Survivances: Translating Cultural Memory in Quebec

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Abstract

***Survivances*: Translating Cultural Memory in Quebec**

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My research integrates three fields—translation studies, memory studies and Quebec studies—to study translation and cultural memory in the Quebec context. Focusing on intersections of national, migrant and Indigenous memory, it seeks to elucidate the role that translation plays in the construction and circulation of cultural memory across languages, cultures and affiliations. It proposes three angles of analysis, each of which focuses on a different facet of memory and translation. The first, TRANSLATION AS REWRITING, examines Michèle Lalonde's 1968 Quiet-Revolution-era poem "Speak White," situating it as a site of national memory and identity and tracing its afterlives in intra- and interlingual translations and adaptations. The second, TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY, focuses on the 1970s counter-cultural periodical *Mainmise* to examine collective memory as a translational phenomenon based on re-identification and retemporalization—the construction of alternative collective references through cultural borrowing and transfer. The third, TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION, explores the role that translators play in reclaiming and transmitting cultural memory through different forms of linguistic and cultural (self) translation, focusing on the works and trajectories of Cree-Algonquin writer Bernard Assiniwi and Innu poet Joséphine Bacon. Issues surrounding language, memory and identity have been abundantly explored in Quebec from historical, sociological and literary perspectives. This thesis approaches these questions from a slightly different angle by shifting the focus squarely onto translation as both a vehicle of memory and memory process in itself. Any discussion of translation and memory inevitably evokes notions of fidelity to or affinity with an originating source, be it a symbol, text or artefact, a story, performance or event, a place, individual or community. Confronted with change, alterity or trauma, these sources can be undermined, assimilated or even erased, but they can also be renewed, transposed and liberated into new forms, giving rise to different resolutions along a continuum of similarity and difference, of continuity through transformation. Through an examination of key literary works and other sites of memory-encounter and cultural production, this thesis sheds light on moments or instances of identitary crisis, rupture and unfolding that highlight the translational, emergent nature of meaning, memory and identity and foreground the diverse and complex ways that their *survivance* is assured by the very act of their transformation.[1]

[1] All French-to-English translations in this thesis are mine, unless otherwise noted in the text or bibliography.

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Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Translating Memory, Translation as Memory	1
Survivances	4
Sites, Frames and Networks of Memory	6
Translation and Memory in Quebec	8
Destin inachevé, traduction inachevée	10
Thesis Overview	12

Chapter Two: *Survivances*

Survivances	14
The Afterlives of Translation	14
French Canadian *survivance*	19
Migrant *survivance*	23
Indigenous *survivance*	28
Conclusion	36

Chapter Three: Translation as Rewriting

Translation as Rewriting	37
Michèle Lalonde's "Speak White"	42
A Site of Transcultural Memory	44
Translating Race, Language and Identity	49
Translating Diglossic Memory	51
Marco Micone's "Speak What"	55
The Impossible Palimpsest	59
Speak What: *Parlons-nous*	61
"Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque"	67
Translating the printemps érable	70
The Language of Protest	73
Appropriation, Re-iteration and Derivation	75
Robert Lepage's *887*	86
Resources and Representations	86
Between Fact and Fiction	89
Translating Memory, Staging Difference	91
Between Individual and Collective Memory	94
Conclusion	99

Chapter Four: Translation as Counter-Memory

Translation as Counter-Memory	102
The Making of a Counter-Culture in Quebec	109

The Evolution of *Mainmise* 112
Translation as a Vehicle of Cultural Transfer 115
Selection 117
Mediation 120
Reception 122
Re-identification 127
Retemporalization 132
Conclusion 137

Chapter Five: Translation as Reclamation
Translation as Reclamation 139
Ethnographic Representation and Translation 143
Ethnography and Translation in Canada and Quebec 146
Indigenous Resistance and Reclamation 154
Bernard Assiniwi: A Rhetoric of Survivance 167
Reclaiming History 171
Joséphine Bacon: A Life in Translation 182
Translating Oral History and Oral Tradition 185
Collaboration and (Self) Translation 192
Conclusion 202

Chapter Six: Conclusion
Translating Cultural Memory in Quebec 204
Of Bridges and Borders 206
Correspondances 211

Bibliography 214

Chapter One: Introduction

Translating Memory, Translation as Memory

Any discussion of translation and memory inevitably evokes notions of fidelity to or affinity with an originating source, be it a symbol, text or artefact, a story, performance or event, a place, individual or community. Confronted with change, alterity or trauma, these sources can be undermined, assimilated or even erased, but they can also be renewed, transposed and liberated into new forms, giving rise to different resolutions along a continuum of similarity and difference, of continuity through transformation. Once perceived as a marginal activity, translation has come to be seen as a fundamental act of human exchange (Bassnett 2002: 1). Memories and meanings are *translated* (in the Latin sense of *translatio*, meaning "transfer, carryover, displacement") within and across different linguistic and cultural contexts. But in reactivating (rewriting, reframing, reclaiming) a cultural resource, translation is also an act of remembrance, an active reinvestment in an originating source. Translation *as* memory, as distinct from translation *of* memory, highlights the way in which meanings, memories and identities are not contents to be extracted from texts, cultures and people, but partake of a dynamic of sameness "unfolding itself to attain its full dimension" (Berman 1992), as they are given new life in new contexts.

Though language contact and interlingual translation are still at the heart of translation studies, the turn or, we might say, return, to a broader cultural conception of translation has vastly enlarged the research terrain.[2] The crucial shift from prescriptive to descriptive approaches in the 1980s (Toury 1982) was soon followed by the cultural turn in translation studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990) and a virtual explosion of research focusing on translation as a social, cultural and historical phenomenon in all its forms—across languages, genres and media, across cultures, nations and time, as an element of everyday communication in every imaginable context, even as an underlying social and cultural *condition* (Simon 2006).[3] This enlarged view of translation has spawned an ever-proliferating interest in interdisciplinary research, including

[2] A 2009–2010 debate on cultural translation that spanned three issues of the journal *Translation Studies* (Buden et al. 2009; Pratt et al. 2010; Kien, D'Hulst and Young 2010) sheds light on changing concepts of translation throughout history, revealing the more restricted linguistic meaning of the term to be the more recent development.
[3] As Sherry Simon has observed, in contexts where "languages mingle relentlessly," as in certain areas of Montreal, translation becomes a *condition* (2006: 9).

recent efforts in translation studies to foreground the potential in bringing translation studies and memory studies into dialogue to explore the act of translation as a distinct form of remembering and consider collective and cultural memory from a translational perspective.[4] The recent trend in memory studies toward multidirectional (Rothberg 2009), travelling (Erll 2011a), transnational (De Cesari and Rigney 2014) and transcultural (Bond and Rapson 2014) memory is clearly of interest from a translation perspective, as is the "the transcultural, transgenerational, transmedial, and transdisciplinary drift" of memory outlined in the volume *Memory Unbound* (Bond, Craps and Vermeulen 2017).

My research integrates three fields—translation studies, memory studies and Quebec studies—to study translation and cultural memory in the Quebec context. Focusing on intersections of national, migrant and Indigenous memory, it seeks to elucidate the role that translation plays in the construction and circulation of cultural memory within and across languages, cultures and affiliations. Issues surrounding language, memory and identity have been abundantly explored in Quebec from historical, sociological and literary perspectives.[5] This thesis approaches these questions from a slightly different angle by shifting the focus squarely onto translation as both a vehicle of memory and memory process in itself. Through an examination of key literary works and other sites of memory-encounter and cultural production, it sheds light on moments or instances of identitary crisis, rupture and unfolding that highlight the translational, emergent nature of meaning, memory and identity and foreground the diverse and complex ways that their *survivance* is assured by the very act of their transformation. It

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[4] Works of note include studies on translation as redemption (Brodzki 2007), translation as witnessing (Strümper-Krobb 2014) and secondary witnessing (Deane-Cox 2013), and translation and prosthetic memory (Deane-Cox 2014a), as well as Siobhan Brownlie's *Mapping Memory in Translation* (2016), a special issue of *Translation* on memory (Brodzki and Demaria 2017), and *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Memory* (Deane-Cox and Spiessens 2022).

[5] As of the 1990s, the "identity" question in Quebec has produced a vast number of publications, such as *Le voleur de parcours. Identité et cosmopolitisme dans la littérature québécoise contemporaine* (Harel 1989), *Fictions de l'identitaire au Québec* (Simon, L'Hérault, Schwartzwald and Nouss 1991), *L'identité à l'épreuve de la modernité* (Thériault 1995), *L'identité fragmentée* (Bourque and Duchastel 1996), *Les frontières de l'identité* (Elbaz, Fortin and Laforest 1996), *Les espaces de l'identité* (Turgeon, Létourneau and Khadiyatoulah 1997), *Identités en mutation* (Jewsiewicki and Létourneau 1998), *Passer à l'avenir : histoire, mémoire, identité dans le Québec d'aujourd'hui* (Létourneau 2000), *Récits identitaires. Le Québec à l'épreuve du pluralisme* (Maclure 2000), *Repères en mutations* (Maclure and Gagnon 2001), *Le soi et l'autre* (Ouellet 2003), *La société des identités* (Beauchemin 2004), *Braconnages identitaires. Un Québec palimpseste* (Harel 2006), *L'interculturalisme : un point de vue québécois* (Bouchard 2012), among others. Key works in translation studies include *Sociocritique de la traduction : théâtre et altérité au Québec* (Brisset 1990), *Le trafic des langues : traduction et culture dans la littérature québécoise* (Simon 1994), *Culture in Transit. Translating the Literature of Quebec* (Simon 1995), *Hybridité culturelle* (Simon 1999), *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City* (Simon 2006) and *Translation Effects: The Shaping of Modern Canadian Culture* (Mezei, Simon and von Flotow 2014).

argues, by extension, that the translation of cultural memory, like any form of translation, cannot be reduced to a source-versus-target dichotomy or zero-sum game, even though the "millennia-old" opposition between faithful-versus-free translation still provides the ground against which the paradoxical nature of translation—the basic conundrum of reconciling sameness and difference—can be grappled with and understood.[6]

That said, many non-Western and contemporary translation theories challenge strict binary descriptions.[7] My own approach to theorizing the relation between memory and translation is greatly indebted to Sherry Simon's pivotal research on translation in Quebec and identity-memory dynamics in translational cities (2006, 2012, 2016). In this respect, it has also some affinities with Homi Bhabha's (1994) notions of the "third-space" or identitary "in-betweenness," which have been fruitfully explored and challenged in translation studies by Simon (see above) and others (Tymoczko: 2003; Wolf: 2000, 2008). But in emphasizing the unfolding of "sameness" (Berman 1992) rather than the emergence of "newness" (Bhabha 1994), my analysis insists on the memorial dimension of translation and takes the complexity and specificity of what happens in interlingual translation as a model for conceptualizing what happens in cultural translation.[8] This entails not only considering the actual mediation and mediators involved, who, indeed, are not metaphorical or really operating "in-between" languages and cultures,[9] but also linking broader concepts of translation to the specific challenges that arise in interlingual translation. Past and present, difference and particularity are not *transcended* but, precisely, *translated*, albeit often in the face of power imbalances and with

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[6] The "millennia-old dichotomy" (Vermeer 1998: 49) between "literal" versus "free," or "word-for-word" versus "sense-for-sense" translation can be traced back to Ancient Rome and the translation theories of Cicero, Horace and Quintilian, who proposed the idea of creative imitation—*imitatio*—as a form of "free" translation and disdained slavish, "faithful" adherence to the source. Though concepts of translation vary considerably across different cultures and time periods (see Tymoczko, 2007), similar terms can be found in ancient Chinese and Arabic translation traditions (Munday 2012: 32).

[7] For example, non-Western variations on the meaning of "translation" include the Arabic *tarjama*, meaning originally "biography," the words *tapia* and *kowa,* in the Nigerian Igbo language, translation as a form of storytelling or narration, the Chinese *fanyi,* meaning simultaneously "to turn over," "somersault, flip," "interpretation" and "exchange" and linked to the idea of translation as the reverse side of an embroidery, and the Malay *tersalin* and Tagalog *pagsasalin,* "associated respectively with birth and the pouring of liquids or granular solids from one container to another" (Tymoczko 2007: 71–75).

[8] This approach, advocated by a number of "cultural translation" scholars (e.g. Kyle Conway (2017) and Sarah Maitland (2017), among others) allows for nuanced distinctions between translation and other forms of transformation, all the while illuminating, in concrete terms, who and what is implicated in the process.

[9] As Martin Fuchs observes, "the person translating is not outside the contexts involved, nor does s/he inhabit a place 'in-between.' Rather, the translator—in fact, each social actor—has her/his feet in both or all the camps involved and constantly moves between them when translating" (2009: 27). See also Maria Tymoczko's (2003) "Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense is a Translator 'in Between?'"

varying degrees of success.[10] I use the term "translation," therefore, to designate a phenomenon that includes but extends beyond the concept of translation as one-way linguistic transfer to encompass different forms of rewriting, adaptation and remediation—the multiple, sometimes multidirectional re-iterations of memory and identity that are re-anchored and rerouted through translation.

