishing and the production of literature. Book historians identify several models of publishing – the British, French, and German are the most prominent – that originated in Europe shortly after the advent of the printing press and were then "exported" by imperial powers to overseas territories during colonial times. Nonetheless, these models were not universally and irreversibly applied, but initiated, rather, the development of local publishing models, which in their turn took singular paths, influenced by the idiosyncrasies of local societies. In her article "The Modification of European Models: English Canada before 1890," Mary Lu MacDonald notes with regard to publishing in Canada during that period:

> Initially I decided that we [Canada in the 19th century] established a colonial model, then I began to think of it as a North American model, then I realized that this *mélange* of models was, as is the case in so many other fields, a uniquely Canadian model. I have come to describe the characteristics of this model as "pragmatic, eclectic, and possibly anarchic" (2001: 84, italics in the original).

Similar observations are echoed by Rimi B. Chatterjee in her account of Indian publishing under the British Raj:

> Though in this paper I am supposed to be tracing the spread of the British model of publishing [...] to India under the British Raj, I must confess that my attempts to draw such a conceptual map produced a very odd tangle of lines. While a nodding acquaintance with Indian history might make such a spread seem

> plausible, in actual fact the "British model" did not travel to India at all, at least not a recognizably British system. What happened, rather, was that administrators, publishers, booksellers, educationists and readers on both sides of the cultural divide combined, wittingly or unwittingly, to create an Indian model, or more probably models. For India is too diverse, linguistically, ethnically and culturally, to possess just one system of disseminating culture; the wider public identity of nationhood co-operates in communities and individuals with more local, intimate allegiances (2001: 100).

Both MacDonald and Chatterjee speak of "models," in plural, to underline the idea of multiplicity and heterogeneity of the local territories over which a monolithic dominant system is thought to be imposed. By identifying the Canadian system as "pragmatic, eclectic, and possibly anarchic," MacDonald describes a process of local appropriation and adjustment of the original model. The emergence of indigenous publishing systems sometimes had the effect of disrupting and decentralizing the dominant model all the while creating unique cultural products, including books printed in the vernacular languages of the territory, as was the case in India (Chattarjee, 2001).

At this point emerges the question of how to understand a publishing model. Jacques Michon provides the following description:

> [...] l'organization culturelle et socialle determinant jusqu'à un certain point les structures du milieu du livre. C'est le modèle comme système culturel intégrateur et comme faisceau de traits distinctifs d'une société dans son rapport à elle-même et au monde extérieur qui résumerait peut-être le mieux l'intention de notre approche (2001a: 12-13).

In a way, the idea of publishing models is similar to Thompson's notion of publishing fields as they both provide a detailed typology of the practice of book production. The model theory encompasses strategies and practices of publishers, booksellers, printers, and all other agents involved in the book production chain. More than that, as a theoretical framework, the model is meant to capture and make explicit the social,

economic and political conditions influencing the agents' actions as well as the rapports between them. What the model theory brings specifically into the discussion, as I understand it, is the historical dimension of the processes of structuration and functioning of publishing fields, which provides for a better understanding of how the linguistic culture of each field has come to be formed and accounts for, in practical terms, the relationships that exist between different publishing fields.

Early European models emerging in the century after the invention of the printing press, developed under economic imperatives: publishers strived to respond to a growing demand for books and other printed material, while emerging networks of distribution and sales were being weaved throughout the continent. All agents working in the publishing chain at the time were in fact laying the foundations for what Anderson (1991) has termed "print capitalism". James Raven specifies:

> All national models of the book trades in early modern and modern Europe are variants of one European model dominated by issues of capitalization, central control, centralized production and radical distribution networks. [...] The differences [between the European models] include different types of distribution, different methods of control and different types of demand. What we investigate in looking at European models of the book trades, therefore, are salient national features rather than transferable national structures (2001: 19).

Raven accounts for the practical impossibility of the straightforward application of these models to foreign societies despite the formation of extended linguistic regions. Each model is particular for each society and, later on, each nation. The situation is further complicated by the fact that a market for print was slowly developing overseas, as a result of colonialism, as mentioned in the previous pages. This process of market consolidation

is fundamental to the constitution of autonomous, independent systems of book production.

The Quebec system

Within the mélange of Canadian models, publishing in Quebec has a unique position and historical trajectory. It developed independently from its English-Canadian counterpart, under very different political, cultural and economic circumstances. The Quebec system was not modeled after the French one; in fact, as Claude Galarneau (2001) suggests, the earliest influence on the constitution of the book publishing field in Quebec was exerted by an "American publishing model". It revolved around the (male) figure of the journalist-printer-publisher who would set up his own printing press and issue oftentimes a politically-engaged newspaper, all the while carrying out commissions for the printing of government or privately ordered documents.

France did, however, play an indirect role in the organization of the industry based on its historical and linguistic ties to Quebec. For more than a century, France was the main source of printed material – mostly educational, children's and mass fiction books – to the province, thus fostering the implementation of a Quebec import and distribution system, personified by the figure of the bookseller. Jacques Michon explains:

> Le libraire-éditeur, à la fois grossiste et parfois imprimeur, constituait le pivot d'un système dont il coordonnait toutes les activités. Son pouvoir reposait sur un modèle culturel où le livre devait assurer la présence de la langue française sur le territoire et répondre aux besoins de la formation intellectuelle et religieuse de la population (2001b: 317).

Language was synonymous with education and intellectual enlightenment and in the absence of a home-grown print production, France was the unequivocal book supplier in a situation of exchange that was fully unidirectional. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, French imported books dominated the Quebec market to the point of taking a 95 per cent share of it (Ménard, 2001). Michon rightfully calls this situation "modèle d'une culture importée" (2001b: 318). Several decades passed before Quebec found its own independent direction and identity and began articulating its distinctiveness through original literature, which ultimately also led to the constitution of an autonomous publishing field in the province.

The period of the Second World War was especially propitious for the revitalization of the industry. Due to France's occupation, Quebec became the leading publishing centre in the francophone world producing and exporting books by French, but most importantly, by Quebec authors as well. An estimated 21 million books were published in Montreal between 1940 and 1946 (Lemire, n.d.). Numerous publishing houses were established and it was during that period that the image of the professional publisher in Quebec emerged (Michon, 1985). It was also the time when the Quebec book publishing field slowly began to gain autonomy and independence from the control of the clergy and the nationalist movements which have held dominant positions since the middle of the 19th century. Quebec publishers made a name for themselves with the excellent literary and polemical publications they edited, some of which were very successful in France and the United States.

The end of the war brought a reversal to this situation: France regained its eminent status on the francophone book publishing field monopolizing production and distribution of books in French. Many of the newly-created Quebec presses had to close down, unable to compete. There were also structural problems of the industry in Quebec itself. The distribution system in the province, in particular, was poorly developed – Montreal and Quebec City were the two leading publishing centres with the highest concentration of publishing houses and bookstores, while smaller urban centres were left out, some of them without any bookstores at all. In addition, the market for books in Quebec was too small to support a well-developed indigenous book production.

During the Quiet Revolution, a watershed moment in Quebec's modern history, publishing came to be seen as a key cultural industry; some of the French-language writers and publishers active at the time were very involved in the Quebec nationalist movement and through their writings and work in the cultural field contributed to the crystallization of the idea of a *Québécois* identity. Literature was at the heart of this process (along with other arts like music) and it is largely believed that contemporary Quebec literature emerged during those turbulent years as a symbolic expression of a more assertive, modernized Quebec. Jacques Michon summarizes the role of publishers during that time when he writes: "Promoteurs de la création locale et des réformes sociales, les éditeurs se présentent comme les principaux agents du développement d'une culture canadienne-française devenue québécoise" (2001b: 320).

Also during those years, the provincial government intervened with a number of measures and policies aimed at fostering home-grown cultural production. One of those measures in the sphere of book publishing was La Loi sur le développement des enterprises québécoises dans le domaine du livre, commonly known as Loi 51, implemented in 1981, at a time when it was still not unusual for Quebec booksellers to stock the majority of their books directly from Paris (Ménard, 2001) and when the book retail infrastructure in the province was still scant. The purpose of the law was to create a proper distribution and sales network and to ensure a greater prominence of the Quebec book. Thus, it also aimed to protect the interests of Quebec booksellers and publishers, especially after attempts from French firms in the 1960s to establish a monopoly in the Quebec book market.[7]

The law's key provision was the introduction of a system of accreditation for publishers, booksellers and distributors. In order for a publishing house to be accredited, it should have a 100 per cent Quebec ownership, a catalogue containing a minimum of 15 titles by Quebec authors, and clearance of all outstanding copyright or other contract obligations. In return, the accreditation allows publishers to apply for government grants and to have their books kept by the retailer for a period of at least four months. The Loi 51 successfully accomplished the implementation of a viable distribution system in the province where Quebec firms are now in control (Bordeleau, 1996, 2007).

[7] One such attempt was the so-called "affaire Hachette," when the French company Hachette bought Quebec City-based bookstore chain Garneau after having imposed an exclusive distribution deal on booksellers in the province.

The Quebec publishing model is also unique in Canada because of its linguistic distinctiveness. Although French is the predominant and official language in the province, English has also had a shaping influence in all spheres of activity, not just publishing. For instance, as Gary Caldwell remarks, "[a]ll of the major arts institutions in Montreal were literally created by the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montreal" (1998: 285). The interplay between the two languages as witnessed in Quebec provides for a very interesting case study, as it is an example of language shift, especially after the Quiet Revolution, when the Quebec government enacted a set of laws and policies aimed at centering and strengthening the role of French in the Quebec society. In this sense, Marc Levine writes:

> In the context of the Quiet Revolution nationalism, Francophones began to think of themselves not as a French-Canadian minority, seeking merely to establish equal rights for French alongside English, but as a Québécois cultural "majority" with certain "normal" majority prerogatives (1990: 48).

Language played a central role in this process, serving as a catalyst for deep-seated feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction on the part of the Quebec francophones with the then prevalent economic and political domination of the minority English population in the province. The Quiet Revolution was a moment of re-appropriation of French for francophone Quebecers and its elevation to an official status, inextricably linked to notions of national identity. This transformation was based on a firm belief that language and nationhood are deeply intertwined and that preserving the cultural and national identity of an ethnic group also requires the safeguarding of its language.

Language and nationality

Since the 18th and 19th centuries, when the first nation-states began to emerge in Europe along with the ideology of nationalism, language has been seen as an essential component

of national identity. Standardization of vernacular languages and the promotion of some of them to the status of national, state languages, helped centralize power and legitimate the state politically and socially. At the same time, the symbolic value of these languages helped authenticate the state's citizens as a united people, as a nation.

Monica Heller argues that

> Language has been central to nation-building in two ways. The first has to do with the construction of unity: a shared language permits the construction of shared values and practices. The second has to do with legitimizing the nation, and works in ways that are exactly the opposite to the first; that is, it is possible to argue that a group legitimately constitutes a nation because it shares a language. Not that language is the only terrain on which nations are built; but language is important precisely because it works in both these ways [...] (1999: 7).

As a symbol for national identity, language is a way of achieving social cohesion, of uniting people around the idea of national belonging. Through language, we *bond* as a national community. Individuals' participation as citizens of a nation-state, defined as the unity between a shared language, territory, ethnicity, religion, past, mythology and more, can be considered an anchor for the articulation of the self. Despite the fact that the pertinence of nations has been disputed and challenged especially in the second part of the 20th century by globalization and transnational economic interests, national belonging is still one of the major tenets of identity, and therefore, is an incontestable mobilizing political and cultural force. Languages define and distinguish peoples from one another and preserving one nation's language is equal to preserving cultural and national independence. National language also enables the creation of a written national patrimony – literature – whose ideological effect of reinforcing ideas of people-hood and national belonging should not be underestimated.

In his seminal study *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson traces the history of the nation-state through the prism of print and publishing. He argues that the invention of the printing press, which made possible the mass production of the first modern industrial commodity – the book, gave rise to a specific form of organization of production and consumption – "print capitalism":

> What, in a positive sense, made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communication (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (Anderson, 1991: 42-43).

The printing press enabled a new kind of production, which was also a way of democratizing language. Printers brought language to people in the form of books and newspapers. "The fatality of human linguistic diversity" refers to the multitude of vernaculars spoken in Europe at the time. Latin was still the imperial language, used in the church service and official administration, but few people in Europe were literate in it. In order to reach the potential publics of the great mass of people, printers began issuing books in the local vernaculars, which Anderson calls "print languages". Print languages became central factors in the process of national imaginings and the subsequent construction of nation-states, because they defined new reading publics and helped shape national consciousness. According to Anderson, this was done in three ways: print languages created unified fields of exchange and communication, gave new fixity to language and created languages of power, which were later promoted to the status of national languages (Anderson, 1991: 44-45).

This process also gave rise to a community of readers who, through the very act of daily reading, that is, of book or newspaper consumption, participated in the ceremony of

imagining themselves as a nation. The idea of a group of people *imagining* itself as a community is significant. It denotes a state of consciousness, a strife for belonging, which before being enacted in reality, happens and is expressed through written text. Reading, then, becomes the moment of actualization of a mental projection of one's self as part of a larger group. I believe this is an especially important moment when considering the authority that the printed word commands over human psyche. The ability of getting into another "world" or "state of mind" while reading and being susceptible to change at that precise moment, is essential for the understanding of how ideology works through language and it can also account for the particular "affect" that literature has on us as readers. Based on the idea of imagining oneself as part of an extended community, literature, and consequently, publishing as the practice of producing literature on a mass scale, can be mobilized to enhance ideas of nationality and national identity.

Linguistic minorities and the English-speaking community in Quebec

A major consequence of state intervention in privileging one language over others within the boundaries of the nation-state, is the creation of linguistic minorities. "Linguistic minorities," by definition, most often exist in a relationship of subordination vis-à-vis a larger, and presumably stronger, group. The distinction between the two "is based not on numerical size, but on clearly observable differences among groups in relation to power, status and entitlement," points out Stephen May (2006: 255). This unequal relation of power often results in political conflict, related to a claim on the part of the linguistic minority community to be recognized as distinct based on its language of use; often that

claim is accompanied by a struggle for the constitution of a separate nation-state. Territory and language are, therefore, seen as co-extensive and complementary.

In Canada, there are two linguistic minority groups officially recognized by law – the anglophone community in Quebec and the francophone community outside of Quebec. This distinction is further complicated by the fact that francophones in Quebec themselves constitute a linguistic minority not only in Canada, but in North America as well. Furthermore, the anglophone community in Quebec constitutes a "minority inside a minority". This is how Lianne Moyes explains this Russian doll effect:

> Anglophone Quebeckers are a minority inside minority, an English-speaking minority within a community which is itself a linguistic minority on a predominantly English-speaking continent. In other words, Anglophone Quebeckers have a troubled cultural and political location (1998: 151).

And so do francophone Quebeckers. Both communities are marginalized through language, but also through their position with respect to English Canada. Although they have lived side by side for more than two and a half centuries, the contact between anglophones and francophones in Quebec has been historically defined primarily in terms of conflict.