Survivances

A theme that runs through all of my examples and analyses is that of *survivance*, as a national, migrant and Indigenous paradigm. Over the course of my research, this concept continually emerged as a common but ever-shifting thread. In drawing parallels between different manifestations of *survivance*, my intent is not to impose false equivalencies—the colonial oppression and dispossession experienced by French Canadians and Indigenous Peoples, for example, is not comparable in kind, scale or magnitude. My aim, rather, is to consider different memory and translation processes, how these collide and transform one another (for better or for worse), the different factors that motivate them, and their effects and repercussions—which, in the context of this thesis, are mostly played out in the symbolic realm.[11] *Survivance* is a French term and concept that has been theorized in different ways by Jacques Derrida (1985, 2008), in diasporic and trauma studies (Altounian 2000, 2005; Kègle 2007; Harel, Hogikyan and Peterson 2012), and in relation to Walter Benjamin's concept of the "afterlife" of translation (Lamy and Nouss 1997; Disler 2011), among others. The French Canadian concept of *survivance* espoused a fidelity to origins and the preservation of the French language, culture and traditions. The American Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor re-introduced the term as an English neologism and made it a central concept of his analysis of Indigenous survival and resistance (Vizenor 1994, 2008, 2009). In all of these interpretations, *survivance* implicates both memory and translation, whether in relation to states of being (life and death), the continuation of life or of a

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[10] That translation can and has historically served as a force of colonialism has been well documented. See *The Poetics of Imperialism. Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan* (Cheyfitz 1991), *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Niranjana 1992), *Post-colonial Translation. Theory and Practice* (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999) and *Changing the Terms: Translating in the Postcolonial Era* (Simon and St-Pierre 2000), among others.

[11] I am inspired, in part, by Holocaust Studies scholar Michael Rothberg, who argues against competitive memory and maintains that memory works productively. In his studies of memory of the Holocaust and the Atlantic Slave Trade, or, more recently, accusatory versus empathetic comparisons between the Warsaw Ghetto and Gaza, Rothberg argues that transcultural comparison of injustices can offer a "possibility of analogy" that is necessary, if not sufficient, for their redress (2011: 538).

work of art, the survival and revival of languages and traditions, or the persistence of individual and collective memory and identity.

Though a similar dynamic of continuity connects these different versions of *survivance*, it should be noted from the outset that the concept is complex, multifaceted and sometimes even contradictory. As a culturally and linguistically nuanced term, it also comes with some baggage, evoking different associations and connotations that foreground the historical specificity of cultural memory while also emphasizing the historical weight of the subjects addressed. Indeed, I chose to incorporate *survivance* not only because it is a recurring theme across all of my examples, but also because it is an evocative term linked to questions of memory that does two things. On the one hand, it connects to specific cultural histories and the forces at work within and between them, and, on the other, it points to the ongoing and continuous nature of memory itself. *Survivance* thus serves to gauge relations between different languages and cultures, while also shedding light on the unfolding of memory and identity from within. This plays out differently in each of the contexts in which it is used, as we will see in the following chapters.

While the French Canadian version of *survivance* is often associated with stagnation or a nostalgic clinging to the past, it is also revealed to be constructed in relation to alterity. Likewise, though migrant and Indigenous *survivance* both include elements of preservation, they also signal rupture, discontinuity and confrontation. *Survivance* thus seems to function as a contronym, a word with (at least) two opposing or contradictory meanings. This is particularly salient in the colonial context, where memory is turned back on the "official holders" and made to speak differently. Moreover, the French and English terms are not perfect equivalents—sometimes they overlap, sometimes they diverge. Beyond "survival," the unusual use of the suffix "ance" in the English term indicates a quality of action, a *practice*, as Vizenor discusses at length. This introduces an active, future-oriented connotation that appears, if anything, to be diametrically opposed to the idea of (French Canadian) stagnation. And yet, even in the French Canadian context, *survivance* is described as "going beyond the inertia of the present toward the future" (Dumont 1993: 236). For all of these reasons, I consider *survivance* to be a translational concept that is particularly relevant to issues surrounding cultural memory in Quebec.

Sites, Frames and Networks of Memory

Pierre Nora introduced the concept of *lieux de mémoire* to account for what he saw as a rupture with history. He described these sites of memory as being both immediately available to concrete sensory experience but also susceptible to the most abstract elaborations. Even a material site, an archive, for example, only becomes a *lieu de mémoire* when the imagination has invested it with symbolic meaning. For Nora, museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, monuments, sanctuaries, and so on, are marks of a deritualized society that relies on maintaining a connection to the past, a connection to memories and traditions that once had social meaning but that have been "torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded" (1989: 12). But if Nora was primarily concerned with how memory sites serve to block the work of forgetting, he also insisted on the idea that *lieux de mémoire* "only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications" (ibid. 19). A *lieu de mémoire* is both a site of excess closed upon itself, but also forever open to the full range of its possible significations—an object *mise en abyme* (ibid. 20).

Though Nora's influential *Lieux de mémoire* (1984-1992) has been criticized for its nostalgic bent and, especially, its exclusive focus on national history, the concept itself, the idea that memory sites are not only open to continual re-iterations but also constructed and reconstructed through them, remains pertinent.[12] This dynamic, generative dimension of *lieux de mémoire* is not incompatible with current approaches in memory studies that seek to go beyond what Astrid Erll refers to as the "container-culture" model. As Erll observes, the container model is not only "ideologically suspect" but also "epistemologically flawed," because it fails to account for a range of mnemonic phenomena whose main frameworks of cultural memory are not defined by territory, ethnicity or nationality—there are also social classes, generations, religious communities, subcultures, global diasporas and *lieux de mémoire* arising from travel,

[12] The scholarship inspired by Nora's work made memory a key concept of academic discourse across various disciplines (Erll 2011a: 2), but the "memory boom" can also be traced to the convergence of a number of other factors, starting in the late 1970s: the rise of postmodern approaches seeking to problematize history (Radstone 2000), the rise of identity politics (Klein 2000, Kansteiner 2002), an increased interest in Holocaust studies and trauma studies (Caruth 1996, Greenspan 1998), the emergence of a hyper-mediated culture of commemoration (Hoskins 2004), the emergence of oral history (Thompson 1978, Frisch 1990; Portelli 1979) and subsequent interest in the testimony and transmission of trauma, and postcolonial reinterpretations of history, among others (Kilbourn and Ty 2013: 17).

trade, war, and colonialism (2011a: 8). Erll proposes to conceive transcultural memory as "the incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms, and practices of memory, their continual 'travels' and ongoing transformations through time and space, across social, linguistic and political borders" (Erll ibid. 11). Instead of tracing a community's cultural *roots*, we should study memory by reconstructing its *routes* (ibid.).

This shift in focus gives rise to apparently diverging concepts of cultural memory—site- and source-based memory, on the one hand, versus travelling, transcultural and transnational memory, on the other. But taken together, these two strands suggest a multitude of "re-" and "trans"-membering possibilities that, along with their "post"-membering effects, are arguably part of the same complex phenomenon, one that can be best described as *translational.* Translation, like memory, entails both meaning-preserving and meaning-making (Brownlie 2016). Translation, like memory, can seek to be faithful to an originating source but it also implies movement, change and sometimes conflict. A translational perspective indeed highlights how Nora's *lieu de mémoire*, much like Walter Benjamin's "afterlife," is based on a dynamic of continuity through transformation: "Translation passes through continua of transformation, not abstract ideas of identity or similarity" (Benjamin 1999: 70).

Social and medial frameworks also play a crucial role in these re- and trans-membering processes. Maurice Halbwachs' (1925) concept of collective memory was based on the idea that all individual memory has a collective, social dimension. Individual memory is shaped through "social frameworks" (*cadres de mémoire*): "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories" (1992: 28).[13] Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann, for their part, emphasize the cultural dimension of collective memory. Cultural memory is "exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms, that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures, are stable and situation-transcendent" (Jan Assmann 2008: 111). However, even in these formalized, enduring forms, the

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[13] As Alon Confino notes, memory studies scholars often jump "some fifty years" from Halbwachs straight to Pierre Nora's (1984–1992) *Lieux de mémoire* (Confino 2008: 79). But the intervening history of mentalities of the Annales School is an important link between Halbwachs and and Nora's work in the 1980s and 1990s (ibid.). Part of the re-emergence of the memory question in the 1980s was led by third-generation *Annalistes* such as Jacques Le Goff (1988) (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011: 23). The relative invisibility of the concept of "collective memory" in the 1950s through the 1970s might best be regarded as a latency inscribed in Halbwachs' past relations with Bloch and Febvre, with World War 2 and the Holocaust also being crucial factors. The horrors of the Holocaust became known only gradually, largely through broader media diffusion and translation (see Seidman 2006). Halbwachs himself was deported to Buchenwald where he died in 1945. Jorge Semprún, a student of Halbwachs also interned at Buchenwald, writes about their exchanges there in his book *L'écriture ou la vie* (1994).

past is not “preserved” but rather is *cast* in symbols through myths, writings, performances, and continually “illuminating a changing present” (ibid. 113). Cultural memory, in other words, is mediated, emerging at the junction between the individual and the collective, between culture understood as “a subjective category of meanings contained in people’s minds” and culture conceived as a repertoire of “publicly available symbols objectified in society” (Olick 1999: 336).

As Erll and Rigney argue, it is through medial processes that meanings and memories enter and circulate within the public arena and *become* collective (2012: 2). Media of all sorts—spoken language, books, photos, films, and so on—shape experience and memory, both as instruments for sense-making (mediating between the individual and the world) and as agents of networking (mediating between individuals and groups) (ibid. 1). Bolter and Grusin’s concept of remediation adds a third factor—the mediation of mediation (1999: 55). Indeed, *lieux de mémoire* trigger individual memories that depend on prior knowledge of memory sites through exposure to their previous mediations (Erll 2012: 110–111). Just as sites of memory do not remember by themselves (Rothberg 2010: 8), ideas, practices and memory do not circulate by themselves. An idea or practice “requires a force to fetch it, seize upon it for its own motives, move it, and often transform it” (Latour, cited in Gal 2015: 231). This entails going beyond asking “what is the meaning of a phenomenon—the symbol, the text, the action, the *other*—to asking what these things mean to *me*” (Maitland 2017: 138). It entails, in other words, translation. As Sarah Maitland observes:

> Difference is everywhere and we must reach outwards to engage with it, in an attempt to encapsulate that which we do not know within terms that we *do.* This outward-facing gesture of incorporation transforms the objects of translation irrevocably. But it also has the effect of causing us to question who we are and what it means to understand along the way. (2017: 27–28)

Memory processes considered as translational phenomena encompass all of these layers of complexity, along with the various transformational processes they engender.

Translation and Memory in Quebec

When asked in a 2002 interview what Quebec's official motto *Je me souviens*[14] means, Robert Lepage answered that nobody really knows:

> Is it the past? Is it a vengeance? Is it Quebec saying "I will remember what has been done to me?" Does it mean, Je me Souviens in the sense, "I remember that I am different, I remember my language: I'm in a society where its cultural expression, its first cultural expression which is French, is being forgotten?" So do I have to be reminded that I have to not forget this language? It means many things, Je me Souviens. It is about solving the past [...]. So much of Quebec is about remembering. (cited in Dundjerović 2003: 18)

Memory is often valorized where identity is problematized. Vulnerable groups are driven to defend and protect their cultural memory, their *lieux de mémoire*, because, as Nora writes, "without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away" (1989: 12). Like memory and translation, identity formation is a meaning-making process. Identity is based on a continuity with past moments or points of origin that are continually renewed and re-enacted in the present and in new contexts. Identities, like memories, are shaped by the "frames" or "communicative genres" of everyday interaction related to traditions, themes and affective ties that bind families, groups and generations (Jan Assmann 2008: 111), as well as by "objectivized" culture—the texts, images, rites, buildings, monuments, cities and so forth that form the basis for a group's "structure of knowledge," provide a sense of unity, and allow the group to reproduce its identity over time (Jan Assmann 1995: 128). These conceptions of individual, collective and cultural identity are premised on the idea that memories take shape in and are tied to particular groups, from smaller groups based on family or profession to larger ones based on religion, ethnicity, class and nationality—communities distinguished "not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 2006: 6).

The survival of cultural memory and identity for any group depends on concrete social, economic and political factors, but also on these imaginings and re-imaginings. Though operating mostly on a symbolic level, these creative transformations are intrinsic to any act or process of memory or translation. Examining these re-imagining processes can thus shed light, in turn, on the social, economic and political circumstances that make them possible (or not) and on the concrete effects they have within, between and across different communities.

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[14] The use of *Je me souviens* dates to the construction of Quebec's Parliament Building (1877-1886). Architect Eugène-Étienne Taché chose to adorn the main entrance of the building with the coat of arms assigned by Queen Victoria in 1868, to which he added a motto of his own invention (though its origins are disputed). The motto regained prominence in 1978 when the recently elected Parti Québécois government (1976) chose it to replace the *La belle province* slogan on the province's automobile license plates (Deschênes 2007: n.p.).