In his account of what makes a linguistic group of people a minority, Erik Allardt suggests, similarly to May, that the decisive factor is not numbers, but "the social organization [of the group] related to patterns of subordination and maintained by processes of categorization and self-categorization" (quoted in Wardhaugh, 1987: 31). Here Allardt proposes a more self-reflexive way of thinking about linguistic minorities by pointing to the group's self-consciousness and perception of its own place within the

larger society of which it is a part as essential elements in the constitution and maintenance of a subjugated status. Benjamin Tejerina addresses the same issue in reference to the Basque language in Spain. He advocates for a pro-active attitude by arguing that "dominated languages have their own dynamic, even from a position or place of subordination" (2005: 3) and that

> [o]n occasions, it is the very realization, the raising of awareness, of a situation of subordination in which a language finds itself which sparks off the processes of reversal and linguistic change (3).

This is a particularly relevant point in the context of Quebec where it was precisely such *prise de conscience*, an awareness of one's own merit and position in the world, that initiated the Quiet Revolution and prompted Quebec francophones to reverse the power dynamics between French and English in the province by re-appropriating their language and articulating the firm position that French will be the official tongue of Quebec.

While such *prise de conscience* was based on a strong sense of what constitutes francophone Quebecers as a distinct community – history, language, ethnicity, religion, territory –, the same cannot be said of the anglophone community residing in the province. It does not have a unified identity, based on a common ethnicity or origin (Caldwell, 1998). What identifies it as a community is primarily the English language – it is the element that links not only anglophones born and raised in Quebec, but also anglophone Canadians who have migrated to Quebec from other provinces in Canada as well as, and very significantly[8], newcomers to Quebec who speak English.

[8] Language became an issue of contestation in Quebec in the 1960s when francophone Quebecers realized that allophone (whose first language is neither English nor French) immigrants to Quebec tended to enroll their children in English-language schools, thus threatening to eventually outnumber the French-speaking population in the province.

After the Quiet Revolution, English-speaking Quebecers found themselves without many of the economic and cultural power and privileges that they had previously enjoyed. For them the process of language and social shift had a reverse effect to that of the French-speaking Quebeckers and resulted in a dramatic change of their political location – they became marginalized – a position, which, as Leigh Oakes and Jane Warren note, becomes the very definition of the community as a whole:

> In its naming, the minority Anglophone or English-speaking community is categorised along strictly linguistic lines, a constant reminder of its fundamental difference with respect to the majority Francophone community, in a society in which the new, inclusive civic order is Francophone first and foremost. The Anglophone community is thus in some sense 'always already', that is, in its very constitution, unable to transcend linguistic boundaries in order to integrate completely (2007: 151-2).

For years relations between French- and English-speaking Quebecers were full of tension and resentment. This situation has nowadays significantly improved, especially in Montreal, and especially thanks to newcomers to Quebec who are often bilingual or multilingual and who do not carry the memory of the historical animosity between the two major linguistic communities. In an optimistic keenness, the anglophone community is now sometimes seen as a "linguistic bridge" between Quebec and North America or an asset for Quebec (Oakes & Warren, 2007: 151) – such an attitude is an expression of a spirit of cooperation, rather than antagonism, but is not widely accepted socially.

Culturally, the anglophone community in Quebec is extremely vibrant and resourceful – English-speaking musicians, visual artists and writers raise the profile of Quebec arts earning international awards and recognition. In the case of literature, the most prominent example is the awarding in 2002 of the prestigious Man Booker Prize to Yann Martel for

his novel *Life of Pi* (another Knopf book). English-language writing in Quebec is still undergoing a phase of "institutionalization," which Lianne Moyes defines as "the ongoing process through which the field of English-language writing legitimates, regulates, challenges and transforms itself" (1998: 150). Since the 1980s, anglophone writers and publishers have undertaken concerted actions to assert their presence as a vital part of the literary-scape in the province creating associations and publishing numerous anthologies of English-language writing produced in Quebec (Moyes, 1998). The creation of associations is an especially important moment in the constitution of the anglophone publishing field, because they provide the context and the institutional structure for the deployment of human and economic resources as well as the articulation of policies, which, in turn, enables English-language publishers and authors to speak with one voice. One such important organization is the Quebec Writers' Federation. Montreal writer and translator David Homel commented thus in *Lettres québécoises* on the association's foundation:

> La Fédération est née du sentiment général d'être négligé, de la volonté naturelle de tout groupe de s'affirmer localement. Elle ne casse rien, c'est une organisation de services, mais le simple fait d'avoir cette association, avec beaucoup de membres, a favorisé une prise d'identité. On se dit maintenant : « Tiens, nous voilà une communauté, on existe » (quoted in Bordeleau, 2006 : 17).

The very existence of the Federation legitimizes the English-speaking writing community in the province by rallying it around a common purpose and an identity. In a way, then, the Quebec anglophone community is also an imagined community. The idea of it is being articulated and then projected in writing through language and in institutional structures through the creation of associations. It finds its reflection on the pages of anthologies of English-language writing, the most recent of which is *Language acts:*

Anglo-Québec poetry, 1976 to the 21st century, a collection of essays published in 2007 by Véhicule Press. Through print, therefore, a conceptual space is opened, where a discourse can develop; a discourse that confirms and strengthens the idea of a linguistic community.

Language laws in Canada and Quebec

The anglophone linguistic minority was constituted as such only during the 1960s and 70s. It first became aware of its altered status in Quebec through its exclusion from the newly-articulated at the time discourse surrounding the *Québécois* identity, based on an exclusive membership of French-speaking Quebecers. One of the mechanisms for this exclusion was the Charte de la langue française, known as la Loi 101, the Quebec language law passed in 1977, which instituted French as the official language in the province. Conversely, the status of the English-speaking community was legitimized at the federal level when the government introduced the Official Languages Act first promulgated in 1969, and amended in 1988, which announced English and French as the official languages of Canada and defined who is to be considered a minority language community – anglophones in Quebec and francophones outside Quebec.

In his book *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*, Harold Schiffman outlines several kinds of linguistic policies, among them – "promotive" and "egalitarian". He defines them in this way:

> *Promotive* policies encourage the use of particular language(s) by constitutional, administrative and legal (statutory) guarantees; devote and/or guarantee resources (money, personnel, space) for a language; specify and reserve domains of use [...] (1996: 28-29, italics in the original).

And for "egalitarian" policies:

> Policy may treat languages even of a small minority as totally equal, always placing both/all languages on an equal footing, addressing all citizens as if bilingual (29).

Both the Charter and the Act are promotive policies as they encourage the use of language, stipulating the domains of its use. But while the Act is a rather egalitarian policy, the Charter is rather restrictive, clearly promoting the French language only.

The Charter initiated a process of "francization" of Quebec, instituting French as the common language of use in the workplace and, significantly, education (with a few important exceptions)[9], the courts and legislature, civil administration, commerce and business, etc. Other concrete, and literally visible, measures that the Charter put in place were to "francisize" road signs, publicity, and toponymy. The Charter also created a special commission, Office québécois de la langue française, to oversee the application and enforcement of the law. Overall, the Charter set the parameters of an engineering of an official language policy to be applied on the territory of the province.

Its purpose is, hence, opposed to that of Canada's Official Languages Act, which is "primarily concerned with coordinating and managing official bilingualism in federal institutions" (McRae, 1998: 78). Although the Act addresses all Canadians, it enforces bilingualism only in government institutions and civil service across the country, but most notably in the federal realm of Ottawa. It stipulates that English and French are Canada's two official languages and that they "have equality of status and equal rights

[9] The full text of the Charter can be viewed at: http://www.olf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/charte/index.html and that of the Act: http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/O-3.01/

and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada" (Preamble). Divided in fourteen parts, the Act states that both official languages should be used in parliamentary proceedings and legislative documents, in the administration of justice, in public communications and services to the public. It also stipulates that "English and French are the languages of work in all federal institutions" (Part V, #34). Similarly to the Quebec Charter, the Act provides for the supervision of the law, which in this case is a responsibility of a Commissioner of Official Languages.

While the Act is based on the philosophy of protecting individual rights to the use of language, the Charter promotes community linguistic rights. This difference is evident in the rhetoric of both laws. Throughout, the Official Languages Act insists on the ideas of "equality of status" and "equality of rights" for the two languages. The Charter, on the other hand, right from its first page, unambiguously declares the relation between language and national identity:

> Langue distinctive d'un peuple majoritairement francophone, la langue française permet au people québécois d'exprimer son identité (Préambule).

The prevalent rhetoric of the document firmly imposes the idea that French is the language of Quebec (referred to as "la langue officielle" throughout the Charter) even though it also recognizes the language rights of anglophones and various ethnic and Native American communities residing in the province. This consideration for linguistic and cultural difference is most clearly expressed in the Preamble, where the role of these communities in the history and development of Quebec is acknowledged:

> L'Assemblée nationale entend poursuivre cet objectif dans un esprit de justice et d'ouverture, dans le respect des institutions de la communauté québécoise

> d'expression anglaise et celui des minorités ethniques, dont elle reconnaît l'apport précieux au développement du Québec.
>
> L'Assemblée nationale reconnaît aux Amérindiens et aux Inuit du Québec, descendants des premiers habitants du pays, le droit qu'ils ont de maintenir et de développer leur langue et culture d'origine.

Quebec language policies and language protection measures have been an inspiration for other communities around the world whose language is threatened with assimilation. For instance, it was used as a model for the linguistic legislation of the Catalan government in Spain in the late 1990s (Nadeau & Barlow, 2006).

One very important provision of the Official Languages Act is Part VII entitled "Advancement of English and French". It expands the mandate of the Act beyond federal institutions to a larger social framework. In this part of the Act, the government is committing "to enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development" and also to "fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society" (41 (1) a and b). It charges the Ministry of Canadian Heritage to take all measures deemed necessary in order to achieve these goals.

Except for a clearly stated mission to "encourage and support the learning of English and French in Canada," the wording of this part of the Act is vague as to what other concrete measures should be undertaken to promote the two languages. It recommends that "the business community, labour organizations, voluntary organizations and other organizations or institutions" be encouraged to provide bilingual services, but without specifying what those services should be and in what areas of social life and activity they

should be applied. Nevertheless, the Act spells out a particular state ideology of official bilingualism and of protecting the rights of language minorities in Canada, which legitimizes those minorities and endows them with symbolic capital. At present, specifically in the case of publishing, there are no special programs designed for language minority publishers, except for a few mentions on the application forms for grants from the Book Publishing Development Program by the Department of Canadian Heritage and the different programs administered by the Canada Council for the Arts. The symbolic capital of those publishers, therefore, has not yet been converted into an economic capital.

In this chapter I contend that publishers work within pre-defined linguistic fields, which are characterized by specific social and political processes and structuring conditions. Those processes and conditions, I argue, should be taken into consideration when discussing the practice of book production, because they exert a direct impact on it and also impinge on the very positioning of publishers as agents in the field. For instance, the relation between language and national identity that characterizes the Quebec society provides a strong ideological framework within which book production functions. State intervention in language regulation can bring about patterns of domination and subordination and, consequently, a shift in the symbolic and economic value of a language. This, in turn, enables a language, and the cultural products created in that idiom, to travel internationally. In the following chapter, I will continue further this discussion but from an economic perspective. I will describe in more detail the Quebec market for books and will use my interview findings to shed light on some of the tactics that

francophone small-press publishers in particular deploy to expand their distribution to other French-speaking book markets, most notably that of France.

Chapter 2

Expansion: Publishing and linguistic markets

> *Linguistic exchange is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit.*
>
> Pierre Bourdieu
> (1977: 66)

The language shift brought about by the Quebec government linguistic policies in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, increased the symbolic and cultural capital associated with French in Quebec. The Charte de la langue française, in particular, initiated language reforms, such as the proclamation of French as the official language of Quebec and the predominant language of work, and thus contributed to a renewed vision and understanding of the role of the French language in the province. Francophone Quebecers internalized their language; it came to be perceived not only as a cultural patrimony or common good, but as an essential part of the very definition of a *Québécois* national identity and, by extension, personal identity as well. The promotion of French to the official language had the effect of legitimizing it and laid the foundations for the constitution of the instances of its production, such as the cultural industries. At the same time, the market value of French increased as well due to state policies. All of this combined, created the conditions for the emergence of an original, *Québécois*, francophone, cultural production in all spheres, but most importantly and with long-lasting economic consequences, in the spheres of music, cinema and literature, each distinguished by their "star system" of actors, directors, musicians, authors and playwrights.

In this chapter, I will discuss in more depth the economic dimension of language as it relates to publishing. I will look specifically at the ideas of language valorization and its subsequent commodification through print, which transforms language into a commodity with a use and exchange value, in the form of the book. State intervention into the linguistic matters of a country also lays down the foundations for the creation of a linguistic market that can be national and international in scope. I will inquire about the opportunities of publishers to extend their markets abroad by describing first the publishing strategies for expansion outlined by John Thompson and then using some of my interview findings in order to understand how these strategies are enacted in practice. Finally, I will focus on translation as a strategy for widening publishers' reach into other linguistic fields but also as a method of upholding the linguistic hierarchy that characterizes the international book market.

Valorization and commodification of language

Language legitimization through state policies, enhanced by the appropriate social rhetoric, entails the processes of valorization and devaluation of linguistic capital. The Quebec government policies were aimed at increasing the social as well as economic value of French in the province and, therefore, contributed to a newfound valorization of the language in almost all social spheres – from the workplace and the school to the creation and dissemination of culture and cultural products. Consequently, today French has become "une valeur en soi, la valeur principale du Québec moderne, et peut-être à certains égards la seule valeur commune," according to Quebec sociologist Joseph Yvon Thériault (2000: 254). The same process had the reverse effect on English: from the

province's dominant idiom in the economic sphere – and hence, the language of social mobility – the influence of English was substantially reduced and, thus, the linguistic power dynamics in the province were reversed.

The process of language valorization of Quebec French can be understood to have two dimensions. On the one hand, it implies a re-evaluation of people's *attitudes* to their language and a movement toward an appropriation of language as a constitutive element of a national *Québécois* identity. This might be termed an ideological dimension. On the other hand, the process also has an instrumental dimension, that is, it refers to the "added economic value" that is the outcome from the improved symbolic value of French (Oakes & Warren, 2007). The cultural industries and cultural producers, such as publishers, are uniquely positioned to be able to combine both of these dimensions in the creation of artifacts that can be imbedded in and enhanced by the symbolic value of a particular linguistic culture, all the while gaining economic profit from the commercialization of those artifacts.

While language affects the structural conditions within which book publishing functions, the production of books is a "language industry" in the sense that it is through the set of publishing practices that the process of commodification of language is realized in the form of the book. It is through print products that language is transformed into content and thus participates as a commodity in the marketplace. Content commodification commodifies language as well. Vincent Mosco defines commodification as "the process of transforming use values into exchange values" (1996: 141). Language can be thought

of as a "public good," accessible to everyone who shares that particular linguistic capital. Its use value is its utility as a means of communication and, based on that function, its use in maintaining social cohesion. Language, in its use value, is then treated as a "raw material," so to speak, and used in the making of an object with an exchange value. That object, in turn, becomes a product competing on the market.

How this transformation is done through publishing, is summarized well in John Thompson's description of the publishing process, which he views as a series of practices with a pronounced economic motivation:

> Publishers today are essentially *content-acquiring and risk-taking organizations oriented towards the production of a particular kind of cultural commodity*. They acquire rights in certain kinds of symbolic content and speculatively invest capital to transform that content into physical books which they hope they can sell in sufficient quantities and at a suitable price to generate a profit (2005: 15, italics in the original).

Language is the building block for the creation of symbolic content – language's use value is thus exploited – and then it is transformed into the object of the book, which carries a price – therefore, language, in the form of the book, acquires an exchange value as well.

Moreover, language helps set the geographical and social parameters of the market within which the book as a cultural commodity is inscribed. Pierre Bourdieu has analyzed how the implementation of a legitimate language by the state creates the conditions for the establishment of a linguistic market:

> The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language. [...]

> this state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured (1991: 45).

National linguistic markets are heterogeneous as many languages, or variants of one language, can co-exist within it and struggle for legitimacy, which is the case of minority languages, as Chapter 1 showed. This struggle revolves around determining "who has the legitimate right to define what counts as competence, as authenticity, as excellence, and over who has the right to produce and distribute the resources of language and identity" (Heller, 2003: 474). Clearly, the linguistic majority of a territory is in a more advantageous position to take and impose those decisions over other linguistic groups. In the case of Quebec, as stipulated by state policies, French has a greater legitimacy over English or any other language spoken in the province. As a consequence, anglophone publishers' position in the Montreal book field and that of their cultural production on the linguistic market, is perceived almost exclusively as marginal. Derek Webster, president of the Quebec Writers' Federation, remarks that "[l]es éditeurs anglo-montréalais n'ont pas beaucoup de pouvoir ni d'influence" (quoted in Bordeleau, 2006: 17). Andy Brown, publisher of Conundrum Press, confirmed these words during my interview with him, saying that English- speakers working in the arts and cultural scene in Montreal "have given up on the power. They realize they have no power so they are just doing their own things". These observations demonstrate how language impacts the political and economic positioning of actors in the publishing field as well as their stance as competing agents in the linguistic market.

The Quebec book market

The domestic book market in Quebec is characterized by an abundance of publications – 4 508 books in all genres, were published here in 2005[10] by more than 230 publishing houses, most of them small presses. As the market is relatively small with a population of over 7.2 million people,[11] it is estimated that Quebec publishes more books per capita than France, Italy and even the United States. To these titles should be added imported books, mostly from France and the US. Overall, the Quebec book industry controls 40 percent of its domestic market. In 2006, the total revenue of the industry amounted to $766.3 million[12]. Trends toward a greater concentration and vertical integration of the industry have been observable in recent years; especially alarming in this respect was the selling, in 2005, of the publishing and distribution group Sogides to the largest media company in the province – Québécor.

High numbers of production and import, coupled with still underdeveloped bookselling and distribution systems and practices in the province, contribute to what has been termed the invisibility of the Quebec book (Vanasse, 2000; Foulon, 2006). Although to a lesser degree now, the historical trend of French predominance on the Quebec book market continues to this day – bookstores, for example, still reserve a prominent place on front shelves and store windows to French imported titles, while local newspapers devote more articles and publicity space to French books, as Alexandrine Foulon demonstrates in her article *L'invisibilité de la littérature québécoise* (2006). Foulon's study concludes that

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[10] *Statistiques principales de la culture et des communications au Québec. Édition 2007.* L'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec. Gouvernement du Québec.

[11] The exact figure is 7 237 479, according to Statistics Canada's 2001 census.

[12] *Ventes finales de livres neufs selon la catégorie de point de vente, Québec, janvier à décembre 2005 et 2006.* L'Observatoire de la culture et des communications du Québec. Gouvernement du Québec.
URL: http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/donstat/societe/culture_comnc/livre_biblt/livre/synthese-mens2005-2006.htm

Quebec media in fact perpetuates the invisibility of local literature and book production rather than promoting it and that the book from France is "omnipresent" on the literary pages of the major newspapers in Quebec. All in all, Quebec is one of the principle markets for French books and other print material, while the opposite is not true. Quebec exports more books to the United States than to France (Niquette, 2001).

If the French book is omnipresent and the Quebec book is still struggling for a better visibility, the English-language book produced in Quebec is almost completely obscured: it is mostly absent from French-language bookstores, which masks its existence in the book marketplace in Quebec. The English book market itself is restrained. The English-speaking population here has been declining since the 1970s due mostly to the migration of anglophones to other Canadian provinces. 572 085 people living in Quebec have declared English as their mother tongue in the 2001 Census of Canadian population; to that figure should be added the number of bilingual people and anglophone immigrants in order to reach the real figure of English-speaking Quebecers, which is close to 1.2 million people[13]. Thus, in terms of market size and opportunities, anglophone publishers are looking toward Toronto and the United States as possible ancillary markets for the sale of their books.

The situation is not all bleak, however. The high number of books published is a sign of an extremely active creative and intellectual life in the province and Montreal in particular. Both French and English book publishing industries here are effervescent: new

[13] *Going Forward: The Evolution of Quebec's English-Speaking Community - November 2004*. Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. URL: http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_evolution_112004_e.php. Retrieved on October 9, 2007.

presses are created, new genres and publishing formulas are tried with success. With its catalogue of international authors, Les Allusifs, for instance, pioneered pocket-size novellas, a formula that already has its imitators – the Coups de tête publishing house, launched in 2007. Another innovative publishing program is offered by Conundrum Press, which has succeeded to impose the graphic novel as a legitimate literary genre, while La Pastèque revitalized the sector of comics book publishing in Quebec. Triptyque is a publisher renowned for its discoveries of strong young writers. Cumulus Press stands for a more socially and politically-engaged publishing. There are also other, alternative methods for book production with a more artisan, do-it-yourself style, as is the case with Delirium Press.

In addition, the literary and publishing field in Quebec is characterized by its proper major literary prizes, such as the Prix Athanase-David; by several established writers' and publishing organizations and associations in both languages, such as the Association nationale des éditeurs de livres (ANEL) or the Quebec Writers' Federation; by a specialized print media that reflects on the publishing industry here; by a star system of writers and publishers, which guarantees the success of some writers whose names and work are known to the general public. In terms of visibility, home-grown small presses have succeeded in carving their own place, a niche market, and are becoming increasingly noticeable in Quebec bookstores. The books by Les Alluisfs and La Pastèque, for instance, are now regularly displayed prominently in major bookstores like Renaud-Bray. All of these examples testify to a great vitality of the sector and of an

ongoing process of autonomization of the industry (Michon, 2001b), that is, its institutionalization and constitution as an independent field of production.

Publishing strategies for market expansion

In an attempt to reach a broad number of readers, publishers look for ways to expand their distribution beyond their domestic market. Reaching a large audience of readers means more sales, but it can also contribute to the accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital for the press, especially if its catalogue is comprised of well-written, well-designed and well-edited books that receive good reviews and good reception in the new market. In the process of expansion to foreign markets language plays, again, a fundamental role. It is easier for a publisher to access a market within the same linguistic publishing field: the communication is immediate as it is better to address foreign audiences directly in their mother's tongue, affinities with the foreign company are easier to forge, and, most importantly, the costs of production are lower as no translation, and sometimes not even a re-print, is needed.

John Thompson (2005) outlines four strategies that publishers use to expand their activities into international markets: collaborate with a publisher abroad, hire a distributor or an agent who will sell, promote and distribute the books of the publisher in the new market, be physically present in the new market by developing own operations there, and, finally, sell translation rights to foreign publishers. The first three strategies are essentially applicable and work best between publishers who share a common language,

while the third is the best practice for inter-cultural communication and business collaboration between publishers operating in different linguistic markets.

The first strategy – collaboration – means that a book is being co-published in different countries with the participating publishers sharing the production costs as well as the revenues. Each of the publishers also preserves its command over its own domestic market. This method of publication has the advantage of ensuring a greater distribution of one title over an expanded territory, although Thompson notes that it is important to effectively demarcate "the territories for the exclusive operation of each publisher" (2005: 42) in order to avoid overlap of markets. The second strategy – hiring an agent – allows the publisher to be present and visible in the foreign market. The major drawbacks of this method are the costs which sometimes can be very high and the fact that the degree of visibility and market penetration might, in the end, prove not to be viable. This method can be supplemented and enhanced by a third strategy – directly establishing an office and developing operations overseas. This is the riskiest way for expansion, but the one "which has the potential to generate much higher returns in the medium to long run" (43). It requires high levels of investment, but allows publishers to retain control over their sales and marketing abroad as well as to establish a physical presence in the foreign market. The final strategy – selling translation rights – is the most common and indeed indispensable if a publisher wants to transcend the boundaries of his or her linguistic field. Through the sale or the purchase of rights for translation, says Thompson, publishers can "work across these boundaries both to acquire content and to exploit it" (43).

The practical application of these strategies depends to a large extent on the political and economic environments of the collaborating countries, on the domestic conditions of production and on the regulations, as well as idiosyncrasies, of the foreign market for cultural products. These strategies can be seen as tactics through which relations of power and economic domination are imposed on an international scale. For instance, it would be very difficult for a publisher working from a "minor" linguistic field to convince an American press to buy the rights for a translation into English because the US book market is notoriously averse to publishing translations, even from other "world languages" like French and Spanish. At the same time, for many "minor" language publishers the access to world literature passes through English. These circumstances contribute to the proliferation of a linguistic imbalance in the flow of books on the international market.

For francophone Quebec publishers, France has always represented a desirable market, because of its size and because it is considered as a gateway to a larger French-speaking audience in Europe and around the world. But while it is easy, as mentioned above, for a book from France to find its place on the Quebec market, the opposite is not true. It is difficult (although not impossible) for Quebec publishers to establish operations in the French market, which is very protective of its own book production and, as Jean-Paul Baillargeon remarks, shows "une forte tendance à l'autosuffisance" (2001: 556), which means that its domestic production is sufficiently large and prolific to preclude the need for foreign imports, be they books in the French language. The same dynamic is in place in the book market of the United States. At the same time, both France and the US are

great exporters of books and printed material (including rights for translations) around the world. The trajectory of power in terms of geographic spread and distribution of books between Quebec and France is not two-directional, but is rather characterized by a strong French predominance.

The position of English-language publishers in Quebec with regards to foreign markets is also precarious. For years, a common truth for writers working in English in Quebec has been, and still is, that if they want to be successfully published authors, they have to find a publisher in Toronto. This is how Andy Brown explains it, referring to the mid-1990s when his publishing house, Conundrum Press was founded:

> It must be understood that there was no support for Anglophone writers in Montreal other than DIY [do-it-yourself]. If you wanted to be published you moved to Toronto. Period. There was a huge gap between the talent and the infrastructure to support that talent. (2006: 1-2).

In terms of distribution venues for their books outside Quebec, English-language publishers still consider Toronto, as well as Vancouver and other large Canadian cities as natural extensions of their market. In addition, they collaborate with American publishers for the sale of rights or co-publications and also, significantly, they cooperate with local French-language presses for the publication of translations, as I will show in more detail in Chapter 3. It is important to note that even though today Toronto is still perceived as "la porte d'entrée des grands marchés de New York et Londres" (Bordeleau, 1999: 20), English-language small presses in Quebec, such as Conundrum and Cumulus Press, have altered this situation by establishing firmly their presence in the domestic market, and undertaking noteworthy publishing programs. Today, small English-language presses are the places to discover, publish and propel forward English-language writing in Quebec.

Interview findings

My findings from the interviews that I conducted with the Montreal small-press publishers revealed that most of them practice one or several of the strategies for market expansion outlined by Thompson such as hiring agents who act as representatives in the overseas market, being physically present in the foreign market and also selling content rights to foreign publishers. The testimonials of the French-language publishers were especially revealing. They showed that France represents a coveted market, but difficult to penetrate and prohibitive even for francophone publishers from abroad. The fact that publishers work within the same linguistic field does not guarantee an automatic distribution in the French market. At the same time, as Robert Giroux from Les Éditions Triptyque put it, Quebec publishers cannot "se passer de la France" because it opens the way to the francophone world at large. That is why French-language publishers in Montreal are seeking to expand their activities overseas rather than in English Canada, despite the fact that there is a relatively large francophone community living in the other Canadian provinces.

The French book market played an important role during the first, constitutive years of both Les Allusifs and La Pastèque. Their respective publishers, Brigitte Bouchard and Martin Brault and Frédéric Gauthier, said that they put much effort into developing first their market overseas, before concentrating on the domestic market in Quebec. This strategy is especially pertinent, and logical, for a publisher like Les Allusifs. Because of its editorial program of publishing novellas by Canadian and world authors as well, it does not fulfill the requirements for Canadian authorship set out in Canada Council's

basic program for support of Canadian publishers. The same is true for the Council's program for translation grants, the only comprehensive program on a federal level designed to support publishing translations in the country (I will discuss this program in more detail further in this chapter). Les Allusifs receives funding from that program for its Canadian authors in translation only, but not for its international titles. Brigitte Bouchard pointed out that she obtains more translation grants through the Centre national du livre in France than the Canada Council. In such a situation, she has to rely mostly on book sales for generating profits and France constitutes the bigger share of her market – up to 80 percent in 2006. Brigitte Bouchard explained:

> En fait, ma seule planche de salut, c'est de m'appuyer sur les ventes, c'est pour ça que j'ai développé un réseau en France – maintenant Les Allusifs sont distribués et diffusés en France et les ventes sont beaucoup plus importantes en France qu'ici. [...] 80 pourcent de mon marché est en France et 20 pourcent seulement est ici.

French publishers, says Bouchard, are not subsidized in bulk by the state as is the case in Canada, rather they receive funding on an individual project base. She also judges that the French publishing system is better organized than the one in Quebec and that being affiliated with a French distributor is an advantage for her:

> Ah oui. Et là, je viens de passer chez Gallimard [French publisher and distributor] et eux sont mieux structurés, mieux organisés, c'était vraiment fantastique et je suis très, très contente. D'ailleurs, mes ventes ont déjà augmenté considérablement depuis que j'ai passé chez Gallimard. La distribution et la diffusion sont le nerf de la guerre dans l'édition parce que c'est vraiment sur eux qu'on doit s'appuyer pour pouvoir distribuer nos livres en peu partout. Donc c'est grâce à eux qu'on voit tous nos livres en Suisse, en Belgique, en France.