On the global stage, while national models based on shared language, ethnicity and territory are far from being eclipsed, the current context of mass migrations and increased contact between different cultures has many memory studies scholars now gravitating towards concepts of transcultural and transnational memory. Likewise, the idea of identity being based on language or ethnicity has come to seem passé as citizens are perceived and described more and more as in a state of permanent self-translation (Meylaerts 2006: 1).[15] While these developments challenge national discourses and monolingual paradigms, in Quebec, where centre-margin divisions and power dynamics are complicated by Quebec's status as a French-language minority in North America, where Indigenous Peoples struggle to maintain connections to their millennia-old languages and traditions, and where migrant and diasporic communities remain attached to their own languages, places of origin and sources of cultural memory, intercultural dialogue takes on a unique aspect that calls for innovative approaches to theorizing and studying its various manifestations.[16]

Destin inachevé, traduction inachevée

French Canadian *survivance* has, for some, come to be associated with a "cultural fatigue"[17] and melancholic preoccupation with Quebec's unfulfilled destiny as a nation (Maclure 2000).[18] This "eternal lament" of unfulfilled destiny (Létourneau 1998: 43)[19] is illuminated in a new way when brought into dialogue with Sherry Simon's observations on the transitory and incomplete nature

[15] But as translation scholar Michael Cronin observed in 2006, "There are now more nation-states than at any other time in the world's history. In one recent estimate there are around 200 nation-states and approximately 2000 'nation peoples' who experience various degrees of displacement, persecution and political uncertainty [...] it is unlikely that small or new nations, which have often with great difficulty freed themselves from a former colonial presence, will be particularly impressed by being told that the notion of nation is outdated and reactionary" (2006: 14).
[16] In Quebec scholarship, distinctions are often made between interculturalism and the Canadian federal model of multiculturalism, seen by some to reduce the French language to its official status, divorcing it from any cultural signification (Rocher 1973). For Gérard Bouchard, the distinction also hinges on the language issue (2012). I use these terms somewhat interchangeably, depending on the context and citation. Transculturalism is a concept developed primarily in literary and cultural studies, which will be addressed later.
[17] Hubert Aquin writes: "French Canada is in a state of cultural fatigue, and because it is invariably tired (*fatigué*), it becomes tiresome (*fatiguant*)" (1962: 314).
[18] Quebec has held two referendums on sovereignty, and a large percentage of Quebecers have shown support for different forms of sovereignty-association with Canada. In the first referendum (1980) the "no" side won by 59.56% to 40.44%. In the second (1995), the "no" side won by an even narrower margin of 50.58% to 49.42%. Though Quebec's sovereignist aspirations have been on the decline in recent years, language is still a central identitary reference for French-speaking Quebecers, given the threatened status of French as a minority language within Canada and North America.
[19] Quebec's "unfulfilled destiny" (*destin inachevé*) is also associated with metaphors of stagnation and darkness: childhood, winter, hibernation, obscurity, etc. (Maclure 2000).

of identity and translation. Drawing on Mary Louise Pratt's (1992) concept of the "contact zone," Simon argues that these zones of negotiation, exchange and cultural creation not only express the ephemeral nature of identity processes but also produce "translational cultures" (Simon 1999: 39–40). As contemporary national cultures become increasingly plural, mixed codes and other forms of "incomplete translation" figure evermore prominently in their literatures (Simon 1996: 161). The notion of an unfulfilled destiny is mirrored in the idea of incomplete translation: both call into question the very finality of identity and translation, the reassurance of its promised closure (ibid. 135):

> Translation might once have been considered the instrument through which a "complete picture," an unbroken chain of tradition and a common contemporary culture, might have been achieved; today it inevitably partakes of the incompleteness of cultural belonging. The way we imagine translation is changed by the fact that the worlds which it seeks to bridge are already to some extent informed by plurality, are *already* saturated with a logic of translation. (ibid. 165)

This "saturation" of translation from within is nowhere more evident than in Quebec, where a heightened awareness of language, a *surconscience linguistique* (Gauvin 2000: 8), and a prevalent heterolingualism permeates its diverse languages and literatures. Quebec's translational culture thus emerges from a context in which *survivance*, a concept often associated with a nostalgic, inward- and backward-looking (national) conservatism, collides with alternative *survivances* and gives rise to more complex multidirectional phenomena that encompass incompleteness and exile, but also resistance, regeneration and openness to new configurations. It is no doubt the persistence of cultural memory—of different, converging and diverging cultural memories—that serves as the "bridge of sorts"[20] between the many solitudes that inhabit Quebec's literatures, from the mixing and subversion of the historically unequal diglossic relations between French and English, to the recurring figure of the "inner stranger" (Harel 1989; Moisan and Hildebrand 2001), the *écritures migrantes* that redefined Quebec's literary landscape

[20] This expression is John Glassco's (1970). The bridge metaphor was made popular amongst a group of translators associated with the bilingual poetry journal *ellipse* (est. 1969). It also recalls the familiar concept of Canada's "two solitudes" (based on Hugh Maclennan's 1945 book of the same title). As Kathy Mezei notes, the bridge metaphor attempts to model Canadian/Quebec cultural positions in binary terms that mirror the traditional and hierarchical dichotomies of translation (Mezei 2008: 33). As both Mezei and Sherry Simon have remarked, the translation bridge was interpreted by many Québécois as a barrier to sovereignty. From the 1960s to the 1990s, the "traffic seemed weighted towards Anglophone agendas and domination" (Mezei 2008: 30; see also Simon 1988: 66). The "act of translation could therefore also be seen as cultural betrayal, appropriation and colonization, and the normative concepts of transference and equivalence as detrimental to the preservation of a distinct identity" (Mezei ibid.).

in the 1980s, and the on-going survival, revival and renaissance of Indigenous languages, literatures and traditions.

Thesis Overview

My thesis is structured along three angles of analysis, each of which focuses on a different facet of memory and translation. The first, TRANSLATION AS REWRITING, examines Michèle Lalonde's 1968 Quiet-Revolution-era poem "Speak White," situating it as a site of national memory and identity and tracing its afterlives in intra- and interlingual and intersemiotic translations and adaptations. My analysis will show how the poem is already infused with transcultural memory and (re)constructed as a memory site through the interplay of self-other relations and images that complicate the notion of fidelity to a self-contained, originating source. Specifically, I focus on two English translations of "Speak White" that attempt to reconstruct the poem's subversive diglossia; Marco Micone's 1989 poem "Speak What," as a rewriting that takes the form of serious parody; two adaptations produced during the 2012 Quebec Student Strike, "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque"; and the remediation of "Speak White" in Robert Lepage's *887*, a theatrical production that introduces its own layers of intertemporal, intermedial and interlingual complexity. These recreations reveal how a *lieu de mémoire* can be simultaneously anchored or re-anchored in the past while also being renewed or rerouted through translation in the present across languages, cultures, media and time.

My second angle of analysis centers on TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY. The concept of counter-memory is often linked to subordinated memory, suppressed histories, and the subversion of dominant narratives and discourses (Foucault 1977). This chapter develops the idea of counter-memory as a translational phenomenon based on re-identification and retemporalization—the construction of alternative collective references that are both past- and future-oriented, through cultural borrowing and transfer. I will first discuss the emergence of alternative sites, frames and networks of memory in post-Quiet-Revolution Quebec (avant-garde, feminist, Black, queer, migrant) to then concentrate on Quebec's counter-cultural movement and, in particular, the periodical *Mainmise* (1970–1978) as a locus of counter-cultural memory and translation. My analysis will examine how, through different forms of interlingual and cultural translation, *Mainmise* served as a vehicle of cultural transfer and contributed to building a new repertoire of cultural references—a counter-memory—for a new, alternative imagined

community, but one that was simultaneously retethered to a distinctly francophone Québécois memory and identity.

The third chapter explores TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION in the writings and practices of Indigenous writers and artists in Quebec. Since Indigenous memory and identity precede and extend beyond the territorial and imaginary boundaries of Quebec, my approach here will be to incorporate Indigenous scholarship and perspectives beyond the Quebec context, while examining works by Indigenous writers who are based in Quebec, integrate Indigenous, French (and sometimes English) languages in their writing, and engage with non-Indigenous Québécois scholarship and cultural references. I will examine the reclaiming of Indigenous memory through linguistic and cultural self-translation, with a particular emphasis on the trajectories and works of Cree-Algonquin writer Bernard Assiniwi and Innu poet Joséphine Bacon. My analysis will focus on Assiniwi's three-volume *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas Canada* (1973–1974) and on Bacon's early research-translation collaborations with ethnologists José Mailhot, Rémi Savard and Sylvie Vincent. Self-translation, as understood here (individually and collectively), works both with and against ethnographic representation to recentre Indigenous perspectives and reclaim Indigenous memory and identity.

It should be noted, from the outset, that there is considerable overlap between these three angles of analysis. While each chapter foregrounds national, migrant and Indigenous memory respectively, the inevitable interplay between these identitary frameworks is indeed one of the overriding themes of this thesis. The bridges and borders that join and divide them are in constant mutation. Before delving into specific examples, the following chapter will provide a brief overview of the origins and evolution of the *survivance* concept and paradigm.

CHAPTER TWO: *SURVIVANCES*

Survivances

The concept of *survivance* is germane to my exploration of the translation of cultural memory. Like both memory and translation, it is an identitary paradigm and mechanism for sense-making that partakes of a paradox. It is distinguished not by linear before-and-after relations but, rather, by a cyclical or, more precisely, autopoietic unfolding, wherein sameness and difference, continuity and transformation are in constant tension. The concept of *survivance*, as we will see, is complex and enigmatic, having been explored across a range of disparate traditions, from the translation theories embedded in Walter Benjamin's and Jacques Derrida's writings, to the very different forms it takes in French Canadian, migrant and Indigenous reflections on and affirmations of cultural memory and identity. The sources and contours of *survivance* are extremely varied, as are the particular histories that shape them, but the underlying dynamic is the same. *Survivance* points to an understanding one's "own tradition" being always, in a sense, in translation to oneself. It can be, depending on the context, both reassuring and destabilizing. It encompasses the always contested known and unknown, what might have been and what could be. It is thus not so much an ideal as an existential condition that manifests at different scales, from the infinitesimal nuances of linguistic meaning and ephemeral traces of individual memory to the deeper histories and symbolic traditions that form the basis for collective memory over time, across changing historical, social and cultural conditions that are also always in constant mutation.

The Afterlives of Translation

Two years before Maurice Halbwachs introduced the concept of the social frameworks of collective memory in *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), Walter Benjamin published his translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens* (1923), with its often-cited preface *Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers* ("The Task of the Translator").[21] Though Halbwachs never addressed the

[21] Though current use of the term "collective memory" is largely traced to Halbwachs' *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), the concept originated in a historical context that some scholars have characterized as a late-19th-century memory crisis: "During a period in which science and administration were reaching a previously unimaginable apogee, writers like Henri Bergson, Marcel Proust and Freud, among many others [...] inquired into the complex dimensions that lay beneath this modern veneer of rationality and control. The principal repository of

question of language in depth, he did consider it as constituting “the most elementary and the stable framework of collective memory” (1992: 45). He describes the aphasic as “a man in a foreign country who does not speak the language but knows the history of this country and has not forgotten his own history” (ibid. 43). Benjamin’s translator, like Halbwachs’ aphasic, also seems to be operating in a realm beyond language, working instead in a “pure language” or, at least, remaining outside of “the center of the language forest” looking in (1996: 258). Benjamin’s famous essay focuses on the continuing life of art in translation, through which the “original attains its latest, continually renewed, and most complete unfolding” (ibid. 255). The task of the translator consists in finding the intention toward the target language, which produces an echo of the original through a “vital connection” to it: the translation “issues from the original—not so much from its life as from its afterlife” (ibid. 258).

But Benjamin’s concept of translation as the afterlife of a work already signals the complex questions that can emerge at the intersection of memory and translation. A product of translation itself, the English term has enjoyed its own not-undisputed afterlife. According to Caroline Disler, the term *Überleben* meaning “survival” appears only once (in quotes) in *Die Aufgabe*. In all subsequent references to this concept, Benjamin uses the term *Fortleben* (2011: 185):[22]

> *Fortleben* is transformation and renewal of the living. [...] There has been no death, no damage, no catastrophe to the original. There is no afterlife. There is no survival. Neither is there a simple continuation of the original that was. There is *Fortleben*, metamorphosis, evolution, transformation, renewal, renovation, supplementation. (ibid. 191)

In its *Fortleben*, “the original itself actually changes” (ibid. 192), implying that it cannot be reduced to either survival or change but entails some combination of the two. The “original” here can be understood as a *lieu de mémoire* that is reconstituted through translation, as a site that

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these seething wellsprings: memory” (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy 2011: 10–11). Halbwachs’ ideas took shape in this context, primarily under the influence of Émile Durkheim and Henri Bergson (ibid. 22–23).

[22] According to Disler, Benjamin could have chosen the more transparent *Nachleben* if he had wanted to indicate “another life after” the (life of) the original (2011: 189). As St-Louis Savoie notes (2012: 9), the term *Nachleben* was used in a similar way by art historian Aby Warburg, studied by Georges Didi-Huberman in *L’Image survivante. Histoire de l’art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (2002), to evoke the “tenacity of forms over time” and the “indestructibility of traces.” For more on Warburg’s *Mnemosyne Atlas* (1866–1929) from a memory studies perspective, see Astrid Erll (2011b).

both constitutes and is constituted by memory. By shifting emphasis from self-containment to a "relational dynamic perpetually in the process of alteration" (Steinhäuser and Macdonald 2018: 2), Benjamin reinserts the original "into the longue durée of historical networks of re-iteration" (ibid. 3). As Samuel Weber observes, the work is "rendered 'present' by expending itself, that is, by opening itself to a movement of iteration in which it is constantly altered" (2008: 66). The singular use of *Überleben* introduces the nuance of that which comes after, but also of "a life that is 'after' itself—constantly in pursuit of what it will never be" (ibid. 67).

In their French translation of *Die Aufgabe*, Lamy and Nouss give equal weight to both *Überleben* and *Fortleben*, differentiating between *survie* (*Überleben*), which applies to the original as such, and *survivance* (*Fortleben*), which applies to the original as extended in translation (Disler 2011: 202). In its its *survivance*, "which would not merit this name if it was only a mutation and regeneration of the living, the original undergoes a transformation" (Lamy and Nouss 1997: 18). Derrida translated *Fortleben* in French as *survie* (sur-vival), specifying that *Fortleben* is "la survie comme continuation de la vie plutôt que comme vie postmortem" (sur-vival as continuation of life rather than as life post mortem) (Derrida 1985: 178). His interpretation of this *survie* included far more than a continuation of the life that was (Disler 2011: 203). It was also based, according to Disler, on the idea of *Aufgabe* as "duty of the translator, duty of an inheritor" (ibid.), emphasizing the role of translation in the preservation and transmission of memory:

> [Benjamin] names the subject of translation, as an indebted subject, obligated by a duty, already in the position of heir, entered as survivor in a genealogy, as survivor or agent of sur-vival [...]. Such sur-vival gives more of life, more than a surviving. The work does not simply live longer, it lives more and better, beyond the means of its author. (Derrida 1985: 179)

Derrida also foregrounds Benjamin's unusual conception of "translatability" and its connection to *Fortleben* (Disler 2011: 204). In his essay "Living On. Borderlines," he links the "sur-" to the overcoming of loss through translation:

> *Übersetzung* and "translation" overcome, equivocally, in the course of an equivocal combat, the loss of an object. A text lives only if it lives *on* [*sur-vit*], and it lives *on* only if it is *at once* translatable *and* untranslatable. [...] Totally translatable, it disappears as a text, as writing, as a body of language [*langue*]. Totally untranslatable, even within what is believed to be one language, it dies immediately. (Derrida 1979: 102–103)

In *La bête et le souverain* (2008), translated as *The Beast and the Sovereign* (2011), Derrida returns once again to the notion of sur-vival, specifically choosing the term *survivance* over the active infinitive "to survive" or the substantive "survival":

> Survivance [is] a survival that is neither life nor death pure and simple, a sense that is not thinkable on the basis of the opposition between life and death, a survival that is not, in spite of the apparent grammar of the formation of the word (*überleben* or *fortleben,* living on or to survive, survival) [...] *above* life. (Derrida 2011: 130–131)

Derrida extends the concept of *survivance* to phenomena that have an inherent capacity for continuity (in their iterability, translatability), from texts, books, artworks and archives to "everything from which the tissue of living experience is woven" (ibid. 132). Like Benjamin, he reconfigures the relation between original and translation to emphasize the possibility of translation as an intrinsic trait of the original work, independent of any particular context of realization (Steinhäuser and Macdonald 2018: 2). Even before the translator transforms it, the source text is already in the process of transformation, taking on new forms and meanings in new times and places (Maitland 2017: 112). Simply put, translations "do not allow the 'original' to live on, but *show that* the original lives on" (Chapman 2016: 14).[23]

Drawing on Benjamin and Derrida, Bella Brodzki explores translation as a "redemptive mode" that ensures the survival, the living on, of an individual text or cultural narrative (2007: 1). But translation as *survivance*, whether in the sense of *Überleben* (outliving, outlasting) or *Forteleben* (living on, sur-viving), also inscribes the original within a "scene of inheritance" that implies an infusion or transfusion of otherness (ibid. 2). In translation, remnants and fragments are reclaimed and reconstituted through a "critical and dynamic displacement," an act of identification that "elicits what might otherwise remain recessed or unarticulated, enabling the source text to live beyond itself, to exceed its own limitations" (ibid.)

The notion of reclaimed and reconstituted memory through displacement is central to

[23] In a similar vein, Daniele Monticelli links Juri Lotman's conception of dialogue (or translation of the untranslatable) and Derrida's concept of *différance*: both "present us with a process of mediation which maintains plurality and numerousness, is not reducible to stable or definitive sublation/acquisition and frustrates the pretence of self-identity by constantly dislocating and counteracting any attempts at semiotic closure" (2012: 332). The two main properties of Lotmanian translation in cases of untranslatability are: "(1) inexhaustibility: since the untranslated residue is never eliminated, new and unpredictable texts are always emerging in the process of translation, thus deferring the establishment of a final, definitive text; and (2) irreversibility: if we translate the text back, or, in other words, if we cross the boundary in the other direction, we never regain the original text, but always obtain a new one" (ibid. 333).

Janine Altounian's understanding of translation as *survivance.* Altounian's work on the Armenian Genocide focuses on the intergenerational transmission of traumatic memory through its reception and integration (2000, 2005, 2009). For Altounian, it is the act of mediation itself that makes the speaking and psychological integration of trauma possible, as reflected in the many forms this often takes, from fictionalization (Semprún 1994) or writing in a second language (Appelfeld 1980), to therapeutic testimony (Felman and Laub 1992), oral history (Portelli 1997), humour (Foer 2002), and, indeed, translation (Seidman 2006; Wolf 2016; Boase-Beier et al. 2017). As oral historian Alessandro Portelli writes, stories "are the tools we need not just to survive, but to overcome. They are a protection that allows us to save ourselves, but also active instruments for changing the world—because there is power in words. They are made of air but leave their mark" (1997: 40).

Altounian's concept of translation as *survivance* also recalls Mariane Hirsch's (2001) concept of post-memory, the traumatic memory inherited by subsequent generations, and the idea of secondary witnessing as a form of memory-bearing:

> Bearing witness becomes contingent on reception, and the receiver of the testimony is integral in its realization. Hence the status of the secondary witness, the one who, despite not having first-hand knowledge of the original events, becomes a necessary and active figure in the restitution, mediation and transmission of memory. (Deane-Cox 2013: 311)

As Sharon Deane-Cox argues, the quandary of speaking the ineffable that attends trauma narratives is further compounded in translation (2013: 309). While the secondary witness "listens to the testimony with empathy and helps to record, store and transmit it" (Assmann 2006: 269), the translator's role also entails reconstructing and representing the testimony (Deane-Cox 2013: 322). In translation, as in oral history and testimony, "remembering is by its very nature a dialogical process" (High and Little 2014: 4–5). These different forms of mediation can contribute to preserving memory, serving as "a necessary and revelatory defence against forgetting" (Deane-Cox 2013: 322).

The concept of *survivance* encapsulates the complex ways that scholars across disciplines have attempted to articulate and interpret the afterlives of translation. *Survivance*, conceived as a translational phenomenon, foregrounds the double movement of displacement and integration, as well as the tension between "remembering to never forget" and "remembering to overcome," between the preservation of the past and an orientation towards the future (Margalit 2002;

Assmann 2011). These past- and future-oriented aspects of cultural memory are defining features of the French Canadian concept of *survivance*.

French Canadian *survivance*

> But *survivance* is not only the monotonous flow of existence. Inevitably, it is also animated by the need to go beyond, even as a diversion. How can one survive without going beyond the inertia of the present toward the future, without appealing to utopia? How can one survive without invoking the past, since a nation, which is above all a culture, is always linked to a heritage? This double recourse to hope and memory is a justification. It is also a guarantee of duration. Because the result, through the power of writing, is the edification of a reference that makes a people present to history. (Dumont 1993: 236)

Rather than looking to myth to forge utopias in the present, Quebec's historians have often mythologized the past in a quest for utopic origins. Lionel Groulx portrayed *l'enfance d'un peuple* as a Divine persecution that instilled virtue:

> God, with his divine leaven, began to mold a first generation. He sometimes unleashed upon them great wars and persecutions, devastating storms. He visited, upon the childhood of a people, dark moments and superhuman toil. And through their willful resilience, strained and stirred by heroism, their souls were uplifted, and the highest virtues took root within them. (Groulx 1919: 180, cited in Dumont 1993: 57)

Described by Fernand Dumont as the "ultimate consummation of myth" (ibid.), these pre-Conquest struggles cannot be easily reduced to a defining moment. So where does Quebec's history begin? For many, it begins with The Conquest itself (see Maclure 2000), with the shattering of the European dream of New France and the birth of a nation that seemed less like a beginning (*commencment*) than an end (*avortement*) (Dumont 1993: 55).[24]

But the nation slowly took shape. Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763), the small population of *Canadiens*[25] was quickly resigned to surviving under the new British regime, sowing the seeds for what would later become a national vocation in the wake of the

[24] The Conquest is most concretely associated with the British defeat of the armies of New France on the Plains of Abraham (1759), a military defeat that, as Jocelyn Létourneau has observed, is commemorated in Quebec the way other nations commemorate military victories (Beauchemin, Létourneau and Lamy 2016).

[25] The term "*Canadien*" in French originally referred exclusively to French-speaking Canadians. It came to be used without the qualifier to refer to (English) Canadians, thereafter necessitating the addition of "French" to refer to francophone Canadians. As Jean Morisset remarks: "The success of this transfer and usurpation is hardly contested, since the *Canadiens*, through mental alienation and linguistic mimesis, have come to refer to themselves as 'French Canadians.'" (2018: 36).

assimilationist Durham Report (1839)—one of *survivance*.[26] French Canadian *survivance* espoused a fidelity to origins through the preservation of French language, culture and traditions, along with an avowed attachment to family, rural life and the Catholic Church. Though the concept is most often associated with resistance to assimilation, Dumont proposed a slightly different interpretation: the *survivance* paradigm was never so much a protest against submission and assimilation as it was the French Canadians' "slow and subtle appropriation of the image projected onto them by the *other*" (1993: 138). The *Canadiens*, he writes, were in a sense compelled to construct a national identity against the backdrop of their situation as a colonized people and in response to the image projected on them by their colonizers:

> By dint of repeating the same arguments to convince their conquerors of the pertinence of their existence as a society, French Canadians ended up creating their own *raisons d'être.* It is important to not forget this first level of historical consciousness. Others would be superimposed on it over time. But this foundational layer was never abandoned. In times of uncertainty, French Canadians have returned to it time and again to reaffirm not only their right to survive, but also to reclaim the most durable representation of their identity. (ibid.)

According to Dumont, the French Canadian notion of *survivance* was thus not only a matter of fidelity to origins, a continual return to a seemingly stable source, but also a transformational process arising in relation to alterity, an *othering* that was partly imposed by the colonizer, partly reappropriated and given new meaning in a quest to preserve a national identity. But a national consciousness does not inevitably lead to nationalism, to the nation being the primary reference for the group. The latter emerged in Quebec (French Canada) in the second half of the 19th century. While the idea of nation was certainly present in the ideologies that inspired the Patriots, for example, it was not the main driver of the movement.[27] As Bouchard observes, the Patriots' nationalist sentiment was reinforced by references to the Enlightenment and the American Revolution:

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[26] According to Éric Bédard, the concept of *survivance* is often traced to François-Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* (1945–1952): "May the [French] Canadians remain faithful to themselves, remain wise and persevering and refuse to be seduced by the glitter of social and political innovations. [...] Part of our strength comes from our traditions" (Garneau, cited in Bédard 2017: 38–39). Both Fernand Dumont and Gérard Bouchard further developed the concept: Dumont as a figure of style and descriptive category, Bouchard as a key concept characterizing the national culture paradigm that prevailed from 1840 to 1940 (Bédard 2017: 225). It is also Dumont who introduced the metaphor "l'hiver de la survivance" (ibid. 41).

[27] In 1837 and 1838, French Canadian militants in Lower Canada took up arms against the British Crown. Though the uprising and its political leader Louis-Joseph Papineau are remembered as nationalist symbols, the Patriot Rebellions were also inspired by a broader anti-clerical, pro-republican movement.

> Patriote thinking defined a form of national self-affirmation that was largely free of ethnic references; it was open to all religions, to all *races*, and conformed to their idea of a society of the Americas. The movement also repudiated slavery, defended Jews in the 1830s, called for immigration from all countries, established the equality of churches before the law, and declared that the society to be emancipated was neither French, nor English, nor American but that its foundations would above all be its institutions. (2008: 75)[28]

The nation-building in Quebec began in earnest once all political means had failed. As of 1842, the publication *Les Mélanges religieux* began to sing an increasingly familiar refrain:

> It is not the borders nor even the laws or political and civil administrations that make a nationality. It is a religion, a language, a national character, in a word; and if we have any value in the eyes of English politicians, rest assured it is because we are Catholic and we speak French. (cited in Dumont 1993: 227)

The national pillars of religion, language and family were taking hold. They would soon be "systematized" by Mgr Louis-François Laflèche in a series of articles published in *Le Journal de Trois-Rivières*: The family is "the smaller version of the nation; and the nation is the larger version of the family," and a nation is based on "the mother tongue, the faith of ancestors, the mores, customs and habits formed in the family" (cited in Dumont 1993: 226–227).

While the mid-19th century saw a renewed interest in ideas that inspired the Patriots, this would quickly end in a political stalemate and a falling back on tradition. As noted in the above citation, this double "recourse to hope and memory" entailed the edification of a collective reference that sought to reconstruct the past in order to ensure the nation's survival into the future (Dumont 1993: 236). But as it was grounded in a utopic vision of the past, it also gave rise to a utopic vision of the future—one that would have to, from then on, either faithfully confirm the French Canadian original character or attempt to correct what went wrong, to identify and overcome the obstacles that prevented the nation from achieving its destiny (ibid. 237–238). After a century of *survivance*, the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, regarded by some as a reconquest or refoundation, would not see the fulfillment of this French Canadian destiny. On the contrary, new historical paradigms emerged that sought to either make a clean break with Quebec's past or inscribe its story in the broader narrative of developing modern societies. Though the first paradigm was based on rupture and the second on continuity, both

[28] It is also worth noting that the Anglo-Quebecer Robert Nelson was the president of the short-lived Republic of Lower Canada (i.e. Quebec) and the author of the latter's Declaration of Independence: *Déclaration d'indépendance du Bas-Canada* (1838).

interpretations in effect effaced this long history by either reducing it to myth or neutralizing its specificity.[29]

We are thus reminded, once again, of the tension between rupture and continuity that is not only an intrinsic feature of both memory and translation but also often at the heart of Quebec's perennial identity crisis. If one regards French Canadian *survivance* as a process of continuity through transformation rather than a stagnant preservation of the past, the different forms this may take, either in Quebec or any other context, become apparent.[30] As is the case with Benjamin's *Fortleben* or Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, there is no death or survival in French Canadian *survivance*, no "simple continuation of the original that was" but, rather, the ongoing renewal of a source that is recreated in the process. Dominique Garand has described, in literary terms, the *reprise* and *déplacement* of symbolic motifs that have served as unifying references in Québécois culture. Québécois history and literature have restored the origins of community, saving it from oblivion (2004: 15) while also subverting myth, "creating a historicity that allows individuals to become subjects by liberating themselves from the weight of repetition" (ibid. 35). We see the same dialectic tension in Monique LaRue's *Arpenteurs* and *navigateurs* (1996), as well as in Lise Gauvin's *Aventuriers* and *sédentaires* (2014).[31] The juxtaposition of these figures has many precedents in Québécois literature, for example in the quarrel between the so-called "regionalists" and "exotics," in Louis Hémon's iconic *Maria Chapdelaine* (1913), or even earlier

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[29] According to Ronald Rudin (1997), historical writing in the first seven decades of the 20th century was dominated in Quebec by individuals with different views emphasizing the distinctiveness of Quebec's history (e.g. Lionel Groulx). As of the 1970s, the field came to be dominated by a new generation of historians (e.g. Paul-André Linteau, Jean-Claude Robert, Normand Séguin). The revisionists insisted that French-speaking Québécois were a people with a "normal" past and downplayed aspects of Quebec's history that might have placed it outside the mainstream (e.g. influence of the Catholic Church, resistance to capitalism). Revisionists explained Quebec's history with reference to structural developments taking place across the Western world.