For Quebec publishers, having access to a well-organized French distribution system opens up the opportunity to reach the vast European francophone market. One viable way to achieve this is to be physically present overseas and both Brigitte Bouchard and the

publishers of La Pastèque emphasized the extreme importance of this approach. Bouchard observed, however, that such a presence requires the allocation of substantial time as well as financial resources and that another solution would be to hire a PR agent:

> Cela m'impose à avoir une attaché de presse à temps plein, parce ce que moi je ne peux pas être là [...]. Mais ça impose d'avoir quelqu'un à temps plein pour suivre les festivals [...], pour rencontrer des libraires – on fait beaucoup de rencontres avec des libraires, des bibliothécaires. Donc, c'est énormément lourd, très lourd... Donc des fois je me dis, peut-être, la grande facilité ce serait de m'installer là-bas.

Brigitte Bouchard's description is an account of the work involved in order to establish customer loyalty in the foreign market. The physical presence and the personal contact with other agents working at the local book publishing field – booksellers, distributors, publishers, authors and the public – is essential for establishing business relations and promoting the work of the publisher. In this case, sharing the same language greatly facilitates the task.

For Frédéric Gauthier and Martin Brault, Europe was also an important destination right from the beginning of their undertaking as publishers. They found a distributor in France interested in their work and sold 800 out of 1000 copies of their first book *Spoutnik* in Europe:

> Martin Brault : [P]arce qu'au départ, notre marge bénéficiaire dépendait beaucoup d'Europe, on était très dépendants d'Europe, puis de plus en plus on essaie de, justement, de se dégager de cet espèce de contraint qu'on a, qu'il faut absolument vendre là-bas [...].
>
> Frédéric Gauthier : Je pense, ce qui nous a empêché de faire évoluer ou avancer notre chiffre d'affaires en Europe c'est vraiment de ne pas être présents sur le terrain, ce qui fait une grosse, grosse différence, là-bas précisément... [...] Puis c'est difficile aussi de faire des relations de presse d'ici que de là-bas.

Brault and Gauthier confirmed Brigitte Bouchard's experience that there is a link between sales and the physical presence of the publisher in the targeted market. On the other hand, they said that their success in France did not have repercussions on their sales here in Quebec, or the development of their domestic market: "95 pourcent de nos lecteurs n'ont aucune idée qu'on va en France," said Martin Brault. Brault and Gauthier are also widening their international reach by the sale of publishing and translation rights to foreign presses. They are working on strengthening this strategy:

> Frédéric Gauthier : C'est une autre source de revenu. On a vendu des droits de livres en Espagne, l'Italie, les États-Unis, Canada anglais aussi, on commence à ouvrir des portes. On a de plus en plus de titres qui sont exportables.

The "exportability," or in other words "saleability," quality of books is an essential requirement for the success of a foreign partnership. Because they are also regarded as commodities and traded as such, books have to appeal to the customers in the new market and find their place in it in order to be sold. David Widgington from Cumulus Press confirmed this imperative while describing his cooperation with an American press from San Francisco:

> I export to the U.S. but only through partnerships with other presses, mostly just one press – AKA Press – they are located in San Francisco. So they… they are a political press so they pick specific titles. They don't just take all of the books, they take just specific ones, I ship them and they sell very well with them.

Establishing this kind of partnerships is beneficial to both presses as it provides for a greater exposure for one of the publishers and increases sales for the other. To my question about co-publishing with other presses, Widgington responded: "No. I mean, it's too complicated. But if the option came, I would think about it." His method of work is to send away books that are already printed.

This strategy differs from that of Robert Giroux, publisher of Les Éditions Triptyque:

> Mais moi, j'ai changé de stratégie, et je ne suis pas le seul : on fait les livres ici, ensuite ici, ils marchent un peu et s'ils marchent bien ici, et s'il est bien reçu, on constitue un dossier de presse. On prend le dossier de presse avec le livre et on va l'envoyer à un éditeur français et je lui dis : « Si ça t'intéresse, tu le fais pour la France » [...].
>
> Lina Shoumarova : Est-ce que vous leur envoyez des livres déjà imprimés ?
>
> Robert Giroux : Non. Parfois on fait une co-édition [...], mais c'est une exception dans la règle qui fait que je préfère de vendre des droits à un Français et il publie son livre en France. Son marché, il le connaît et le libraire en France, quand il voit que c'est un éditeur québécois, il ne s'intéresse pas beaucoup. Si c'était un éditeur français avec qui ils ont l'habitude de travailler, ils le prennent [...]. Parce que nous, on arrive avec nos livres en français et ils ne s'intéressent pas à nous. Déjà au 19^{e} siècle on disait ici dans les milieux intellectuels, qu'il aurait mieux écrire un livre en algonquin, en iroquois plutôt qu'en français, on aurait eu plus de chance en France.

Robert Giroux offers here a view of the book as content to be sold, not as an object to be exported. This way of working – selling the rights for a re-publication of a book – also relinquishes the Quebec publisher from a certain responsibility – the book is no longer his or her production, its content is open for a new interpretation and, literally, re-packaging for the new market. This practice is common for all major book markets in the world – in the United States, for example, very often books that have been originally published in the UK or other English-speaking countries undergo a complete makeover of design and even title in order to make them more appealing for the domestic readers.[14] In France, the salability of a book depends very much on the name of the publisher, a particularity which informs that the publisher's work is held at high esteem in that culture. In this sense, the publisher's symbolic capital, derived from the prestige of his or her press, can be transformed into an economic capital.

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[14] For more on the international politics of translation and the inscription of books into new markets, see the thorough and excellent volume *No trespassing: Authorship, intellectual property rights, and the boundaries of globalization* by Eva Hemmungs Wirtén (2004, University of Toronto Press).

Robert Giroux, who identified his foreign markets as exclusively francophone: "mon marché n'est pas le Canada anglais, mon marché c'est la France, la Belgique, la Suisse", revealed yet another important characteristic of the French market and of the language dynamics proper to the international book trade:

> Les écrivains canadiens anglais et les éditeurs canadiens anglais ont mieux réussi de percer le marché français via la traduction que nous, avec la langue française.

This is an interesting paradox, which reveals that the French book market treats Canadian literature written in English and in French in different ways. English-Canadian titles in translation find better reception because they are perceived as belonging to a foreign, world literature. French Quebec books, however, do not enjoy the same status – they are considered foreign only insofar as they are created in the context of literature proper to the Francophonie; as mentioned in Chapter 1, the French market has been curiously unwelcoming to that type of writing and publishing. To complicate matters even further, Quebec francophone publishers are confronted with another problem: "the Parisian publishing world looks down on translations done in Quebec" (Hélène Filion, quoted in Simon & Hamel, 1988: 67), which means that French publishers do not consider Quebec translations as sufficiently internationally French. Therefore, these translated books do not get the exposure or wide distribution that translations done in France benefit from.

"No English, no deal"?

In light of a globalized world book trade, this question becomes very pertinent, as the story of *Sunday at a Pool in Kigali* revealed in the introductory chapter. It points to the need to inquire about the language dynamics already set in place that affect the work and possibly, survival, of small and medium publishers around the globe. It also provokes a

reflection about what kind of content is being put forth in the world of international publishing. Again, as the story of Gil Courtemanche's book suggests, as in many other areas of international business, English is the language of choice in publishing as well.

The strong presence of English in the global book trade contributes to the creation of unidirectional relations of power, especially in terms of translations. Eva Hemmungs Wirtén argues that: "In the global arena, it is rather the undeniable discrepancy between books translated *from* English as opposed to those translated *into* English, that must be addressed" (2001: 567-568, italics in the original). The chances of a book being noticed on the international market are greater if the book is written in English or has an English translation. Thus, the hierarchy of languages that is geo-politically determined has economic repercussions as well. Agents working in the publishing field are unequally positioned, depending on the linguistic capital that they possess. Patsy Aldana, vice-president and publisher of Groundwood Books, Anansi Press' imprint for children's books, comments:

> Les grands marchés anglophones sont indifférents aux autres langues et aux traductions. On amène les livres directement sur le marché étasunien, mais il est très fermé aux traductions. Par surcroît, nos voisins ne s'intéressent pas à la littérature canadienne-anglaise. Il en est de même pour le Royaume-Uni (quoted in Bordeleau, 2003: 14).

When applying Bourdieu's theory of linguistic markets in this case, one can easily see how English is the standard in the world of international publishing and how the norms for legitimacy and exclusion of works written in any other language are set according to that standard. Francine Bordeleau writes that "la traduction en français a certes son importance pour un écrivain anglophone, mais une importance quelque peu relative"

(2003: 11). The benefits, financial and symbolic, from an English translation of a book, as was the case with *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali*, are greater in contemporary world publishing than a translation in any other language. This situation also helps maintain and reproduce the hierarchy of languages on a world scale.

Consequently, a particular phenomenon has emerged, which Hemmungs Wirtén has identified as the use of English as a "clearing-house language": "one through which texts from 'minor' languages must pass before they can be successfully inserted in other markets" (2001: 571). English, therefore, becomes in a way a surrogate original language of a foreign text; the foreignness of the text is being masked through its conversion into a common language. This practice can impact negatively on the quality of translations thus produced and can change practices of reproduction of texts, written in languages other than the major world tongues.

It must also be acknowledged that, as with any other publishing activity, translation has its economics of production and distribution. Translations are more difficult to sell than books published in the original language of the domestic market (although that is true only for countries with an "international" national language, such as English or French). Especially in countries like the United States, where the book market is already saturated by domestic production, translated titles are very difficult to sell. The same is true for Canada. A prestigious academic publisher like McGill-Queen's University Press provides a good example in this sense. A warning is posted on the publisher's website that the press does not usually consider publishing translations into English for the following reasons:

> Translations are normally not considered as they are significantly more costly to produce than original works, involving additional costs for the purchase of rights from the original publisher, the translation itself, and additional editorial time. Translations also tend to have more trouble recouping their costs through sales as many of the interested readers have already read the publication in the original language.[15]

These considerations for academic publishing are applicable to literary publishing as well. In deciding whether to commission a translation or not, publishers take into account the "saleability" of the book, which could be determined by such factors as prizes received, "best-seller" status in its original language, favourable media reviews – all of these markers of prestige usually go together or follow from each other and greatly enhance the chances of a book to be translated.

In this sense, Robert Giroux's account of his decision-making process as to whether to initiate a translation project or not is very enlightening. He himself does not commission translations; usually, it is the translator who approaches him with a project in mind. If the publisher perceives a potential for a good book and good sales, then Triptyque buys the rights for the translation from the English-language press if, in Giroux's words, "l'éditeur anglophone n'est pas trop gourmand". If the rights are too expensive, then the project is abandoned. Once the decision is taken, the publisher can apply for a translation grant from Canada Council for the Arts, which is almost always granted, according to Giroux. He also acknowledges that translations are difficult to sell and even more difficult to promote in foreign markets, like the French one. External marks of prestige such as awards and good reviews are necessary to get the book noticed.

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[15] *Publishing with MQUP*, URL: http://mqup.mcgill.ca/content.php?id=4, retrieved on September 26, 2007

Government policies concerning translation

There is a concerted effort on the part of the federal government to encourage inter-cultural communication between Quebec and English Canada through translations. Translation is promoted as an essential cultural activity that can contribute to the harmonious co-existence and better understanding between the two official linguistic communities in the country. Financial help for publishers is administered by the Canada Council's Book Publishing Support Program: Translation Grants. Its strategic importance and political significance are reinforced by the fact that it is "the only Canada Council program in support of book publishing that had a budget increase during the period from 2002-2003 to 2005-2006 from $570,500 in 2002-2003 to $666,400 in 2005-2006, or an increase of 16.8%" (DeGros Marsh, 2006: 21). Canada Council has supported to this day over 1300 translations from one official language into the other.

The major requirements for publishers wishing to apply to this program are Canadian ownership of the company and Canadian authorship of the book. Foreign-owned companies like Knopf are excluded from government support and so are Canadian publishers who edit translations by non-Canadian authors, as is the case of Les Allusifs. This policy is in line with a cultural development philosophy, espoused by the Canadian federal government according to which the state aims to safeguard and foster Canadian-produced literature because it is considered to be a genuine expression of uniquely Canadian experiences and of Canadian identity. All the while, this stance of the government influences the type of literature being produced in Canada and restrains

activities of Canadian publishers, confining them to work within the Canadian literary field only, if they want to benefit from the financial support. Thus, for a publisher like Brigitte Bouchard from Les Allusifs this policy is problematic because it does not allow funds to be distributed for the translation of world literature. Les Allusifs, however, does receive translation grants for their Canadian-authored books.

On a provincial level, translation of books published in Quebec, including those written and published in English, can benefit from the program Aide à la traduction of the Quebec's Société de développement des enterprises culturelles (SODEC), a government agency, whose mandate is to "promouvoir et soutenir l'implantation et le développement des entreprises culturelles, y compris les médias, dans toutes les régions du Québec." And furthermore:

> Pour accomplir son mandat, la SODEC relève le défi de parler à la fois de création artistique et d'affaires. Elle y parvient en alliant le langage entrepreneurial au développement culturel et en misant sur la culture comme secteur de développement économique.[16]

The rhetoric of this mission statement reveals that, at the level of this government agency in particular, culture is simultaneously a creative and an economic activity. The practice of translation is understood not as means to bridge a gap between anglophone and francophone literatures of Canada, but as a strategy of reaching out to foreign markets and thus, promoting Quebec literature abroad.

Both the SODEC and the Canada Council translation programs accentuate the national belonging of literature to be translated – *Québécois* in the first case and Canadian in the

[16] SODEC-Manadat. URL: http://www.sodec.gouv.qc.ca/sodec_mandat.php. Retrieved on September 3, 2007.

second. The wording of the presentation of the two programs, however (displayed on their respective websites), greatly differs from one another. The Canada Council's program guidelines are concerned with establishing the parameters of eligibility of the presses – number of titles published, participation in other programs of the Council, the credentials of the participating translator(s), etc. The description of the program gives a sense of rigidity and its larger purpose is not clearly stated. The SODEC program, on the other hand, is more coherently spelled out. It is designed to stimulate a better visibility and increased export of Quebec books on the international market and to facilitate the sale of translation rights to foreign publishers. As already mentioned in the introduction, it was a SODEC grant that made possible the translation of *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali*, which then set in motion the book's insertion on the international book market.

In this chapter, I looked at some of the economic dynamics that characterize the practice of publishing books in its relation to language, especially in terms of expansion to foreign markets. Government policies impact the symbolic and, by consequence, the economic value of language, which then affects the value of cultural products being created in that language. The linguistic properties of a book, for instance, can predetermine its path on the international market, which is itself characterized by a particular hierarchy of languages, where English enjoys the highest status: a book has more chance to be noticed on the international publishing arena in its English version rather than in its original language. This state of affairs contributes to the establishment

of conditions for inclusion and exclusion of agents on the world publishing scene who do not possess the required linguistic capital, and therefore, their chances of success and of large expansion of their markets abroad, are affected as well.