[30] Philippe Garigue has explored different aspects of the idea of *survivance* in the Québécois context through four angles of analysis: reaction, affirmation, stasis and innovation: "The main difference between *survivance* as stasis and *survivance* as innovation is the increased awareness of the existence of the group [...] Innovation, as awareness of the need for *survivance*, becomes the very process of transformation through adaptation of the group to the social, economic and political necessities that it encounters" (1963: 32).

[31] First presented at a conference at the Université de Montréal in 1996, LaRue's text sparked a controversy that was to become known as "l'affaire LaRue" (Moison and Hildebrand 2001: 294). In it, LaRue introduced a character who complained of immigrant writers being favoured by juries and not integrating the "web of references," "intertextual dynamics" or "imaginary spaces" specific to Québécois literature. LaRue's text was denounced by a number of critics who failed to distinguish between the character's opinion and the position that LaRue took herself against it, and defended by others who saw it as an attempt to critically engage with issues around memory, uncertainty, belonging and openness (ibid.)

in Jean-Charles Taché's *Forestiers et voyageurs* (1863).[32] But while Taché's travellers are portrayed as French Canadian ambassadors, a proud testament to the adventurous spirit of a *petit peuple* (1884: 5–6), Gauvin's adventurers, over a hundred years later, are navigating a "double coefficient of foreignness" (2014: 17). Looking both inward and outward, Gauvin's figures encounter the *étrangers du dedans* and find that they are also sometimes strangers to themselves.

Migrant *survivance*

Ces étrangers du dedans is the title of a book by Clément Moisan and Renate Hildebrand (2001), not Gauvin's expression, but it captures the notions of double foreignness and inner exile that she explores in this work (2014). The concept of exile in Québécois literature and culture has been commented on at length (Nepveu 1988; Harel 1989, 2005, 2006; Ouellet 2003). The theme of exile is indeed central to Fernand Dumont's work, from his writings on distance and memory to his many reflections on separation, rupture and cultural estrangement. These themes emerged from a broader Québécois context that made exile a leitmotif in itself. As Warren notes, "exile was in some ways the existential and lyrical obsession of an entire generation" (2001: 300). From poetry to fiction and song, exile became a cultural reference that infused the works of writers, artists and critics through a kind of osmosis (ibid.). This "habitable exile" accompanied a sense of dispossession that became a place of imaginary refuge in literature and other forms of cultural production.[33]

But the Québécois notion of exile was also historically shaped by migration. While the *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* had travelled throughout North America for generations, the 19th and early-20th centuries also saw a vast wave of emigrations. Between 1840 and 1930, nearly a million French Canadians left Quebec to seek opportunity in the United States and adapt the French Canadian concept of s*urvivance* to a transnational, migrant context. The majority settled in ethnic enclaves called "petits Canadas" or "little Canadas" (just as one speaks of "little Italys") in the industrial centres of New England (Warren 2016c: 77). The Franco-American immigrants maintained a "symbiotic" connection with Quebec (Quintal 1999), expressing their commitment to the idea of *survivance* though the preservation of Catholicism, the French

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[32] The "regionalism" debate polarized the Quebec literary milieu during the first three decades of the 20th century. See Hayward (2006).

[33] Exile and writing as refuge are important themes in Simon Harel's reflections on identity in Québécois and migrant literature (2005, 2006, 2016).

language and customs, and a prolific output of publications that relayed news back to Quebec (Lacroix 2018: 6). Between 1838 and 1937, some 275 French Canadian journals were launched in New England alone (Warren ibid. 75):

> Unlike other immigrant groups of the time, [the French Canadians] were able to maintain strong ties to Québec and frequently returned to their homeland, due to its proximity and ease of transport [...], thereby creating cultural enclaves that mirrored the life they had left behind, with French schools, French churches, and French social circles. As would be true for the experience of immigrants into Québec, however, transformation was inevitable. (McEwan 2016: 138)[34]

Like the United States, the territories that came to be known as Canada and Quebec were also plural, diverse and multilingual, as is evident in the long co-existence of multiple Indigenous and, much later, European settler and global diasporic languages and cultures. Writing in 1997, Jean Morisset described Métis leader Louis Riel (1844–1885) as embodying a complex, plural identity:

> A British subject, an American citizen, an individual enjoying a double nationality and a multiple identity—indistinguishably "Franco," "Métis," "*Canadien*" and "French-Indian"—as much a "Montrealer" as a "Nor'Wester"; a great voyager, having known New York, Washington, Chicago, Saint Paul and travelled extensively throughout the northern United States; an observer who participated in the great bison hunts and frequented all the future leaders of Canada; a fearless reader, speaker, teacher, polyglot, poet and visionary [...] Riel expressed a century too soon the multiculturalism and transculture that so many now embrace. (1997: 87–88)[35]

Morisset goes on to describe the Red River Settlement (1812–1870) as the locus of Riel's dream of a multinational, multicultural and plurilingual society, and the suppression of the Northwest Resistance and execution of Riel (1885) as the "second Conquest," which was followed, according to him, by the "third Conquest" in the 1970s, with the Canadian-Québécois James Bay usurpation of Indigenous lands in northern Quebec (2018: 278–279).[36] While the French

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[34] That said, many other immigrant groups (German, Italian, Russian, Scandinavian, Chinese, among others) also used their presses to shape institutions and preserve a relatively distinct cultural life within a fast-growing and fast-changing United States, both vindicating and challenging the idea of the American melting pot (Warren 2016c: 84–85).

[35] From the earliest years of French colonization, the *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois* or French Canadian "woodsmen" travelled extensively, establishing connections across diverse cultures, languages and social spheres. Denys Delâge notes that Pierre-Esprit Radisson (1636–1710), for example, spent his life among the French, Dutch, English, Iroquois, Great Lakes and Bay James Algonquins, Protestants and Catholics, imperial representatives and settlers, hunters, gatherers and farmers, merchants and aristocrats (2011: 7).

[36] Writing in 1869, Alexandre-Antonin Taché described the Red River Settlement as "a population of around 10,000 souls, speaking French, English, Celtic, Saulteaux, Cree, etc.," without, however, mentioning the *canayen* (French Canadian) and Michif languages. Bilingualism and trilingualism within languages were not recognized at the time

Canadian exodus, though driven primarily by economic hardship, was one of voluntary migration, many peoples, including Métis, First Nations, Inuit Peoples and Acadians in Canada, have been historically displaced by war, genocide and forced migration, the repercussions of which continue to impact Indigenous Peoples and migrant populations in Canada and other contexts around the world (High 2014, 2015; Inghilleri 2017; Daschuk 2019).

Migrant *survivance* may be said to refer to the survival of individual and collective memory that accompanies different forms of geographical and symbolic displacement. It thus encompasses a broad range of experiences that include greater or lesser degrees of trauma, loss and adaptation. Migration can involve maintaining strong attachments to a particular culture or social group, or become an opportunity for reinvention, a means for creating distance between a new self and (sometimes traumatic) past (Inghilleri 2017: 2). Displacement can occur within or across borders and give rise to new affiliations, as revealed in the intersections of diaspora and Indigeneity in Canadian literature (Kim, McCall and Singer 2012; Kamboureli and Verduyn 2014), the diasporic *survivance* of African languages and traditions both within Africa and transnationally (Ouattara 2014; Oguntola 2017; Bara 2020) or the confluence of African and Indigenous geographies and imaginaries in the Americas (Goffe and Esh 2021), among many other examples.

In the Quebec context, the *survivance* reference tends to maintain its association with French Canadian national identity. But migrant memory, referred to here as migrant *survivance,* occupies a central place in the Québécois cultural imaginary, whether seen through the lens of the writings and works of recent immigrants or understood as a dimension of a Québécois identity already infused with migrant histories and sensibilities. Québécois society has been continually transformed by successive waves of immigration, including many "literary immigrations" that have transformed Québécois literature and culture (Chartier 2002: 306). Over the course of two centuries, close to 600 writers immigrated to Quebec following different trajectories, including political refugees, back-and-forth or triangular travels, or one-way trips that became permanent (ibid. 315).[37]

(Morisset 2018: 238). In 1870, the Red River population counted 12,000 inhabitants, including 5500 franco-Métis, 4000 anglo-Métis (Scots and Orcadian), 1500 unspecified "whites," and 500 "resident" Indigenous people. Nomadic Indigenous peoples are not included in the number (ibid. 231).

[37] Immigrant writers of North African, Caribbean, Asian and Haitian origin have included many women (Anne-Marie Alonzo, Nadia Ghalem, Mona Latif-Ghattas, Marie Cardinal, Abla Farhoud) and writers persecuted under the Duvalier regime in Haïti (Gérard Étienne, Maximilien Laroche, Emile Ollivier, Dany Laferrière). In the decades that

The importance placed on migrant memory in Quebec is highlighted in the concept of *écriture migrante*. Robert Berrouët-Oriol introduced the term in a 1986 article published in the multilingual magazine *Vice Versa* ("L'effet d'exil"), which made a connection between migrant writing and transculture and suggested it involved something beyond the geographic movement itself (Robin 2011: 294).[38] Pierre Nepveu (1988) also distinguished between "immigrant" and "migrant" writing, defining *écriture migrante* as an aesthetic practice embedded in a broader cultural ecology:

> "Écriture migrante" as opposed to "immigrant writing": the latter term seems too restricted in its focus on the reality and experience of immigration [...] while the term "migrant" places more emphasis on the movement, the displacement, the multiple imbrications that the experience of exile gives rise to. (233)

Many scholars have likewise regarded the presence of exile and migration in the Québécois cultural imaginary as a distinctly intercultural phenomenon that informs the works of so-called "native" and "immigrant" authors alike (Ouellet 2003; Kwaterko 2009), giving rise to mixed idioms, hybrid texts and plural identities (Simon 1994, 2006). Scholars have also explored "exotopic" and migrant writing in both directions, into and out of Quebec (Bednarski 1989; Garand 2004; Kwaterko 2008; McEwan 2016), or parallels between Caribbean and Québécois experiences of exile (Laroche 1970; Dahouda 2001).[39] As Simon Harel observes, the Haïtian literary movement in Quebec was already an important source of intercultural exchange during

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followed, immigration continued to diversify and intensify with the arrival of many South American writers (Gloria Excomel, Sergio Kokis, Marilú Mallet), French-language writers from Algeria, Sub-Saharan Africa, Lebanon, Tunisia, Morocco and Haiti, and writers whose first language was not French (Ying Chen, Mauricio Segura, Ook Chung) (Chartier 2002: 315).

[38] The transcultural concept in Quebec was largely a product of the journal *Vice Versa*. As Régine Robin observes, the latter was published between 1983 and 1996, roughly the same period during which *écriture migrante* flourished, in other words, between the two referendums on Quebec sovereignty (1980 and 1995). Without establishing a simple cause-effect relation between these facts, Robin notes that they are nonetheless revealing of a certain zeitgeist (2011: 275).

[39] Betty Bednarski (1989) explores Bakhtin's concept of exotopia in Jacques Ferron. Dominique Garand (2004) writes of the "aller-retour du foyer" in Québécois literature. Józef Kwaterko (2008) examines the exotopic imaginary in Pierre Nepveu's writing. Eileen McEwan (2016) compares the novels *Canuck* (1936) by Franco-American writer Camille Lessard-Bissonnette and *La dot de Sara* (1995) by Haïtian-Québécois author Marie-Célie Agnant, analyzing strategies of *survivance.* Comparative studies on Québécois and Haïtian literature are too numerous to list here. Both Kwaterko and Nepveu have explored the subject, as has Jean Morisset. The publishing house Mémoire d'encrier, founded by Rodney Saint-Éloi in 2003, is an important site of transcultural literary production. Maximilien Laroche's 1970 *Le miracle de la métamorphose. Essais sur les littératures du Québec et d'Haïti* is an early work of note. Kanaté Dahouda's 2000 PhD thesis (under Laroche's supervision) compared Aimé Césaire and Paul Chamberland, followed by subsequent publications (2001). Kwaterko (2007) and Simon (2006) have studied Émile Ollivier's "rewritings" of Montreal and Jacques Ferron, among many other examples.

the Quiet Revolution and contributed to shaping the anticolonialist ideas adopted in journals like *Parti pris* (1963–1968), among others (2005: 193).

Écriture migrante thus references the reality of migration but also reveals the translational dynamics of remembering inscribed in literature, in the writing process itself, which may be described as a central feature of migrant *survivance*. Migrations also take place within the imagination, and this is reflected in the themes, particularly around questions of identity, that have infused the literature and scholarship produced in Quebec in recent decades: exile (including inner exile), uprooting (or double uprooting), identitary tensions, memory work (the interplay between remembering and forgetting), culture shock, métissage and hybridity (Kwaterko 2009: 166). The experience of displacement introduces dissonance and interference. The feeling of inhabiting a dual space, the memory of a part that is lost combined with a sense of foreignness in a new place, produces "identitary fictions" (Simon et al. 1991; Kwaterko 2009: 168), a tension between then and now, here and there, that is also a characteristic of migrant *survivance*:

> The experience of being uprooted gives way to a back-and-forth memory process that creates a binary relation between a "before" the exile and the present moment. The "before" can be a source of suffering linked to exile or an experience of violence in the homeland, but can also encompass fond memories associated with one's past culture (childhood images, the voices of friends, the family left behind). [...] The migrant experience can translate the contact with difference, whether through confrontation or solidarity and complicity, when the immigrant's memory encounters Québécois identitary memory, itself alienated and dispersed. (ibid. 169)

Migrant *survivance* plays a role in maintaining these fragile connections to identities and pasts that are not only long ago, but also often far away. Migration is an unfolding, diachronic process that involves "movement, transformation and continuous becoming" (Inghilleri 2017: 1) and often entails embracing multiple cultural references and plural identities (Bandia 2014). The diasporic experience complicates intuitive associations between space and belonging and calls for alternative ways of imagining and inhabiting a place, of making exile "habitable" (Maclure 2003: 126; Harel 2005: 47). Migrant writing creates liminal spaces of refuge (Harel 2005) and renewal (Bhabha 1994), where "newness enters the world" and turns "return" into an act of re-inscription or redescription (ibid. 324), a translation of memory, identity and place. As we will see in the following section, the notion of inner exile takes on a whole other meaning among Indigenous Peoples, whose own ways of inhabiting and imagining place were rooted in the lands

now known as Canada and Quebec long before the arrival of European and other migrant settlers.

Indigenous *survivance*

> Since colonization, the First Peoples have seen their ways of life radically changed. From the forest to the city. From nomadism to sedentarism. From self-sufficiency to dependence. A point of fracture. The moment where something breaks. The forced assimilation of children has marked history from one end of the country to the other. Authors have their own ways of describing savage colonialism's visible effects, as well as those secretly conveyed by the soul. Then, in the lucid words of artists, hope is born. One can breathe again. Not as in the past. There is no going back. But in the dignity of a culture that is fully alive and retains its value in modern times. (Dezutter, Fontaine and Létourneau 2017: 93)

The above citation echoes an idea that continually resurfaces, in different ways, among diverse Indigenous Peoples across Canada and North America. Indigenous memory is transmitted through oral histories and traditions of storytelling that are deeply embedded in Indigenous cultures, even when these have been, by force or necessity, rerouted through the languages of their colonizers. Faced with colonialism and dispossession, Indigenous Peoples have survived both through political resistance and ongoing struggles to have their lands and nations recognized, as well as through the reclamation of cultural memory as expressed through their languages, customs and knowledge, and through different, ever-evolving forms of art and literature. Together, these two strands may be said to constitute Indigenous *survivance*, a concept first introduced in its English form by American Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor, who made it a central concept of his analysis of Indigenous survival + resistance. Indigenous survivance is related to the concept of survival but also implies a quality of action, a continuing sense of presence, a will to resist domination, and a continuance of stories (Vizenor 1994: 53, 2008: 1). For many Indigenous scholars and authors, writing offers a "means to resist and an opportunity to invent" (Anderson 2000: 140), while also marking "a shift from 'survival' to 'survivance' and from 'resistance' to 'renewal'" (Baker 2005: 117). Indigenous survivance stories are "more than survival, more than endurance or mere response" (Vizenor 1998: 15); they also "have the power to make, re-make, un-make the world" (Powell 2002: 396).

In the Canadian and Quebec contexts, Indigenous Peoples were first colonized by the settlers of New France (1534–1763), then under the British Empire (1763–1867) and the

Dominion of Canada, which, from its founding in 1867, consolidated the current ongoing state of settler colonialism (Burelle 2018; Ross-Tremblay 2019). Indigenous Peoples had occupied the lands that became New France and later Canada for millennia. Though some early missionary writings describe French Canadians and First Nations Peoples as "inseparable companions" (Delâge 2011: 3), emphasizing harmonious relations between early French settlers and Indigenous Peoples—in the close rapport, for example, with the fur-trading *coureurs des bois* that sometimes led to intermarriage and full assimilation into Indigenous communities—the logic of conquest was inscribed in the relations between Indigenous Peoples and Europeans from the outset:

> Beyond the deportations and forced migrations justified in the name of civilization, and the spread of disease explained by Divine Providence, another destructive dynamic was also at work. From the 17th century on, there was an unmitigated attempt to overthrow traditional Indigenous values and assimilate Indigenous Peoples into the French then British colonial paradigms. (Delâge and Warren 2017: 406) [40]

Sociologist Jean-Jacques Simard (2003) used the term *réduction* to describe this process of dispossession. In pursuing the forced conversion of Indigenous Peoples to Western "civilization," the colonial powers sought to reduce every aspect of Indigenous Peoples' worlds, to shrink their borders, both geographically and symbolically (Delâge and Warren 2017: 408). Though the Royal Proclamation (1763) on the British governance of North America explicitly stated that Indigenous Peoples were not to be displaced or dispossessed of unceded or unsold lands, British imperial authorities soon reneged on the promise and began authorizing British settlers to establish themselves on Indigenous lands (Salée and El Hankouri 2022: 84). Over a century later, with the founding of Canada in 1867 and expansion of the Canadian Pacific

[40] A number of factors nonetheless distinguished the French and British Regimes. New France, unlike New England or the French colonies in Louisiana and the Caribbean, maintained its ties to the French monarchy and the Catholic Church. As it was not based on a social contract promoting social homogeneity, the monarchical regime integrated diverse ethnicities, nations and castes. While both the French and British colonizers depended on Indigenous Peoples in the fur trade, the interactions between the early French Canadian settlers and Indigenous Peoples were particularly intense. The *Canadiens* depended on the latter for their survival, acquiring many practical techniques and borrowing cultural knowledge and customs: the use of dog teams and toboggans, canoes, types of clothing and survival techniques, pipes and tobacco, the cultivation of beans, squash and corn, the gathering of medicinal plants, and so on. The French Canadians soon became adept at navigating birch bark canoes over lakes, rivers and rapids, with the help of their Indigenous teachers (Delâge 2011: 6). These factors all contributed to the closer rapport between French Canadians and Indigenous Peoples during this period and some of the resulting forms of integration and métissage. Denys Delâge elaborates on how the *Canadiens* would later seek to distance themselves from Indigenous Peoples after The Conquest, so as not to be mistaken for "savages" (ibid.).

Railway (1881–1886), European settlement was actively and aggressively promoted. This was accompanied by the Indian Act (1876) and other legislation giving the Canadian state the last word on all aspects of Indigenous Peoples' social, political and economic lives.[41] The newly founded state restricted Indigenous Peoples' social and physical mobility, prohibited expressions of Indigenous languages and cultures, forced the surrender of Indigenous lands, and created a residential school system that separated generations of Indigenous children from their families and communities (ibid.).[42]

These efforts to progressively extinguish the Indigenous Peoples of Canada coincided with the establishment of a special vocabulary, including concepts such as enfranchisement, registered Indian, non-status Indian, Métis, and treaty Indian. (Lepage 2019a: 28). In this framework, Indian status was seen as temporary, with the ultimate goal being full integration into Canadian society through "enfranchisement," which entailed a loss of status, a relinquishing of Indigenous identity, and full assimilation. This concept foregrounds the extent to which the only choices left open to Indigenous Peoples were guardianship or assimilation. First Nations Peoples who wished to maintain their identities and survive as communities had really no choice at all: "maintaining collective identity meant living under guardianship" (ibid. 30). One of many "traps of liberty" laid out over centuries, this "piège de la liberté" (Warren and Delâge 2017) was resuscitated under different terms in the equally assimilationist 1969 White Paper, which proposed to eliminate Indian status and abolish the Indian Act. It was met with wide-spread rejection and immediate responses—the publication of Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society* in 1969 and the Indian Chiefs of Alberta Red Paper, *Citizens Plus* (1970), both of which denounced what they saw as yet another betrayal (Lepage 2019a: 44–45). While the White Paper was

[41] Earlier legislation in the Province of Canada (pre-confederation) included the Act to Authorize the Setting Apart of Lands for the Use of Certain Indian Tribes in Lower Canada (Quebec) (1851), which set aside a tract of land not exceeding 230,000 acres for the use of First Nations in Lower Canada mainly the Algonquin, Atikamekw, Montagnais (Innu) and Nipissing and to a lesser extent Mi'kmaq, Abenaki, Mohawks (Kanien'kehá:ka), Maliseet (Wolastoqiyik) and Huron-Wendat, all of whom saw their ancestral territories reduced (Delâge and Warren 2017: 282; British North America Legislative Database, n.p.).

[42] The first boarding school for Indigenous people was established in the early 17th century near the future site of Quebec City (TRC 2015: 50). The Indian residential school system, officially established in Canada in 1892, was the result of agreements between the Government of Canada and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. In 1930, there were 80 residential schools in Canada (Lepage 2019a: 38). The first two residential schools in Quebec were established in the early 1930s in Fort George. Four others were created after the war: Saint-Marc-de-Figuery, near Amos, Pointe-Bleue at Lac Saint-Jean, Maliotenam, near Sept-Îles, and La Tuque in Haute-Mauricie (ibid.). The federal government has estimated that at least 150,000 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit students passed through the system, which remained in operation until the late 1990s (TRC 2015: 3).

eventually abandoned, it led to the formation and consolidation of Indigenous political organizations such as the National Indian Brotherhood (1970). In Quebec, these developments coincided with Inuit and Cree opposition to the James Bay hydroelectric project and the signing of the first (and only, with one exception) land treaties in Quebec.[43] Several Indigenous organizations were founded in Quebec over this same period: the Indians of Quebec Association/Association des Indiens du Québec (1965), Quebec Native Women. Femmes autochtones du Québec (1974), the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association (1976), the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (1976), and the company Traduction montagnaise Sept-Îles inc. (1976), among others.

In the face of these genocidal acts and policies, Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Quebec have been remarkably resilient, refusing to be turned into passive victims:

> From the Métis and Prairies First Nations insurgency of the 1870s and 1880s to the contemporary blockades and the Idle No More movement, through countless individual and collective acts of defiance, patient determination and noteworthy savvy in using the institutional tools of the state to foil some of its plans, Indigenous peoples have shown time and again their willingness and ability to deal on their own terms with the adverse circumstances imposed upon them by settler state and society. (Salée and El Hankouri 2022: 85)

Across Canada, over 600 First Nations communities along with dozens of historic Inuit and Métis communities have continued to reclaim and reaffirm their languages, literatures, cultures, identities, and rights to land and self-determination, through legal battles, political resistance and cultural expression. The linguistic history of Canada—far beyond its official French-English bilingualism—is deeply layered and extremely diverse, with more than 70 Indigenous

[43] "The summer gathering place of Apitipik Point, located in Québec, is where the Abitibiwinnik (formerly known as the Abitibi Dominion Band) signed Treaty No. 9 on June 7, 1906. However, the treaty applied only to families whose hunting grounds were in Ontario, hence the creation of the Wahgoshig First Nation Reserve in Ontario. The Québec government refused to recognize the validity of the treaty or take part in the negotiations" (Lepage 2019a: 67). Earlier peace treaties included The Great Alliance (1603) between Samuel de Champlain and the Innu chief Anadabijou, setting out the terms of French settlement and the fur trade, and The Great Peace of Montreal (1701), a peace and friendship treaty between the French Crown, representatives of the Five Iroquois Nations and the representatives of over 30 First Nations allied with the French (ibid. 19–20). Since signing the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975) and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (1978), the Cree and Naskapi are no longer governed by the Indian Act, but by the Cree–Naskapi (of Quebec) Act, which gives them more autonomy. These two land treaties fostered the establishment of several institutions that gave the Cree, the Inuit and the Naskapi greater control of their destiny (ibid. 49, 68).

languages.[44] Some of these are still spoken by a large enough number of speakers to ensure their continued existence, for example Inuktitut and various dialects of Anishnaabemowin (Ojibway, Cree and Oji-Cree), while others are endangered but experiencing revitalization, such as Kanien'kéha (Fontaine 2017: par. 2; Salée and El Hankouri 2022: 82, Drapeau 2013: 200):

> Indigenous languages partly evolved as Indigenous peoples' relationship to their living environment grew and changed—a process that continues. Indigenous languages are therefore a living archive—historical vessels foundational to the identity of Indigenous peoples, Canada's growth as a nation and all expressions of the nation, including its laws, topography and constitution. [...] Indigenous languages provide a gateway into oral histories, philosophies, epistemologies, stories and the ceremonies of Indigenous peoples via prayer, song and dance. Language is an important source of development and intellectual creativity that Indigenous peoples have cultivated and passed on for generations. (Fontaine 2017: par. 2–3)

In response to the resurgence of Indigenous languages and cultures, some scholars have drawn parallels between the Indigenous movements and Quebec's Quiet Revolution:

> First Nations and Inuit people have reached a turning point that is surprisingly similar to the Quiet Revolution experienced by Quebecers: emergence of a new generation of leaders, development of their own institutions, an unprecedented political, social and economic awakening, a strong sense of pride in who they are, a growing desire to be recognized nationally and internationally and a ferment in artistic and cultural expression and development. (Lepage 2019a: 135)

However, as Sarah Henzi notes, though the notions of being usurped, occupied, and dispossessed are valid in both cases, Quebec still actively colonizes Indigenous Peoples within its own claimed territorial borders and imposes its own linguistic, cultural and political values (2014: 658–659): The Kanien'kehá:ka, for example, who speak more English than French, have systematically defied Quebec's Bill 101 protecting the French language and culture, declaring that it treats them as immigrants on their own land (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 87). As Henzi remarks,

> Indeed, is it not rather obtuse to expect of those who were forced in 1895 to adopt the English language as their sole means for communication, as per the "Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June 1895," to then *have to* switch to yet another foreign language? (ibid. 659)

[44] The Indigenous Languages Act, passed in the summer of 2019, is a step towards changing Canada's linguistic and cultural landscape, but the extent to which the Act is a true step forward or just another "aspirational policy statement" remains to be seen (Woodsworth 2022: 6).