However, as the interview findings included in this chapter show, even for publishers who work within the same linguistic field, the exchange is not automatic or reciprocal. Francophone publishers in Quebec, for instance, look toward the book market in France as a possible extension of their domestic market, but the French domestic market is protective of its own cultural production and is rather closed to foreign imports, be they from other francophone countries. Still, it is not impossible to conquer the French market as the experience of young Quebec presses such as Les Allusifs and La Pastèque has shown.

Chapter 3
"Relation of differences": Contact and communication between francophone and anglophone publishers in Montreal

Each language, taken by itself, is incomplete.
Maurice Blanchot
(1997)

The awarding of the 2006 Athanase-David literary prize to Mavis Gallant, was perceived by many observers of the publishing industry here as a defining moment in the relations between anglophone and francophone literature in Quebec. For the first time, an exclusively French-language literary prize was bestowed on an English-language writer from Montreal. "Par-delà le mérite de la lauréate, l'événement a une portée hautement symbolique, qui en dit beaucoup sur l'évolution des rapports entre les communautés francophone et anglophone," writes Francine Bordeleau in *Lettres québécoises* in a special report on anglo-québécois literature (2006: 15). Mavis Gallant herself commented on the occasion: "Ce prix fait en sorte que je me sens acceptée comme anglophone". [17]

This event, and a similar one – the awarding in 2004, for the first time again, of the Grand Prix du Livre de Montréal to an English-language writer, the poet David Solway – symbolize moments of consecration of English-language writing on the part of the Quebec literary community. These two events are, indeed, positive signs for a greater interaction between anglophone and francophone literary circles in Quebec and

[17] In "Mavis Gallant reçoit le prix Athanase-David 2006" (Communiqué). URL: http://www.prixduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/presse/athanase-david.html?presse (Retrieved on July 27, 2007). The very life of Mavis Gallant represents an interesting story of linguistic contact and living in-between cultures and languages. Born in Montreal in an English-speaking family, she was sent by her parents to a French Catholic boarding school, where she was immersed in the French language and the Quebec culture: a moment that she would later define as "l'origine exacte de ma vocation d'écrivain" (*ibid.*). At the age of 28, Mavis Gallant left Montreal for Paris where she has been living and working ever since - again, in-between cultures and languages as she continues to write in English.

specifically, for a movement toward a recognition of the place of English-language writing within the Quebec literary field.

The significance of these events is inscribed in an emergent discourse, formulated and developed by in-depth reports in literary journals like *Voix et Images, Lettres québécoises* and *Spirale* and augmented by events, conferences and panel discussions organized on the subject of the constitution of anglo-québécois literature. This movement toward legitimization is also indicative of a shift in the architectonics of the publishing field in Montreal – at present, the field is slowly shifting to allow for the structuration of a new entity and maybe even for a change in the definition of what constitutes the *Québécois* literature.

The two solitudes revisited

Since the 1960s, modern literature made in Quebec has been defined as exclusively French in accordance with the nationalist project from which it emerged and within which it was inscribed (Greif & Ouellet, 2004). Today, as Lianne Moyes (2006) points out, it is becoming possible to think that *la littérature québécoise* can be written in English too. This glimpse of an opening, a movement toward a greater inclusion, has brought the proverbial question of the two solitudes to the fore of the debate – are they dissipating? This question emerges at the cusp of every attempt for a dialogue or *rapprochement* between the two communities. Hugh MacLennan's emblematic phrase "the two solitudes" has become indicative (to the point of being a cliché) about the wintry relations that have historically characterized the inter-cultural communication between

anglophones and francophones in Canada and in the province. But more than being a statement of an existing situation, the phrase also conveys a feeling of expectancy and an utopian vision: it implies that after the two solitudes, Canada, and by extension, Montreal, will finally be as one, find their true undivided identity and way of being in the world.

There is another nuance to the phrase. Jacques Ferron, a major literary figure in Quebec during the 1960s and 70s, reminds us that the phrase is also politically charged. He writes:

> Two solitudes, three solitudes, four, five, six, seven solitudes, mettez-en autant que vous voulez, vous n'ajouterez rien : il s'agit d'un mal anglais, spécifique et incommunicable en français (quoted in Bednarski, 1999: 134).

Ferron's words imply that the term "solitude" reveals an existential malaise that is culturally determined. In an almost mocking way, he points to the fact that the naming of the problem is culturally defined – it is not the Quebeckers', but the English Canadian's interpretation of a situation that is perceived and expressed through the prism of English Canada's cultural and social values and attitudes. Furthermore, Ferron makes a distinction between "solitude des dominateurs et solitude des dominés," thus divorcing the concept from its nostalgic connotations and undermining its utopian overtones all the while bringing to the fore the relations of power that are also imbedded in it.

Yet another dimension to the question of the "two solitudes" relates to the process of identity formation. As a concept, it could be mobilized to play part in the constitution of a definition of national identity. Such a definition would be based on an antagonism between "us" and "them" – we *are* only in opposition to them. The presence of "them" (one solitude) is essential for the constitution of "us" (the other solitude). We can only

identify *us* by knowing what we reject – *them*. In this line of thought, Jocelyn Létourneau argues in his study *Que veulent vraiment les Québécois* that Quebec identity is based on an inherent "dualité paradoxale": "être avec l'Autre tout en étant à côté de Lui, ce qui constitue une manière de vivre l'altérité, la collaboration et la coopération sur le mode de la proximité distante plutôt que sur celui de la coalescence" (2006: 57). The idea of the distance from the "other" (defined as "not one of ours") is imbedded in the concept of "solitude" and is essential for the definition of Quebec identity.

Most of all, however, Hugh MacLennan's phrase is about loss and lack of dialogue and contact. In this chapter, I will first problematize the idea of contact in its cultural dimension, as contact between two linguistic communities. I will place an emphasis on the very possibility of a dialogue as well as on its creative and beneficial effects for both sides. I will then inquire as to whether such communication exists between publishers working in the two languages in Montreal and offer some reflections on translation as a conceptual space where such contact is possible.

The notion of contact

Sherry Simon observes that linguistic contact has always been a distinguishing feature of the Quebec culture:

> The culture of Quebec has always been that of a borderland, a site marked by continuous linguistic contact. From the initial encounter of the French colonists with the Native peoples and the creation of the mixed languages of the coureurs de bois [...] to the British conquest – which, making accommodation with the Catholic church in New France, allowed for the perpetuation of the French language – and through the various constitutional arrangements which until now have allowed for the maintenance of a French-speaking society in North America within the political framework of the Canadian federation, the culture of Quebec

> has been in constant interaction with other languages, but most persistently with English (1999: 59).

It is through contact with foreign cultures and the figure of the "other" – native, British, American – that the identity of francophone Quebecers took shape. Contact in this sense demarcates identity. At present, in a city like Montreal, such an intercultural contact between the French-speaking and the English-speaking communities in particular, takes very mundane forms – interactions on the street, at work, at school or at home. In his book *Sorry, I don't speak French* Graham Fraser talks about these everyday linguistic exchanges in the city and observes that there is not a recognized "etiquette of bilingualism":

> Despite two hundred years of co-existence, there were few clearly understood and articulated rules, written or unwritten, or socially accepted rituals which are spelled out to explain how people do, or should, choose the language they speak (2006: 145).[18]

Living in Montreal is a constant process of linguistic negotiation – a sort of a guessing game about which language will first come your way, which language will you be interpolated to speak. Language switching, sometimes mid-sentence, and the phenomenon of the *franglais*, are common practices. Even if today "a kind of mutual tolerance had developed" (Fraser, 2006: 157) between the two major linguistic communities in Montreal, linguistic interactions in the city are still a mined terrain. This situation often creates a feeling of discomfort or unease, which, although unsettling, is

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[18] Graham also recounts an interesting story that illustrates the "naturalization" of French-English linguistic contacts in the city: "In 2002, when violent storms in Montreal forced the cancellation of the Fête Nationale parade on June 24, the organizers of the Canada Day festivities offered a chance to participate in their July 1 parade. Guy Bouthillier, the president of the Société-Jean-Baptiste, politely declined. It would involve a conflict in patriotisms, he said, adding that besides, two-thirds of the technical staff that had been booked for June 24 were also committed for the July 1 celebrations. Nobody underlined the significance of this at the time, but I was struck by it. In Montreal, ground zero of Canada's most historic, defining tension, most of the lighting, sound and craft technicians engaged for the high point of Quebec nationalism were also booked, a week later, for the celebration of Canadian federalism. Not bad. As I watched the television footage of terrified Belfast children going to school through a hail of stones and curses two months later, I kept thinking about it. Canadians so take the health and ease of their intercultural and political relations for granted that no one noticed" (2006: 157-8).

also healthy and full of creative possibilities for identity-construction, but also, inter-cultural dialogue.

This is precisely one of the distinguishing features of what Mary Louise Pratt (1999) has described as "contact zones". These are social spaces "where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (1999, n.p.). Contact zones emerged from the complexities of the cultural, political and economic configurations set in place by colonialism and represent spaces of contestation, rather than harmonious communication. Despite the tension, or probably precisely because of it, the contact zones are also characterized by a highly creative potential that gives rise to hybrid forms of perception and culture-making. Sherry Simon (2006, 1999 and also in Leclerc & Simon, 2005) has argued very convincingly that Montreal is such a "contact zone," where French, English and other languages and cultures, as well as different cultural practices like writing and translation, converge in moments of interaction.

In the past, in most spheres of social activity, contact between anglophones and francophones in Montreal has taken the form of conflict, whose cause is historically predetermined and still upheld to this day, although to a lesser degree. Peter Nelde, similarly to Pratt, remarks that:

> Most contact between ethnic groups does not occur in the context of a peaceful, harmoniously coexisting community. Rather, contact typically takes place in a context of varying degrees of tension, resentment and differences of opinion [...] (1995: 65).

He further states:

> Language conflicts arise from the confrontation of differing standards, values and attitude structures, and strongly influence identity image, upbringing, education and group consciousness. Thus *conflict can be viewed as a form of contact* [...] (68, italics mine).

Following Nelde, then, conflict between the two major linguistic groups in Montreal can be understood as a clash of differing worldviews and life philosophies between anglophones and francophones embedded in the languages they speak; it also exposes an attitude of animosity and anger or indifference and neglect on both sides. The result is a lack of knowledge about the other side and a view of human relations limited by prejudice.

As I mentioned above and as discussed in Chapter 1, it is important to remember that this situation is historically predetermined and that it points out to an asymmetrical linguistic relationship – "there is always a strong language and a weak language, there is always a majority and a minority" (Nelde, 1995). At the same time, it also indicates the presence of two distinguishing groups, which are being placed in a situation of interaction. I would like to concentrate on that moment and bring back Nelde's argument that even "conflict can be viewed as a form of contact". I understand this concept as essentially optimistic because it presupposes the very possibility of contact as interaction, as a dialogue between differences with the ultimate goal to get to know the other community better, and based on that knowledge and on mutual communication and recognition, to reach a common ground for understanding and future action.

Contact as contamination

Literature constitutes an especially fertile space of contact and inter-cultural communication because the very act of writing allows for the exploration of both the creative and political potential of language. Writers working on both sides of the linguistic divide in Quebec have played with the notion of multilingual texts, incorporating in their writing the two languages side by side without translation or warning. In such a manner, they bring forth, in a very visible way, the idea of the bilingual place where they live and work (Lise Gauvin (1990) has called this state of heightened language awareness "sirconscience linguistique"). Thus, the text itself becomes a space where contact happens.

Bilingual author Lola Lemire Tostevin, who also practices this strategy in her writing, disavows language as "pure space" and proclaims for a conscious use of the literary device of "contamination": "Contamination means differences have been brought together so they make contact" (1989: 13). Contamination is understood here in the sense of impurity. It stands in direct opposition to the notion of *pure laine* identity, based on the ideal of a national identity uncontaminated by the presence of a foreign "other". Conversely, contamination suggests saturation, a correlation, "a relation of differences," as Tostevin calls it. Contamination is a risky process of internalizing the unknown and transforming that experience into a creative practice.

Outside of the textual domain of literature and writing, the concept can be applied to the larger structures of the publishing practice and can be considered as a strategy that

informs publishers' actions. In fact, the very physical process of publishing refers to contamination – the engraving of the clean white page with black ink. Besides, on a more figurative level, contamination can account for the words and ideas imbedded by the black ink – where do they come from? Have they been contaminated from a contact with other, foreign currents of thought and worldviews? In this sense, the editorial platform of a publishing house like Les Allusifs can also be viewed as based on the idea of contamination: bringing together, in the space of one catalogue, the works of authors from around the world, means bringing forth differences in writing and perspectives. This premeditated confrontation between literary practices and voices, creates yet another interesting challenge to the definition of *Québécois* literature and publishing and allows for a dialogue between here and elsewhere.

However, as I wrote in Chapter 2, although Les Allusifs offers an exceptionally innovative and high-quality editorial program, the publisher is not fully supported with grants from the federal government, as are other Canadian and Quebec small presses, and thus Les Allusifs is penalized on an institutional level for not complying with the requirements for financial support. Viewed from this perspective, the question of contact and the conditions for its emergence and maintenance become structural, rather than simply cultural. In this sense, Lianne Moyes, for example, suggests that contamination and its productive effects are in fact obscured by the institutional structures put in place to support writers in Quebec:

> Having two unions for writers in Quebec, one Francophone (L'UNEQ) and one Anglophone (FEWQ), is both convenient and highly problematical. First, it reduces the necessity for writers from each language group to acknowledge one another, to confront their fear of difference, and to negotiate spaces for

> collaboration. Second, it allows the Government of Quebec to earmark money separately for each group. In effect, having two official representatives for writers in Quebec creates the same situation within Quebec that one finds within Canada: cultural money is divided in two (1998: 155).

I will return to this point further in this chapter – the issue surfaced during my discussions with (especially anglophone) publishers in Montreal.

Francophone and anglophone publishing communities in Quebec have, since the 1960s, gone through periods of constitution, search for identity and autonomy, maturity and, most recently, attempts at mutual recognition. For both communities the long process of formation and self-assertion has involved language – language as a marker of identity as well as, in the case of the francophone community, a mechanism to converge around the idea of nation, shared values, shared territory. Although progressing in two parallel tracks, the two communities have never been too far away as to not acknowledge each other's existence. In other words, they have been in contact, no doubt also facilitated by their physical proximity in the city of Montreal.

The very publishing activity is by nature a practice of contact – between author and publisher, between publisher and bookseller or a distributor, between publisher and publisher. I understand the notion of contact between the two publishing communities in Montreal in terms of inter-personal communication, but also, and more importantly, in terms of an intellectual exchange and stimulation, a particular kind of personal and professional enrichment, a change in vantage point through interaction with difference.

Contact between the two linguistic publishing and literary communities in Montreal – a brief historical overview

French-English contact in the field of publishing, in the sense of joint projects or intellectual exchange, tends to be sporadic and limited. A sustained project for an ongoing collaboration does not exist. As I mentioned, the reasons for this state of affairs are also structural, as such initiatives might not prove to be financially viable in the long run for either side, considering that the market plays an important role in this respect as well. However, looking back in history, one cannot help but think that the current situation also points to a chronic lack of curiosity about what the other community does or what both communities can do together.