That said, both of Canada's official languages have been imposed in different ways, and in Quebec many Indigenous Peoples speak French rather than English, with many Indigenous writers and artists also producing their work in French or combinations of French and Indigenous languages. While francophone Indigenous writers share similar historical, political, and cultural conditions with Indigenous Peoples across Canada and the United States, this particular cultural and linguistic context is unique. Isabelle St-Amand refers to a "double exiguity": "on the one hand, the linguistic barriers resulting from colonization complicate exchanges with English-speaking Indigenous literary communities in North America; on the other, the exiguity of the francophone market reduces the opportunities for production and diffusion, as well as for the building of a critical discourse" (2010: 31). The Quebec context thus affects Indigenous Peoples and their relation to the rest of Canada and to non-Indigenous Quebecers in particular ways. Issues arising in the translation of Indigenous works into and out of official languages, but also between the colonizers' languages, further complicates the survival and revitalization of Indigenous languages and related questions surrounding mediation and (self) representation.

The variety of languages that infuse the language practices of Indigenous Peoples in Quebec attests to a history of forced assimilation but also to a remarkable resilience and creativity with respect to the way languages are employed, resisted, transformed and revitalized in everyday use and literature. Sarah Henzi sums up this unique linguistic situation as follows:

> There are ten different Indigenous Nations [plus one Inuit Nation] across Quebec, and each has a specific rapport with several languages: the Innu and Atikamekw speak and write both their Native language as well as French. The Anishnabek (Algonquin) speak and write Anishnaabe, French, and English. Although there are still Abenaki speakers, the Abenaki mainly speak and write French or English. The Wendat (Huron) and Maliseet now speak and write in French only (although there is an important revitalization program of the Wendat language currently underway). The Cree (Eeyouch), Mohawk (Kanien'kehá:ka), Naskapi, and Mi'kmaq all speak and write their respective languages; however, they make use mostly of English. Bearing in mind that not all members of these communities will be fluent, this particular lexical situation nevertheless makes for a very rich and diverse literary and linguistic panorama. (2014: 655–656)

This heterolingual mixing also incorporates different regional and social dialects (including Québécois *joual*), as well as a presencing of orality linked to oral traditions that are still an important source of cultural memory and identity for Indigenous Peoples in Quebec and beyond. Indigenous writing in Quebec, which in the 18th and 19th centuries often took the form of petitions, letters and requests, found new vigour in the 1970s, resulting in numerous

autobiographical, political and historical essays (Boudreau 1993: 15). A 1972 edition of the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, founded in 1971, included a dozen articles written by Montagnais (Innu), Wendat and Cree, among others, focusing on Indigenous rights, claims, values and education (ibid. 103). According to Boudreau, in the 1970s, Quebec's Indigenous Peoples once again turned to writing to resist assimilation:

> But from then on, they were no longer addressing government officials, but making their positions and demands known to all non-Indigenous peoples reading their books. They wrote articles, stories, poems, songs, and plays while continually reclaiming their Indigeneity. Orality or the Indigenous oral literary tradition did not disappear; rather it became the source for claiming a new mode of communication. (ibid. 93)

New forms of Indigenous literature also emerged, which Boudreau describes as "the result of a métissage between writing and orality [which] expressed the need for the cultural survival of First Nations all the while inscribing these works within a vast resistance movement" (ibid. 100). In the 1970s and 1980s, Indigenous writers such as An Antane Kapesh, Charles Coocoo, Éléonore Sioui, Yves Sioui Durand and Bernard Assiniwi appropriated the written form to become the first published Indigenous authors in Quebec (ibid. 139).

It is important to note, however, that Indigenous literatures cannot be regarded solely as a reaction to colonialism. In Canada, Quebec and beyond, Indigenous artists and writers are inventing new forms while also reclaiming a cultural memory that precedes and extends beyond colonialism. An early critic of the postcolonial approach to Indigenous studies that emerged in the 1990s, Thomas King observed that applying the term "postcolonial" to work written by Indigenous writers privileges the arrival of the settlers in North America by excluding literature pre-dating contact (1990: 11):

> In order to get to the "post," we have to wend our way through no small amount of literary history, acknowledging the existence of its antecedents, pre-colonial and colonial. In the case of Native literature, we can say that pre-colonial literature was that literature, oral in nature, that was in existence prior to European contact, a literature that existed exclusively within specific cultural communities [...]. Pre-colonial literature, as we use the term in North America, has no relationship whatsoever to colonial literature. (ibid.)

For King, the postcolonial framework not only "assumes that the struggle between guardian and ward is the catalyst for contemporary Native literature" but effectively "cuts us off from our traditions which have come down to us through our cultures in spite of colonization" (ibid. 12).

While the postcolonial framework has more recently been superseded by a decolonisation paradigm that emphasizes on-going colonialism, Indigenous creative practices have also become increasingly diverse, both co-existing with and resisting colonialist paradigms. As Malea Powell observed in a more recent interview:

> For me, the persistence of indigenous practices is the decolonial part of it [...] how indigenous peoples engage in this dual practice of bringing the past forward while reinvigorating it for the future to stand as indigenous people despite all that discourse about our disappearances. That's what I find really fascinating right now: young native activists are engaging in this practice without feeling like they have to engage in that stereotypical "torn between worlds" discourse [...] Every day, folks are taking advantage of the tools that are here now in order to continue particular kinds of cultural practices but also to simply make visible a wide range of indigenous presences. (cited in Lane and Unger 2017: par. 2)

These remarks resonate with the analytic model proposed by King, based on identifying different literary "vantage points" (tribal, interfusional, polemic and associational), as well as with the "paracolonial" or "anti-paracolonial" models proposed by Vizenor (1993) and Powell (2002). As Powell writes, because the processes of colonialism have continued unabated for 500 years, it is essential to think in terms of a "colonialism beyond colonialism, multiple, contradictory, and with all the attendant complications of internal, neo- and post-colonialism" (2002: 339). As Joyce Rain Anderson observes, "*Survivance* as a French word means to outlive, and the inference is evident in Vizenor's choice of the word, because despite all attempts by Amer-Europeans to erase American Indian cultures, the cultures have outlived those assaults" (2005: 35).

In 1972, the Association des Indiens du Québec produced the *Manifeste des Amérindiens* demanding the right to educate children in their Indigenous languages and cultures, to live according to their customs, and to have their land claims recognized. They also demanded a "droit à la vérité" (...), a right to the truth, to the need for Indigenous histories written by and for Indigenous Peoples. These ideas are echoed in the more recent *Manifeste des Premiers Peuples*:

> Today we hope to reinforce and revalidate our Innu tipenitemun, or ancestral sovereignty (anicinape: tipentamowin; eeyou: Tepentamun; atikamekw: Tiperitetan), the bearer of our knowledges and our laws. This manifesto traces the path we have walked for millennia and will continue to travel despite endless attempts to divert us from it. This path shows how our connection to Assi ("the earth" in Innu-aimun) is a source of life and how our relation to our past remains a source of truth. (Collectif Ishpitenimatau tshikauinu assi 2018: 39)

Conclusion

Given the complex ideas and histories very briefly outlined in this chapter, the varying degrees of dispossession, displacement, and exile experienced by French Canadians, immigrants and Indigenous Peoples are clearly not comparable in kind, scale and magnitude. The balance of power in Canada undeniably still works in favour of the so-called "founding" peoples—English and French—currently recognized by the settler colonial state. These dynamics nonetheless play out in different ways in Canada and Quebec. As problematic as any attempted comparisons may be, the fact remains that the will to preserve, translate and reclaim cultural memories and identities takes many different forms, the echoes of which can resonate and be a point of departure for fostering empathy. This begins with humility and the desire to learn, as much as possible, of the other's histories, experiences, perspectives and knowledge. As Michael Rothberg maintains in his research on Holocaust memory, transcultural comparison that does not simply produce commensurability out of difference but that reconfigures the elements it brings together "can create arenas where injustices are recognized and new frameworks are imagined that are necessary, if not sufficient, for their redress" (2011: 538). The translation of cultural memory is fraught with difficulties, misunderstandings and power dynamics that also risk being reinforced in the process. Addressing this can encompass everything from bringing awareness to the most indescribable atrocities, to inspiring a range of subversive but also creative and even playful interventions, which often give rise to the most innovative and unexpected forms of artistic and literary expression, within and across cultures. I propose a definition of cultural translation that is not based on producing equivalence, nor on transcending difference, but on reflecting the co-existence of diverse realities and perspectives and acknowledging that the overlap, the translation of cultural memory, is inevitable. Translation can seek to, but cannot really replace its "sources," because the original and the translation are always, in a sense, one and the same. This is especially true of forms of translation that entail rewriting, counter-memory and reclamation.

Chapter Three: Translation as Rewriting

Translation as Rewriting

TRANSLATION AS REWRITING revolves around the notion of a return to a source. This could be a cultural reference or *lieu de mémoire* that is shared from within or imported from without. The act of returning is a reinvestment in an originating source (not a static, absolute original) that draws on its inherent potential for reinterpretation, whether through renewal, reaffirmation or reclaiming or, conversely, through diversion, subversion or parody. Pierre Nora, we recall, describes *lieux de mémoire* as only existing because of their capacity for metamorphosis (1989: 19). Echoing Nora, Gérard Genette writes that memory can be "revolutionary," provided "it is impregnated, made fruitful and not reduced to *commemorating*" (1997: 400). Both memory sites (Nora) and literary palimpsests (Genette) can in this way be conceived as translational phenomena that foreground multiple memories and identities, whether through opposition, juxtaposition, interpenetration or superimposition.[45]

Translation can be seen to operate as a bridge not only between languages and cultures but also between past and future (Bassnett 2003: 294). For Luise von Flotow,

> A translation is both the memory and the active re-membering of another, earlier text. It disengages the original work from its historic envelope, its environment, moving it away from its first readers, and re-constructing, re-membering it for another time, in another place, for another reader or audience [...] After all, in re-membering, translation mobilizes many of the same phenomena as other forms of memory work: fantasy, subjectivity, invention, a focus on the present as much as, or perhaps more than, on the past and an attempt to represent and even fabricate this past. (2011: 142)

When Jorge Luis Borges' fictional character Pierre Menard set out to rewrite Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, he had no intention of copying it: "His admirable ambition was to produce a number of pages which coincided—word for word and line for line—with those of Miguel de Cervantes" (Borges 1998: 91). To do so, he decided that, rather than learning Spanish, returning to Catholicism, fighting against the Moors and Turks, forgetting 300 hundred years of European history—becoming Cervantes—it would be far more challenging and interesting to continue being Pierre Menard and come to the *Quixote* "through the experiences of Pierre Menard" (ibid.).

[45] The temporal traces of this "palimpsestic memory" come into view to reveal sometimes buried connections across time and space (Silverman 2013).

The story's narrator concludes that while the Cervantes text and the Menard text are verbally identical, "the second is almost infinitely richer" (ibid. 94). Described by George Steiner as "the most acute, most concentrated commentary anyone has offered on the business of translation" (1998: 73), Borges' tale reminds us that even the most perfect, accurate, "faithful" translation—in this case a literal rewriting in the exact same words and language—will still take on different meanings and associations when read in another time and place. The observation seems obvious, but Borges' story demonstrates like no other that all writing contains an element of rewriting. Existing works are constantly revisited and launched into "new circuits of meaning" (Genette 1997: 400).

While creative *imitatio* goes back to Ancient Rome, the idea of translation as rewriting was first theorized in translation studies by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990).[46] They proposed to study translation as one of the many forms in which works of literature are "rewritten," one of many rewritings: "In our day and age, these 'rewritings' are at least as influential in ensuring the survival of a work of literature as the originals, the 'writings' themselves" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1995: 10). Their analysis extends beyond the text to include intra- and intercultural translation and different forms of rewriting that often operate more by way of the *images* constructed through them than by means of the originals themselves (ibid. 9). Translation, writes Lefevere, "is one of the most obvious forms of image making, of manipulation, that we have" (1995: 26):

> Translation is responsible to a large extent for the image of a work, a writer, a culture [...] It introduces innovations into a literature. It is the main medium through which one literature influences another. It can be potentially subversive and it can be potentially conservative. It can tell us about the self-image of a culture at a given time, and the changes that self-image undergoes. (ibid. 27)

This aspect of TRANSLATION AS REWRITING is also linked to a work's canonical status. Thus a movie based on a classic work can also be considered a "rewriting" insofar as certain canonical texts "become naturalized to such an extent that they are given the same 'intracultural' treatment as texts which have originally been generated within the culture in question" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1995: 9). An example of note in the Quebec context is Michel Garneau's 1978 translation of *Macbeth.* The original print version included the phrase *traduit en québécois* on the

[46] Cultural translation has also been theorized as "translation as rewriting," with roots in 1950s British cultural anthropology (Asad 1986) and drawing on Clifford Geertz's (1973) notion of culture as text (Conway 2012).

front cover (which has been maintained in re-editions). This represents an unusual reversal, as the language that a work is translated *into* is normally self-evident. When translations are produced despite not being needed because the readers would understand the original or have access to previous versions in their language, translation has little to do with communication or the transfer of information. As Annie Brisset (1990) aptly demonstrates, the translation of *Macbeth* into "Québécois" becomes "the means by which a new nation 'proves' itself by showing that its language is capable of rendering what is rendered in a more prestigious language" (Bassnett and Lefevere 1995: 8). Garneau's reactivation of an originating source—a prestigious canonical source—clearly serves this purpose:

> The existence of a Québécois language is also tangible proof of the existence of a "Québécois people" [...] This explains why so much importance is placed on translation, because it proves irrefutably that the Québécois language exists. [...] Conversely, translating canonical works or literary masterpieces such as *Macbeth* into Québécois is an attempt to legitimize Québécois by elevating it from its status as a dialect. (Brisset 2012: 285)

According to Brisset, Garneau retains the essential identity of *Macbeth* but introduces certain changes that transport the play to a reconstituted past that becomes an allegory for the 1760 Conquest of New France, by linking Shakespeare's tragedy to Quebec's historical non-foundation and unfulfilled destiny as a nation. Garneau's (re)translation is thus a kind of rewriting that incorporates the double memory dynamic identified by Julie Tarif (2016), one that both "remembers" or reactivates the literary legacy of the source culture while also "re-membering," regenerating, that is, the language and literature of the receiving culture.