Shortly after the printing press came to Quebec in the 18th century, both *Quebec Gazette/La Gazette de Québec* and *Gazette du commerce et littéraire* (which still exists today as Montreal's *The Gazette*) were bilingual newspapers. "The separation of English and French publishing is a development that came only a good deal later," notes Bruce Whiteman (1994: 23) in his study *Lasting impressions: A short history of English publishing in Quebec*. He argues that economic motifs justified bilingual publishing at the time – the publishers, themselves fluent in both languages, were unwilling to restrict their reading markets and used French and English in order to reach the entirety of Quebec's population.

A century and a half later, the enterprise of bilingual publishing was taken up again by Louis Carrier. First a journalist, then a publisher, Carrier started in Montreal in 1927 a

bilingual publishing house called the Mercury Press/Les Éditions du mercure. Although short-lived (the press operated for three years only), it set a precedent in the city's book publishing milieu. Carrier published about 50 books, including original French- and English-language titles, translations and re-prints (Giguère, 1999). Carrier's gregarious personality (and bilingual upbringing) allowed him to move with ease between the anglophone and francophone communities and his vision and ambition about his publishing venture exceeded the frontiers of Quebec – evident by the fact that he held an office in New York. Whiteman considers Carrier as arguably the first bilingual and bicultural publisher in Quebec and Canada.

Such bilingual enterprises are, nevertheless, extremely rare in the history of book publishing in Quebec. Guernica Editions stands out as another example of inter-lingual and inter-cultural publishing. Guernica was established in 1978 by poet and translator Antonio D'Alfonso, who edited books not in two but in three languages – French, English and Italian – with the purpose, as Elaine Naves puts it, of "kneading together Canada's linguistic duality and leavening it with Italian yeast" (1998: 28). Guernica's extensive catalogue of over five hundred authors from around the world includes books, "which deal in one way or another with the pleasurable understanding of different cultures," as the website of the press announces.[19] In 1993, in search of wider market opportunities, D'Alfonso moved the operations of the press to Toronto where it is based to this day.

[19] http://www.guernicaeditions.com/, retrieved on July 27, 2007.

Other bilingual publishers in Montreal include Dimitrios Roussopolos and Robert Davis. Roussopolos' Black Rose Books produces publications on political and social issues and has a French-language imprint, Éditions Écosociété. In 1979 another anglophone publisher – Robert Davis – started a French press called L'Étincelle, followed 20 years later, by Robert Davis Publishing specializing in English-language books, including translations from French. Today, XYZ Éditeur publishes on a regular basis books in both English and French. The press began its bilingual operations in 1999. On their website, in the Editorial policy section, the publishers state that their "English-language publishing program is limited to a maximum of eight books per year"[20] divided between novels and the Quest Library Series of Canadian biographies.

Efforts were made throughout the years by writers, publishers, scholars and intellectuals working in the arts and literary scene in Montreal to initiate events and activities in order to unite the two distinct linguistic communities. One such figure was Frank Scott, a prominent lawyer, social activist but also poet and translator in the 1950s and 60s Quebec, who would organize informal gatherings in his home of English- and French-speaking intellectuals, with the purpose to provoke an encounter between them. The initiative was not long-lasting, however, as ideological differences between Scott and some of his colleagues at the wake of the Quebec nationalist movement, split the group. Later, Scott became a committed supporter and promoter of the idea of Canadian bilingualism and his political and social ideas are considered as the inspiration behind Pierre Trudeau's official languages policies (Fraser, 2006; Godbout, 1999).

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[20] http://www.xyzedit.qc.ca/politiques.php?lang=en, retrieved on August 10, 2007.

On an organizational level, a successful initiative of anglophone/francophone dialogue was the Write pour écrire reading series in the fall of 1996, when four authors from both languages read from their works in public. Also, the Metropolis Blue Festival has now become a very significant multilingual event in Montreal, which every year brings together writers, publishers, scholars from Quebec, Canada and around the world, thus creating a real celebration of local and world literature. Another bilingual event that has already made its mark on the publishing scape in the city is the Expozine, a small press and zines fair that takes place annually in Montreal (among the founders of Expozine are two of the publishers I interviewed for this study – Andy Brown and David Widgington).

In their enlightening accounts on the contact between the francophone and anglophone literary communities in the period between the 1920s and 60s in Quebec, Richard Giguère and Patricia Godbout conclude that communication was very limited if not altogether absent:

> Malgré les périodes d'intense activité qui caractérisent la scène littéraire de langue anglaise et de langue française à Montréal entre 1920 et 1950, comment ne pas retenir la justesse du titre du roman de Hugh MacLennan, *Two Solitudes* (1945), pour décrire l'absence de contacts et d'échanges entre les deux groupes d'écrivains. [...] En fait, sauf quelques rares contacts entre quelques poètes ou petits groupes de poètes, il n'y a pas vraiment de rencontres ou d'échanges suivis (Giguère, 1999: 79).

And

> Mais il reste que les activités littéraires de chacun de ces groupes se déroulaient, pour l'essentiel, comme si l'autre n'existait pas (Godbout, 1999: 81).

One particular characteristic that emerges from this brief historical overview, is the central role of publishers or other individuals for the initiation of cultural contact. Even though their endeavors did not have long-lasting effects (Carrier's press folded after only

three years and D'Alfonso moved Guernica Editions to Toronto), their very attempt at breaching the cultural divide between the two communities is notable and is a sign of social engagement and openness of mind.

"We were glad to meet them. They were glad to meet us. That's about it."

This is how Montreal poet Louis Dudek described the relations between anglophone and francophone writers in the mid-1950s (quoted in Godbout, 1999: 85). These words still ring true of the communication between the two publishing communities in Montreal today. They also fit perfectly with the conclusion that I drew from the interviews I conducted with the six small publishers in Montreal. Most of them confirmed that their exchange with their colleagues from the other linguistic community is occasional. In general, contacts between them are limited to incidental joint projects or inadvertent meetings during public events.

For some of the publishers, there is no contact at all. Neither Brigitte Bouchard, publisher of Les Allusifs, to whom the question of whether she maintains contacts with anglophone publishers in Quebec provoked simply a negative but firm shake of the head, nor Robert Giroux, publisher of Les Éditions Triptyque, communicate or collaborate with their English-language counterparts. Robert Giroux said:

> Oui, mais malgré tout, c'est toujours les deux solitudes, parce que je sais pas beaucoup ce que les Canadiens anglais font. Je connais Véhicule Press, mais à part ça… [shakes head saying 'no']. Et je pense que c'est réciproque.

He also contested the idea of seeing this question in terms of linguistic duality and explained the division between English and French in the sphere of publishing in economic terms, as a separation of markets:

> Alors c'est pour ça qu'il faut pas voir ça en termes de dualité, d'opposition, je pense même pas, surtout dans le domaine de l'édition. Parce que les marchés sont très séparés. Mais ça commence à changer. Depuis que Indigo/Chapters ont réussi à s'installer en force à Montréal, alors, dans le domaine de la circulation du livre commence à y avoir des changements depuis quelques années, pas longtemps, quatre, cinq ans. Moi, par exemple, mes livres qui se retrouvent chez Chapters, c'est nouveau, ça. Avant, je n'aurais jamais pensé que Smith, par exemple, qui était une librairie, pourrait avoir mes livres à moi. Ils avaient des livres francophones populaires, qui avaient beaucoup de succès, par exemple, les Éditions de l'homme, mais les livres littéraires, comme ceux que nous faisons, cela ne les intéressait pas.

In his understanding of the issue of contact, Robert Giroux's approach is pragmatic – he emphasizes economic relations of book distribution and circulation. In doing so, he brings in an interesting nuance to the question: the idea of contact within the space of the bookstore. This type of contact necessarily has an economic dimension to it, as the bookstore is the place where the book is exhibited as a cultural commodity. But it is also a space of interaction for readers and physical integration of books in both languages and as such, the bookstore can also be considered as a contact zone where the two languages can symbolically exist side by side.

From the six publishers interviewed, Andy Brown from Conundrum Press had most experience in collaborating with French-language presses in Montreal. He has undertaken book projects, most often selling rights for translations, with Planète rebelle, L'Oie de Cravan, Boréal and Les Éditions Triptyque. His account of the contact he has had with

the different French publishers revealed several important aspects of the process of collaboration:

> And the other one is Boréal, which is the big French… probably the equivalent of McClelland and Stewart in Quebec – has just contacted me about publishing Maya Merrick's novel *Sextant.* They somehow got a hold of it and they are going to translate it, they are in the process, I signed the rights and the contract is done and they are translating it now and it's coming out in the spring in French[21]. They really liked her, they met with me and her and they are very into it. Pascal [Assathiany – Boréal's director], he's very into sort of having further connections and wants to build bridges with the anglophone community and of course the irony is, I live two blocks away from their office. And you know, I've been there a couple of times and they just, they've never known, right. But that's fine, the idea is that they are reaching out. I hope that there will be future, I mean I think probably Maya's second book, which I am publishing next year, will also be translated. Certainly, she would become one of their authors, which is absolutely fantastic, because she is a first-time author and never published a single word until I published her 300-page novel, so I mean… […]
>
> I approach someone like Boréal and to them I am extremely underground, like all of anglophone Montreal would be considered underground; in comparison to the rest of North America, this is underground culture.

Brown's words illustrate the importance of publishers' pro-active attitude in initiating and bringing about contact and thus he validates the conclusion from the historical overview I presented on the previous pages about the importance of individual commitment. Pascal Assathiany's willingness, for example, to "build bridges" with the anglophone publishing community articulates a conscious position-taking, which impacts Boréal's publishing program and leads to concrete actions in the form of translations, but also face-to-face meetings and discussions between the two publishers and the authors whose books they edit. Another aspect of collaboration is the existence of affinities between the two publishers and their publishing programs in order for a "symbiotic relationship," as Andy Brown put it further in the conversation, to be formed. When that

[21] The book was published in March 2007.

element is missing, the experience of collaboration is not enjoyable and chances are, it will not be repeated.

Andy Brown's account also gives a good idea of the hierarchical structure of presses on the book publishing field in Montreal – while L'Oie de Cravan (another press with which Brown collaborates) is on the same level as Conundrum, Boréal is, according to Brown, on the par of McClelland and Stewart, which means – a publishing institution, a powerful and recognizable firm with multi-level operations and consequently, with a substantial clout in the field. Compared to that type of publishers Conundrum is not only small, but "extremely underground". Furthermore, Brown mentions an interesting process of "author transition" – the discovery of an author by a small press, who is then "lured" by a bigger publisher – "Certainly, she would become one of their authors," Brown says of Maya Merrick, which guarantees a greater exposure, and maybe even change of status, for the author herself. And indeed, the francophone daily *Le Devoir* (May 19-20, 2007), dedicated a full article on Maya Merrick's book in translation without mentioning at all that the novel was first published in English by a Montreal press.

Some of Andy Brown's observations were echoed by David Widgington, publisher of Cumulus Press. Like Brown, he also talked about publishers' pro-active attitude with the goal to initiate collaboration. It was Widgington himself who approached XYZ Éditeur and proposed the translation of Cumulus' first book – *Montreal up close: A pedestrian guide to the city.* He said that, overall, communication between the two publishing communities is limited, but nevertheless, "there is evidence of interaction":

> There is very little [interaction], but there is more. There is a little bit more, I guess, lately... I've seen it in two places – one is at the Salon du livre [de Montreal]. There's always been a booth from the Association of Canadian Publishers, that's the only English booth in the whole Salon. [...] So they had a booth and in the past few years they have been using the booth to promote Canadian books for possible translations. So they were having meetings and inviting French publishers to talk about possible translations collaborations. So that's one way.
>
> The other way is a lot thanks to XYZ. Because since they've become a bilingual press, they've joined the Association of Canadian Publishers, they've joined the [Association of] English-Language Publishers of Quebec, so they're members of these two groups and lately... it was last year, I guess, 2005, André Vanasse [editorial director at XYZ] was also on the board of le Salon du livre and he pushed to have some English representation on the board, which is totally new, it never existed before.

Widgington raises here an important observation about communication between the two linguistic communities within institutionalized structures – joint participation in book fairs and in literary associations. This is an especially relevant point in view of the recent expansion of the anglo-québécois literary scene and it refers back to Lianne Moyes' concern cited earlier in this chapter, that the division of literary and publishing institutions along linguistic lines in fact helps maintain separation between the two communities by eliminating the need for them to meet and discuss matters of common concern.

No matter how promising the event described by Widgington was, however, it did not have a continuation – the Board of directors of the Salon du livre de Montréal for 2007-2008 does not include any representatives of the anglophone publishing community in the city. It is also telling that André Vanasse is no longer a member either. The non-participation of English-language publishers at the administrative level of the Salon du

Livre and their presence during the fair being limited to a single booth, suggest that this event is designated, and maintained, as francophone only.

Book fairs are also exceptional contact zones, as Kate Hall, publisher of Delirium Press, confirmed. For her and her colleague, Delirium's co-publisher Heather Jessup, contact with francophone presses happens mostly during book events such as fairs:

> [W]e have met some really small francophone publishers mostly at the Voix d'Amérique festival and we are going to book fairs in Montreal, like Expozine and stuff. So that has been interesting. And actually in those book fairs – that's one of the most interesting things about book fairs – we don't sell books there [...] but we meet a lot of people there and talk to a lot of people and it's a very interesting way of connecting with other presses and with other people who are doing interesting things. [...] Heather and I, we've had more contact in New York than we've had anywhere else in Canada. So, it's been really interesting the ties between our community here and the New York community.

The publishers at Delirium Press are reaching out, but the presses they partner with are American, not from Quebec. Kate Hall called this process "a cross-border pollination" between two distinct writing and publishing communities, which represents an interesting facet of inter-cultural communication. With the financial help from Concordia's English Department, Kate Hall and Heather Jessup were able to invite several American poets to participate in the reading series also initiated by Delirium in an effort to establish links between writers from across the border.

> And so the writers came here and we've been trying really to participate in a cross-border pollination. Just like... I guess bringing different communities together – that is our editorial mandate in general, because all the writing community talked to them and said, What Canadian writers do you know? And they say, Margaret Attwood, you know... And honestly [...], no one from here knows any of the young writers down there either and the fact that those two communities should talk to each other is really important, because they are doing different things down there and we are doing different things and the fact that that can be mixed up is really important to us.

Speaking about contact between Canadian and American literary communities, Kate Hall in fact highlights a fundamental aspect of inter-cultural communication – the acquisition of knowledge and reaching an understanding about an unfamiliar culture and community.

For the publishers at La Pastèque, Martin Brault and Fredéric Gauthier, dialogue does not exist either. They work almost independently, they said, in a niche of comic books publishing that they themselves have helped create. They do know who their English-language counterparts are, although they do not collaborate with them:

> Martin Brault : Drawn and Quarterly qui est le plus important… Je pensais qu'il [Chris Oliveros, publisher of D&Q] est Américain, mais non, il demeure ici, à Mile End. Ce qui est un peu fou parce que c'est *le* plus important éditeur de BD en Amérique du Nord. […] C'est comme même assez hallucinant, il est un Canadien, il est ici, à Montréal, mais c'est fou parce qu'il est complètement occulté, comme il est un anglais, mais comme il est complètement occulté de… dans les manifestations, des choses comme ça qui sont fait du côté français – que se sont des festivals ou des salons de livres…
>
> Lina Shoumarova : Entretenez-vous des contactes ?
>
> Frédéric Gauthier : Pas beaucoup.
>
> Martin Brault : « Bonjour-bonjour » quand on se croise dans la rue, mais c'est tout… On a bien voulu, mais il est tellement réservé, il fait ses affaires…

Brault and Gauthier also evoke what Andy Brown mentioned in his account – that in a city like Montreal publishers from the two linguistic communities and working in the same domain can sometimes live even in the same neighbourhood without actually knowing each other personally.

Overall, the testimonials of the publishers revealed a picture of somewhat fractured and incomplete relations between them that are actualized on two levels: as professional

contact between publishers leading to the realization of book projects such as translations, and as inter-personal, but rather sparse, contact during publishing events such as book fairs. The figure of the publisher emerges as paramount as he or she is the person who is most likely to seek out collaborations in order to prolong the life of their publications, enlarge their catalogue, promote their authors or simply because of a personal belief of the value of inter-cultural communication. The interviews also brought to light the question of institutional structures, such as publishers' associations and book fairs, which can have an impact as well on publishers' interaction, either enabling or precluding it.

"Un luxe de nouvelles relations humaines": Translation as a form of contact

As some of the publishers mentioned in the citations above, one of the most common forms of contact between them is translation, and, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is also one of the most effective ways for expansion of publishers' market and readership abroad.

In an officially bilingual country like Canada, the practice of translation has a political dimension – it is thought of and promoted on a state level as a tool to encourage the mutual encounter between the two official languages and the respective cultures that they symbolize. Betty Bednarski (1999) has observed that the Canadian government has used the metaphor of "translation as a bridge" as an ideological device for the promotion of official bilingualism in the country. In fact, since the passing of the Official Languages Act, translation has been legitimated as a vital cultural practice, essential to the nation-building project of Canada. Consequently, government programs for financial aid for translations in the two official languages were implemented, professional organizations

and associations in the domain of translation were established, university courses and programs in translation studies were introduced, specialized publications were created – all of this contributed to the institutionalization of the field and the initiation of a discourse relative to the practices and values of translation (much in the same way as the constitution and the gaining of autonomy of the field of anglo-québécois literature). Barbara Godard sums up this process when she writes:

> Such official sanction and financial stimulation give a special status to literary translation in Canada, both protecting it from the exclusive demands of the marketplace and engaging it in the service of nation-building through reciprocal translation that seeks to redress the imbalance of a colonial situation that necessitates the translation of a subordinate language (French) into a dominant language (English) (2000: 477).

Asymmetrical relations of power between languages and their respective speaking communities can be actualized through translation and in fact, the danger of translation as a practice is precisely to reproduce and entrench the imbalance by *interpreting,* as opposed to *turning toward,* one culture to another.

For example, in the 1960s and 70s, translations of *Québécois* literature into English surged, which can be explained by the sudden interest on the part of English Canada in Quebec, the Quebec people and their nationalist project and plight for independence. Books in French, especially novels, were "swiftly" (as Godard qualifies it) translated into English in an effort to *understand* Quebec and the Quebec culture. Here is how Jacques Godbout describes this phenomenon:

> Here in Canada, where a lot of translation goes on, translation of literature has been very much a political matter. The translation of Quebec literature during the last twenty years was proportional to the fear that English Canada had of seeing Quebec separate. [...] When this fear dissipated, after the referendum in 1980, literary translation also began to decline. It's strange how Toronto publishers

> progressively became less interested in Quebec books. There is a direct [sic.] relationship between fear and translation [...]" (quoted in Simon & Homel, 1988: 84).

Godbout posits translation as a strategy to get to know a menacing "other". Once the difference is demystified through the act of translation, the other is perceived as less threatening. In this sense, Godbout cautions against a particular use of translation as the means to simply "figure out" what we do not initially get.

Translation is one of the most ancient practices of intercultural communication whose meaning of "carrying across" or "bringing across" implies a forward movement, a connection between two or more entities. Translation is the expression of a fundamental human need and desire to communicate and be understood, to get a message across. At the same time, translation is not simply a process of literally rendering the meaning of one language into another, but of discovering and transmitting the particular subjectivity, worldview, values, difference that are embedded in linguistic symbols and expressions. In this spirit, Joseph Bonenfant's viewpoint of translation as "un luxe de nouvelles relations humaines" (quoted in J. Brault/R. Giguère, 1977: 53) becomes especially enlightening, because the magnitude of translation does indeed encompass the realm of human relations, feeding on differences as an inspiration and starting point for an exchange of ideas. Translation enables the beginning of a conversation between people and cultures and in that sense it constitutes a contact zone, where antagonistic relations are given the chance to exist anew. As a practice, therefore, translation is inscribed within an ethics of interaction that goes beyond the domain of pure linguistics.

The ethics of translation

Lola Lemire Tostevin writes that translation helps us know better our own selves:

> [T]translation is an operation of thought through which we translate ourselves into the thought of another language. Refusing translation, or even the contamination of one language with another, might give us the illusion of authenticity and purity, but it is only an illusion which eliminates the possibility of relation of differences (1989: 14).

It is precisely this "relation of differences" that constitutes an ethical moment in translation – the decision to translate a book, for instance, is an ethical stance toward bridging a difference. Such a willingness to approach and open up to a difference that also constitutes a part of one's own identity reinforces a position in the world that is more tolerant and inclusive. Making place for what is considered foreign, initiating a process of contamination, is a courageous decision of self-affirmation. Translation, then, can be understood as a trait of curiosity not only about the others, but also about one's self.

Furthermore, the ethics of translation in its relation to difference, to an "other," can be understood in the way Antoine Berman explains it: "L'acte éthique consiste à reconnaître et à recevoir l'Autre en tant qu'Autre" (1999: 74) and more: "Elle [la traduction] est, dans son essence même, animée du désir d'ouvrir l'Étranger en tant qu'Étranger à son propre espace de langue" (75). Berman points to a crucial moment in translation – the consciousness of the foreign other, but also the acceptance of that foreignness that is not marred by fear. The words he uses such as *recevoir*, to receive, and *ouvrir*, to open, unequivocally point to an attitude of receptiveness and hospitality, of a desire to make a place for, to befriend even. The vocabulary used by Berman also has connotations of "home": open the door to a stranger, receive guests in one's language space, an approach

which not only does not deny, but indeed affirms one's identity and thus allows for the beginning of a dialogue. In that dialogue both sides remain themselves, but through interaction, they form a new relation that can ultimately lead to common action.

Starting from that premise, another dimension of translation emerges: it can be thought of as more than a practice, but as a publishing project for inter-cultural contact and communication. In this project (in the sense of a concentrated willingness to do something) I would place the figure of the publisher at the centre, along with the equally important cultural figures of the author and the translator. Publishers in particular, through the promise of their practice, have the authority to initiate and maintain relations of difference through translation, as they can consciously favour translation as a viable and sustainable method for inter-cultural communication. The ethical moment here is in the very wanting of the publisher to do so and in this chapter, a few such examples were cited – the embracing of translation as a viable publishing program by Les Allusifs or the initiation of translation projects by the publishers of Boréal, Conundrum and Cumulus Press. By commissioning and including translations in their catalogues, publishers become participants in the process of enhancing "relations of differences". This implies a new attitude toward the very act of translation, "le texte n'étant plus un objet à traduire mais une subjectivité à saisir, une présence dans le sens plein du terme," as Arnaud Laygues has so aptly put it (2006: 841).

In this sense, the work of the publisher (again, in close affiliation with the work of the author and the translator) can be viewed as humanistic, as contributing to a greater

understanding between peoples from different nationalities, language groups, ethnic origins. Furthermore, the book as a medium is reinvented – from an object to be produced and reproduced, it becomes a space for encounter and exchange, a contaminated, creatively charged zone for interaction. Publishing, then, emerges as a crucial cultural practice that has the potential to, at the least, challenge the condition of the two solitudes, to open the door to another linguistic space, where other subjectivities are illuminated and thus, one's own self is enlightened and made stronger.

Conclusion

The connection between language and publishing is often taken for granted as language is such an essential component of the practice of book production that its dimension as a social force remains obscured. However, once explored, the question of how language and publishing relate becomes extremely pertinent as it reveals underlying connections and dynamics that would otherwise remain hidden. When studied through the prism of language, the publishing practice becomes part of a larger, socio-political and economic context, where the impact on book production of seemingly external phenomena, forces and discursive practices, such as colonialism, nationalism, linguistic laws, commodification, inter-cultural communication, is brought to the surface.

Starting from the premise of "publishing fields," a concept developed by John Thompson in his work *Books in the Digital Age*, I set off to explore on the preceding pages the linguistic properties of these fields. I concentrated on the book publishing field in Montreal, because it offers a fascinating linguistic dynamics – the interplay and antagonism between French and English languages (there are other tongues, like Yiddish and Italian, that have also influenced the development of the book publishing field here, but I did not take them into consideration for the purposes of this thesis), which have been a central driving force for the very constitution of the field and continue to this day to be among its most fundamental characteristics.

My main argument throughout this thesis is that language represents a system of social and power relations and that as such, it contributes to the formation, constitution and institutionalization of the book publishing field in Montreal. I argue that this process of structuration is effectuated on three levels: politically, as a means of establishing power relations in the field; economically, in terms of enabling strategies for expansion of publishers' markets abroad and to different linguistic fields; and culturally, as a way of enhancing (or precluding) inter-cultural contact and communication.

Language lies at the very genesis of the publishing practice, it serves as a basic communication medium between all agents involved in the field – publishers, authors, readers, booksellers, distributors, etc. – everyone who, with their specific duties and practices, contributes to the functioning of this industry. But language is more than just communication. Language, through its link to wider socio-political events and phenomena, such as the spread of colonialism or globalization, affects the very positioning of these agents in the field – with respect to each other, but also with respect to other agents in other fields. Language is tightly linked to the field of power and politics and contributes, therefore, to the institution of power relations among the agents in the publishing field.

Linguistic publishing fields extend geographically over the territory of the nation where they originate, but they can also be international in scope encompassing all other areas where that particular language is spoken. A result of colonialism, these linguistic journeys around the globe have laid the foundations for the constitution of a hierarchy of

languages that is still evident today. They have contributed to the implementation of categories such as "major" and "minor" languages, and consequently, "linguistic majority and minority communities", which refer to the extent of global reach and influence of particular tongues over others and point to relations of dominance and subordination between groups of people. So for instance, English is the *lingua franca* of today's world, its spectacular ascension to the status of a world language overshadowing even that of Latin. This fact has immediate consequences for the distribution of power on a global scale – those who possess the linguistic capital of English are placed in a more advantageous position than those who do not. In terms of publishing, this fact reverberates on the opportunity of publishers to be and stay internationally competitive in a market that is being increasingly defined in English. This, in turn, either opens or closes possibilities for them for further development and for accumulation of symbolic and financial capital. Thus, because of the language with which publishers work, they find themselves positioned within particular geo-political and social spaces, on both national and international levels, which affects their very practice as creators of books.

Publishers in Quebec are situated in an unusually complex and particular social, political, cultural and economic location. The Quebec book publishing field can be seen as divided linguistically in francophone and anglophone sub-fields. In order to even begin to describe each of these sub-fields as they stand on their own as well as in their relation to each other, it is of great importance to note that, linguistically and culturally, Quebeckers are a minority in North America and that anglophones living in Quebec constitute, therefore, "a minority inside a minority". So right from the start of trying to locate

linguistically and culturally publishers working in Quebec, one has to take into account processes of minorization and marginalization, which result in a particular pattern of power distribution within the Quebec publishing field. Publishers working in the French language are in a stronger position than their English-language counterparts, because French in Quebec has had, since the 1960s, a higher symbolic and economic value than English. On a state level, this presupposes the espousal of an ideology of Quebec culture defined almost exclusively as francophone and which, therefore, disenfranchises the cultural production not only of English, but that of other linguistic communities as well.

The protective mechanisms of culture and language put in place by the Quebec government (laws, policies, the fostering of ingenious cultural production as well as the development of general social rhetoric surrounding these issues), are an expression and a consequence of Quebec's history and are indeed necessary for the preservation of the very essence of what constitutes Quebec as a society. Similar mechanisms, also tightly affiliated with the concept of nation, are instituted in many other countries around the world, but their existence becomes primordial for smaller societies threatened with assimilation by larger and more powerful ones.

Such mechanisms, however, can edify as much as deconstruct. One particularly dangerous consequence is the fostering of a tendency toward a withdrawal into one's self, a clinging to a particular identity at the detriment of possible others. It is dangerous when relations between "us" and "them" suffer from a lack of curiosity about each other and are defined primarily by a fear of difference.

That is the reason why one of the goals of my research was to try to uncover points of contact between publishers working in the two languages especially in a city like Montreal. I understand book publishing as an act of communication par excellence. Through the promise of their practice, publishers are in the position to originate and to put forth ideas, opinions, and viewpoints on the human condition. By definition, they can initiate contact because they are positioned *in-between* – the most creative of locations. In more than one ways, their profession rests upon an ethics of interaction and of dialogue, whereby they stimulate and maintain a privileged relation with an "other," with difference. Their curiosity about other voices, other ways of phrasing, other languages can prompt an opening in the very understanding of one's own identity and social stance.

In this sense, Montreal is a highly stimulating place for a publisher to work in. The city represents what Mary Louise Pratt calls "a contact zone," where two or more different languages and cultures meet and clash in a situation of asymmetrical relations of power. The inter-cultural encounters in the contact zone are risky, but also very productive precisely because they happen as a "clash," as an opposition, and because they are defined in relation to difference, they produce new forms of art and creation.

One of these forms, springing from the collision of cultures, is translation. In this thesis, I offered a reflection on the practice of translation as a possible strategy for inter-cultural communication in a city where francophone and anglophone publishers often work side by side without even knowing it. If espoused as an indispensable part of a publisher's practice, translation has the potential to be at the origin of an attitude, a social stance that

is *turned toward* the foreign, that accepts what is foreign in its difference all the while preserving and enhancing through difference the original, indigenous culture. Looking in the direction of otherness already represents a step toward a better understanding of one's own self.

Ideas for further research

I would like for this thesis to be inscribed within a discipline that is not proper to communications, but has tight discursive relations to it – linguistics of contact. The concept, as described by Mary Louise Pratt, refers to a conception of language as a unifying force that takes into consideration, rather than ignores, differences between communities. Language in this sense is understood as more than simply a means of communication, a collection of grammatical and syntactical rules and regulations, which, while obeying their own system, also mask the social relations that language carries imbedded in it. The contribution that I hope this thesis provides is to provoke a reflection of how two, seemingly irreconcilable linguistic communities can find a way to communicate through the medium of books and the practice of book production. The topic is extremely large and in the preceding pages, I offered a rather broad overview to it, which also contains the seeds of possible further research questions on the field of publishing.

The role of publishers as cultural agents needs to be explored further especially in light of the fact that they are somewhat neglected in the disciplines of communication and cultural studies. Through their decisions as to what books to edit and to translate,

publishers have the power to constitute reading and literary publics and thus they are active participants in the formation of literature. Important to consider would be publishers' everyday practices and all stages of the decision-making process in their selection of authors and titles to publish.

A more in depth quantitative study, from a social science perspective, would be useful in order to examine the federal government's policies concerning translation. A question to ask would be whether and to what extent the "mission" of the state to encourage translation as a practice for breaching the cultural divide between the two official linguistic communities in Canada is accomplished. Analyzing statistics of translated titles would show a clearer picture of the ways in which the government encourages that practice – What genres and authors are translated? Are some presses more favoured than others? Is the flow of books between Quebec and the rest of Canada in terms of translated titles stable and equal?

Yet another topic worth following is the ongoing constitution of the so-called anglo-québécois literature and publishing field. Such a study would give the researcher the unique opportunity to observe a phenomenon at its genesis and explore the foundation of institutional structures, the development of genres, practices and different forms of expression through writing and, why not!, a possible strengthening of Anglo-French relations in the domain of publishing in Quebec. Could this be yet another revolutionary artistic movement, which would come to redefine the Quebec culture and the city of Montreal in particular? It would not be surprising. After all, Montreal, and its book

publishing field, is a space of contradictions, defined by linguistic unrest and anxiety and precisely because of that, it is full of creative possibilities.

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Conundrum Press: www.cunundrumpress.com
Cumulus Press: www.cumuluspress.com
Delirium Press: www.deliriumpress.com
Les Éditions Triptyque: www.triptyque.qc.ca
La Pastèque: //www.lapasteque.com

APPENDIX I

Presentation of the publishers interviewed for this study

Les Allusifs

« Je publie des auteurs du monde entier parce que la littérature est sans frontières. Mon unique critère est la qualité d'un texte. Peu m'importe la langue d'origine ».[22] These words by Brigitte Bouchard, publisher of Les Allusifs, summarize the credo of the press. Since 2001, when Les Allusifs was created, it has been publishing translations of novellas written by authors from around the world. Its catalogue, which is now comprised of more than 50 titles, represents a true panoply of contemporary world literature – from Germany to Salvador, to the Caribbean, to Quebec. The press produces 5 to 6 new books a year and has become one of the most renowned and esteemed literary presses in Quebec. It has also achieved a significant success on the French book market. In 2006, the book by Sylvain Trudel *La mer de la tranquilité* published by Les Allusifs was nominated for the Grand prix du livre de Montréal and in 2001 Pan Bouyoucas' novella *L'autre* was nominated for the Governor General's Literary Awards.

Conundrum Press

Conundrum celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2006. Throughout the years, the press has issued publications in different formats and genres, from chapbooks to books with CDs to graphic novels, and this spirit of experimentation is part of their editorial mandate to publish "unique, cool, beautiful, genre-bending books". Another of Conundrum's

[22] In Favre, E. "L'événement : Entretien avec Brigitte Bouchard directrice des Allusifs".

mandate is to discover and publish young authors who live in Montreal. In 2007, two of Conundrum's books were nominated for Doug Wright Awards for best book: *Gilded Lilies* by Jillian Tamaki and *Nog A Dod: Prehistoric Canadian Psychedooolia* edited by Marc Bell.

Cumulus Press

The eclectic catalogue of the press includes about 15 books in a variety of genres – fiction, non-fiction/activism, poetry and spoken word, short fiction and more. Its Tendril Anthology Series is dedicated to publishing the work of young writers – 24 years and under – from across Canada. Cumulus also publishes books with a critical and political edge. Its 2005 book *Autonomous Media* edited by Andrea Langlois and Frédéric Dubois, is now in its second printing and its translation rights have been bought by Lux Éditeur. Cumulus Press is also one of the founding organizers of Expozine – Montreal's small press, comic and zine festival. The publishing house was created in 1998 by David Widgington and now publishes about 4 titles per year.

Delirium Press

The publishing activities of Delirium are unique because the press defies mainstream methods of production and distribution and our very understanding of the book as a mass-produced object. Instead, the press specializes in the creation of limited editions of hand-sewn chapbooks and hand silk-screened broadsides, mainly with poetry. The publishers state that "Delirium Press is a not for profit venture. Chapbook sales recover some printing costs, and all revenue goes towards ensuring the production of the next series."[23] The method of production is artisan in nature, which helps establish a tactile and personal

[23] *Delirium Press history and mandate*. URL: http://www.deliriumpress.com/about.html. Retrieved on October 1, 2007.

contact with the book and its constitutive parts. Delirium press was founded in 1999 by Kate Hall and Heather Jessup, both graduates from Concordia University's Creative Writing program. The catalogue of the press now numbers more than 30 titles.

Les Éditions Tryptique

Tryptique was created in 1977 « dans le but de promouvoir des textes d'une qualité d'écriture évidente et d'animer la ferveur de tous ceux et celles pour qui la lecture constitue une activité privilégiée »[24]. The catalogue of the press comprises more than 150 titles in diverse genres – novels, poetry and non-fiction. Throughout the years, the press has received numerous awards and distinctions. Recently, Maude Smith Gagnon was nominated for the Prix Émile Nelligan 2006 for her first collection of poems entitled *Une tonne d'air*. Triptyqie also publishes the literary magazine *Mœbius*.

La Pastèque

This small press specializing in comic books has been gaining prominence and recognition not only in Quebec but in francophone Europe as well. It started in 1998, when, according to its founders Frédéric Gauthier and Martin Brault, a "morosité ambiante" reigned in the world of Quebec comics publishing. La Pastèque, whose name means a sweet fruit resembling a watermelon, has certainly helped reverse this situation. The books it publishes are distinguished by the quality of their content and design for which they have received numerous awards in Canada and internationally, including a Lux prize in 2007 in the category Grand prix illustration for *Bologne* by Pascal Blanchet and Arts Design Annual 2005 – Book Design for *L'appareil,* the first commercial success of the press, which appeared in 2005. In addition, La Pastèque received the Prix Albert-

[24] Retrieved from URL: http://www.triptyque.qc.ca/f-home.html on October 1, 2007.

Chartier during the Festival de la BD francophone de Québec 2006 awarded to an important and influential individual or an organization active in the world of Quebec comics. Presently, the press has more than 50 titles in its catalogue and issues about 10 new books a year.

APPENDIX II

Contextual interview guide

1. Why did you decide to create your own publishing house?
2. What is your editorial mission?
3. What are your criteria for the selection of books to publish?
4. How do you see your place in Montreal's book publishing field?
5. Do you agree with the assumption that a new generation of publishers is in the process of forming in Quebec? Do you see yourself as part of it?
6. What are the advantages of working in publishing in Montreal?
7. What are the major hurdles that publishers here face in their day-to-day work?
8. What recommendations would you give to improve the situation?
9. How would you assess the government policies affecting your practice as a publisher?
10. What is your main source of revenue – sales, subsidies, exports?
11. Do you export books? If yes, where?
12. Who and where is your primary market?
13. How do you promote and market your books? Do you promote your books in English Canada?
14. Do you interact with Francophone publishers in Montreal? How would you describe your contacts?

1. Pourquoi et comment avez-vous décidé de créer votre propre maison d'édition ?
2. Quelle est votre politique éditoriale ?
3. Quels sont les critères selon lesquels vous choisissez des livres pour publication ?
4. Comment voyez-vous votre place dans le champ éditorial de Montréal ?
5. Pensez-vous qu'il y ait une nouvelle génération d'éditeurs qui est en train de se former au Québec et à Montréal en particulier ? En faites-vous partie ?
6. Quels sont les avantages de travailler dans le domaine d'édition à Montréal ?
7. Quels sont les obstacles majeurs auxquels les éditeurs montréalais doivent faire face ?
8. Que recommanderiez-vous pour améliorer la situation ?
9. Comment jugeriez-vous la politique gouvernementale qui influence votre pratique d'éditrice/éditeur ?
10. Quels sont vos principaux sources de revenus : les ventes, les subventions, les exports ?
11. Où exportez-vous vos livres ?
12. Qui et où est votre marché principal ?
13. Que faites-vous pour promouvoir vos livres ? Ciblez-vous le marché au Canada anglais ?
14. Communiquez-vous avec les éditeurs anglophones à Montréal ? Comment décrirez-vous vos rapports avec eux ?

APPENDIX III

Consent forms

(ENGLISH)

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT "THE PRACTICE OF PUBLISHING BOOKS: PERSPECTIVES FROM MONTREAL'S NEW GENERATION OF PUBLISHERS"

This is to state that I agree to participate in a research project being conducted by Lina Shoumarova of the Department of Communication Studies of Concordia University. Contact info: e-mail: _____, tel.: .

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to gather information about the book publishing industry in Montreal by interviewing publishers of seven small presses in the city. The information will then be analyzed by the principal researcher for the purpose of writing a master's thesis and quotes from the participants will be used in an appropriate and fair manner.

B. PROCEDURES

Indicate in this section where the research will be conducted and describe in non-technical terms what the subjects will be required to do; the time required to do it; and any special safeguards being taken to protect the confidentiality or well being of the subject.

The research will be conducted at the publishers' workplaces (their publishing houses) and will consist of an initial meeting with the researcher followed by an one-on-one unstructured interview. The interview should take no more than 2.5-3 hours. The participants will be asked questions pertaining to their work, to the history and the mission of their press, to the problems they encounter in their practice and the solutions they have found, etc. No personal information will be required.

The interviews will be recorded with a small tape recorder and later on, transcribed. Participants' responses will be essential for the analysis that this thesis aims to produce – an analysis of the young generation of publishers in Montreal and their place in the publishing field in the city. Part of the responses will be used as quotes in the body of the thesis. The information thus gathered will not be used for purposes other than those of the scholarly study and the only people who will have access to the transcriptions will be the researcher and her thesis supervisor, prof. Leslie Regan Shade.

The researcher might ask to consult some additional non-confidential documents such as the catalogue of the press or other material related to the history of the publishing house.

The researcher will ensure that the interviews are conducted in a respectful manner and that the participants' rights and well-being are not violated in any way.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

Indicate in this section all potential risks of participation, and any benefits of participation.

There will not be any risks involved in this research.

The goal of the thesis is to contribute to an area of research, book publishing, which has been somewhat neglected by communication scholars. The participants' willingness to answer questions about their work from their insiders' position within the industry will enrich scholarship and understanding about books and the way they are produced.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study is:
  NON-CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., my identity will be revealed in study results)
- I understand that the data from this study may be published or used as part of conference or other type of public presentations.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____

SIGNATURE _____

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca.

(FRANÇAIS)

Formulaire de consentement de participation à un projet de recherche

Par la présente, je déclare consentir à participer à un projet de recherche mené par Mme Lina Shoumarova, étudiante en maîtrise au Département de communications de l'Université Concordia. L'étude s'intitule "The practice of publishing books: perspectives from Montreal's new generation of publishers".

A. BUT DE LA RECHERCHE

Le but de la recherche est d'analyser le champ de production des livres à Montréal en se concentrant sur le fonctionnement des petites maisons d'édition crées dans les 10 à 15 dernières années et sur les pratiques de leurs éditeurs. L'étude vise à décrire les conditions et les défis qui marquent la production des livres tout en esquissant le portrait de la « relève » de l'édition québécoise. Ainsi, l'étude se propose-t-elle de combler une lacune dans le domaine des communications qui négligent quelque peu ce créneau de la production culturelle.

B. PROCÉDURES

Indiquer dans cette section où sera réalisée la recherche et décrire en termes non techniques, dans une langue claire et compréhensible, ce que l'on attend des sujets ; le temps qu'il leur faudra consacrer au projet ; et toute mesure spéciale de précaution prise pour assurer le caractère confidentiel de la recherche ou le bien-être du sujet.

La recherche sera effectuée dans les lieux de travail des éditeurs, c.à.d., dans leurs maisons d'édition, et consistera en une rencontre initiale suivie par une entrevue personnelle entre la chercheuse et les éditeurs. Les entrevues seront enregistrées et transcrites par la suite pour pouvoir servir, à la fin, comme des témoignages véridiques et originaux au cours de l'écriture du mémoire. Certaines réponses des participants pourront être citées dans le mémoire et les noms des participants ainsi que ceux de leurs maisons d'édition respectives, seront annoncés.

Les questions posées ne seront pas personnelles et les réponses ne serviront que pour les buts de l'étude scolaire. Accès à ce matériel sera accordé seulement à la chercheuse et à la directrice du mémoire, prof. Leslie Regan Shade.

De plus, la chercheuse pourrait demander de consulter des documents supplémentaires non confidentiels tels le catalogue de la maison ou du matériel relatif à l'histoire de l'entreprise.

Le temps exigé pour la recherche est d'ordre de quelques heures (3h au maximum), reparties préférablement sur deux jours. Les entrevues seront effectuées dans le plus grand égard et la chercheuse prendra toutes les précautions nécessaires pour assurer que tous les droits et le bien-être des participants soient respectés.

La chercheuse sera disponible au numéro de téléphone suivant : . ainsi que par courriel : . pour répondre à toutes les questions ou, possiblement, inquiétudes des éditeurs.

C. CONDITIONS DE PARTICIPATION

Indiquer dans cette section la probabilité de tout risque ou gêne associés, et tout bénéfice potentielle.
Il n'y a aucun risque physique ou psychologique associé à cette recherche.

D. CONDITIONS DE PARTICIPATION

- Je comprends que je peux retirer mon consentement et interrompre ma participation à tout moment, sans conséquences négatives.

- Je comprends que ma participation à cette étude est :

  NON CONFIDENTIELLE (c.-à-d. mon identité sera révélée avec les résultats de l'étude)

- Je comprends que les données de cette étude puissent être publiées dans des revues académiques ou utilisées lors de présentations publiques.

- Je comprends le but de la présente étude et je suis assuré-e qu'elle ne comprend pas de motifs cachés dont je n'avais pas été informé-e.

J'AI LU ATTENTIVEMENT CE QUI PRÉCÈDE ET JE COMPRENDS LA NATURE DE L'ENTENTE. JE CONSENS LIBREMENT ET VOLONTAIREMENT À PARTICIPER À CETTE ÉTUDE.

NOM (caractères d'imprimerie)

_____

SIGNATURE

_____

Si vous avez des questions concernant vos droits en tant que participants à l'étude, S.V.P. contactez Adela Reid, Agente d'éthique en recherche/conformité, Université Concordia, au 514-848-2424 poste 7481 ou par courriel au adela.reid@concordia.ca