Tarif, for her part, explores the "inexhaustibility" of literary classics. In her study of Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, she shows how, beyond its textual retranslations, the work has also been "remembered" in numerous silent and French-language film adaptations, English films subtitled or dubbed into French, musical adaptations for the theatre and cinema, animated films and series, children's literature, and comic books (2016: 47–48). Other translation scholars (Dollerup 2000; Gambier 2003; St. André 2011) have traced the trajectories of translations and adaptations that are themselves subject to linguistic translation in both directions and into other languages, sometimes through "indirect" or "relay" translation, meaning they are translated via versions already translated into pivot languages, which then become the "original" source for the new translation. As Sharon Deane-Cox has observed, discerning the "originary locus" of translation

can be a difficult task. Not only is retranslation "as much a socially and culturally embedded phenomena as it is a textualized one," she writes (2014b: 190), but "there can be no definitive reading of the original, no singular path to restoration if we understand all texts to be unfinished" (ibid. 191). Retranslations, she argues, should be viewed as instantiations of the interpretive potential of the source text rather than in terms of textual proximity or fidelity (ibid.)

In the 1980s, TRANSLATION AS REWRITING took a subversive turn in Canada and Quebec when feminist translators began experimenting with rewriting and other forms of textual "womanhandling," such as supplementing, prefacing, footnoting (more than usual) and "hijacking," that is to say, appropriating texts and remaking or "feminizing" them to reflect the translator's feminist position (von Flotow 1991: 78). These interventions were often foregrounded in a way that disrupted the transparency of the translation (ibid. 74). The feminist translator who took these strategies the furthest in Quebec was Susanne Lotbinière-Harwood. Subverting the expression *belles infidèles*—Gilles Ménage's 17th-century adage that, like women, translations must be either beautiful or faithful—she referred to her translations as *re-belles et infidèles*. "My addition of the prefix *re-*," she writes, "changes the beauties into rebels and implies repetition with change. Translation as rewriting in the feminine" (1991: 98–99). The movement gave rise not only to a complicity between avant-garde women's writing and translation, but also to a renewed dialogue between English and French, which was often articulated in the pages of the bilingual feminist journal *Tessera* (Simon 1996: 22).

Focusing on the memorial construction of a long chain of human rights texts, Siobhan Brownlie highlights how translation participates in networks of texts, "intertextual memorial webs," along with rewritings and other forms of contextual, co-textual and material framing (2013: 55).[47] Starting with the Magna Carta (1215) through to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), she shows how the memory of earlier texts is embedded in subsequent texts through a kind of "translation-specific intertextuality" (Hermans 2007: 32–37):

> Interlingual translation is one type of remediation, one type of textual re-iteration reconstructing memories of past texts and their content [...] Because interlingual translation involves different languages and possibly different cultures and time periods, it is a form of remediation which will entail transformation, including the proliferation of different interpretations which renew the memory site. (Brownlie 2013: 50–51)

[47] "'Framing' refers in general to the means by which the meaning of discourse is constructed" (Brownlie 2013: 55). The term is used here more specifically to "designate meaning construction through the way in which a text and concepts from an earlier time period are brought into and used in a new social environment or a new material and textual environment in a more recent time period" (ibid.)

Brownlie goes on to demonstrate the multidirectional influence of these rewritings. For example, the French translation of the Latin Magna Carta (1215), produced the same year as the original, became accessible in England at a time when the ruling-class there spoke French. The text travelled to France and Scotland (also under Anglo-Norman rule), where it influenced the Latin Declaration of Arbroath (1320), and the latter's first English translation into 1689 is said to have reached the US colonies (Brownlie 2013: 54). Between 1777 and 1786, several French translations of the American Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Bill of Rights were published in France. In the reverse direction, the influence of the English translation of the French Déclartion des droits de l'homme et du citoyen (1789) is palpable in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). Beyond the transfer of linguistic meaning, the ideas these texts contained were reworked and elaborated over time to become, in some cases, sources of authority for subsequent texts, with great consequences. "Each document," she writes, "embodied the memory of earlier documents" (2013: 48). Memories are thus kept alive in translation, both with respect to the content of texts—translated texts recounting historical events or translations of original texts produced in earlier historical periods—but also with respect to the texts themselves, which are subject to rewriting, intertextuality and remediation (Brownlie 2016: 78).

Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere had already observed in 1990 that translations are never produced in a vacuum but made to respond to the demands of a culture, and of various groups within that culture—a feature of translation that is never more evident than when two (or more) cultures live together within the borders of one state (1995: 7). Indeed, translation is "more than just a bridge between two unrelated poles, more than a one-way transfer process"—it is a complex sociological, relational process (Bachmann-Medick 2009: 7). To say that a culture is translational is to say that a culture is *born* in translation, "in relationships of exchange, resistance or interpretation" (Simon 2006: 17), but also that it is shaped by translation, through its effects and repercussions (Mezei, Simon and von Flotow 2014; Gentzler 2017). As Edwin Gentzler writes:

> Scholars have documented *how* texts differ and have shown that translators often make changes, adapt, and rewrite, but explaining *why* remains problematic. Additionally, many texts that are not referred to as translations but instead are often called rewritings, adaptations, or furtherings contain translational elements. In many cases, these borderline cases may tell us more about the nature of translation than the central paradigm. (2017: 2)

As we shall see in the following sections, the translations, rewritings and adaptations of Michèle Lalonde's 1968 poem "Speak White" have contributed to constructing an enduring yet ever-changing image of Quebec, a site of memory revisited and renewed over time.

Michèle Lalonde's "Speak White"

Michèle Lalonde's 1968 poem "Speak White" is a *lieu de mémoire* par excellence, both emblematic of an era and continually generating new forms and interpretations. Written primarily in French with code-switching into English and performed at a pivotal moment in Quebec's history, it is inextricably linked to the Quiet Revolution,[48] a period of intense socio-political change and government-led reforms that reaffirmed French Canadian (Québécois) identity, rejected the authority of the Catholic Church, invested in State-run education, and spawned a nationalist movement that eventually led to two referendums on Quebec's separation from Canada. The Quiet Revolution definitively marked the end of the Duplessis-era *Grande noirceur* and gave rise to a French-language cultural renaissance—in art, music, literature, theatre, radio, television, and cinema.[49] It reignited the "language question" at a time when Quebec's *surconscience linguistique*, as Lise Gauvin calls it, was at a peak, informed by an awareness of language as "a space of friction and fiction, an object of anxiety and doubt, but also a privileged laboratory, open to endless possibilities" (2001: 17). The *Parti pris* writers, for example, saw the degradation of the French language as inseparable from economic and cultural domination over the French Canadian people. French Canadians were told to "Speak White," to speak English, the language of the master, the language of the boss.

It is in this context that Lalonde's poem was written and performed, first during one of the events of the *Poèmes et chansons de la résistance* in 1968, held in support of FLQ activists Pierre Vallières and Charles Gagnon, then recited by Lalonde during the famous *Nuit de la*

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[48] The strictly defined period the Quiet Revolution is from 1960–1966, corresponding to the tenure of Jean Lesage's Liberal government, though some scholars extend it over the full decade, or even longer. Certainly its effects resonated at the time of the poem's writing, and long after.

[49] The *Grande noirceur* refers to the period marked by Maurice Duplessis' tenure as Premier of Quebec from 1936–1939 and again from 1944–1959. It has historically been regarded as a period of oppression and stagnation that set the stage for the Quiet Revolution. It is important to note, however, that the rupture between the *Grande noirceur* and the *Révolution tranquille* is not as clear-cut as might once have been assumed. See Meunier and Warren (2002).

poésie of 1970.[50] On the night of March 27, 1970, more than 4000 people lined up outside L'Église du Gesù on Bleury Street in Montreal to hear dozens of Québécois poets. Among the artists present were Gaston Miron, Claude Gauvreau, Nicole Brossard, Paul Chamberland, Michel Garneau, and many others. As Pascal Brissette has observed, *La Nuit de la poésie,* often described as the "la grande messe," was an unprecedented encounter—lasting over 11 hours—with a public that far outnumbered the traditional readership of Quebec poetry (2014: 55). Jean-Claude Labrecque and Jean-Pierre Masse filmed the entire event and produced an edited two-hour version for the National Film Board of Canada, which also contributed to crystalizing the historic moment in Quebec's collective memory.[51] The filmmakers, also the event's organizers, produced what Brissette describes as a unique meeting of poetry and cinema until then rarely seen in the francophone world (ibid. 54). In a 1971 review of the event and film in *Vie des arts*, journalist Dominique Noguez remarked that the euphoric and soon-to-be mythical *Nuit de la poésie* was for Quebec poetry what Woodstock was for American pop music:

> [It] is the first meeting of the two intellectual forces that have been most operative in the growing awareness by Quebeckers of their national particularity. As though through the intermediary of Labrecque and Masse, for the first time, Perrault, Brault, Jutra, Lefebvre or Gilles Groulx, who have all contributed to giving Quebeckers a new image of themselves, saluted those before them and alongside them who have not ceased through their words, in telling of the will of an entire people to survive and to be free. (1971: 84)

Michèle Lalonde's reading of "Speak White" was one of the evening's most memorable moments. It touched what was then, and often still is, that sensitive chord—the language issue in Quebec. An injunction against economic and political oppression, the denigration of the French language, and imposition of English language and culture, "Speak White" delivered a message that resonated and has since become emblematic of the era.

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[50] The FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) was a militant Quebec independence movement that was responsible for more than 200 bombings between 1963 and 1970. Their actions culminated in the kidnapping of British trade commissioner James Cross and kidnapping and murder of Quebec cabinet minister Pierre Laporte, in what became known as the October Crisis. On 16 October 1970, at the request of Premier Bourassa, the federal government deployed the Armed Forces and invoked the War Measures Act. Under the emergency regulations, the FLQ was outlawed, normal civil liberties were suspended, and arrests and detentions were authorized without charge (Laurendeau and McIntosh 2020: par. 1; Cooper and McIntosh 2020: par. 12).

[51] A selection of poets is present in the film (edited from eleven down to two hours), though it seems the filmmakers later refilmed some poets whose readings turned out badly on the night itself, but "whose importance (Gaston Miron) or particularity (Nicole Brossard) justified a retake" (Noguez 1971: 85).

A Site of Transcultural Memory

As a cultural reference and site of memory, the poem is indissociable from this particular historical moment and the growing nationalist sentiment that defined it. But even in its original French-language version, the poem was already traversed by a transcultural memory beyond the national context, beginning with the title and refrain itself. The racist expression is widely attributed to French Canadians being told to "speak white" by English Canadians, who are said to have equated the English language with whiteness and imposed it on their non-English-speaking "inferiors." Its first use in the Quebec context is often traced to a Canadian parliamentary debate in 1899 when Henri Bourassa (MP and later founder of *Le Devoir*), protesting Canada's entry into the Boer War, was allegedly booed by English-speaking MPs and told to "speak white" (Catela de Bordes and Blanchard 1979: 89; Guimond, 2000: n.p.). The reference cannot be located in the parliamentary record, and the dates are often confused, leading some to dismiss it as an urban myth.[52] However, a few other sources bear witness to use of the expression. In a *Maclean's* 1944 article on the Conscription Crisis in Quebec, for example, the author writes that there was no pretense of equality in the army and that, while instruction may have been given in French, all orders were in English:

> Québécois will tell you bitterly of the young naval officer, back from the Battle of the Atlantic, who was cut off by the Halifax telephone censor for talking to his mother in French. They will tell you, too, of Army officers and others telling French Canadian recruits to "speak white" when they use their own tongue. (Fraser 1944: 6)

Likewise, in *Problems of Canadian Unity* (1944), Arthur Maheux cites comments made by a Toronto businessman and others telling French Canadians to speak white (32). A letter exchange between novelist Gwethalyn Graham and politician Solange Chaput Rolland in 1963 also documents a number of "speak white" incidents. Rolland writes:

> In the course of this Canadian tour I realized that the expression "speak white," by which certain English Canadians mean that we are to switch to English at once, is always current in our country. [...] You have even had to admit their existence in the very heart of Quebec since, for every twenty French Canadians you encounter in my house or yours, fifteen can affirm that they have been treated to the discreditable "speak white." (Graham and Rolland 1963: 56)

[52] The exchange cited by Catela de Bordes and Blanchard appears to have taken place on February 5, 1900, during the Fifth Session of the Eighth Parliament (page 5), though there were many debates in 1899 on the Boer War leading up to this. Bourassa resigned in protest that Fall when Prime Minister Laurier approved sending a voluntary contingent. Bourassa was re-elected a few months later in January 1900. If the expression was used, it may have been redacted from the transcript.

Journalist and politician André Laurendeau (co-chair of the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism) refers to use of the expression in a personal journal entry from 1964, in which he wonders whether English Canadians were bothered by hearing any foreign language or just the French language in particular (Monière 1983: 28).

Beyond its pejorative use in these contexts, the expression "speak white" also indirectly references works of the period (see Vallières 1968) that assimilated the French Canadian experience to that of African Americans, used racialized terms as broad metaphors for all forms of oppression, and drew inspiration from African diaspora concepts like *négritude*. Quebec intellectuals and activists looked to postcolonial writers like Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, Jacques Berque, Édouard Glissant and Frantz Fanon. Césaire's book-length poem and founding text of the *négritude* movement *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1939) had a profound impact on poets like Gaston Miron and Paul Chamberland, among others.[53] Césaire spoke to French Quebecers "as if he had his own particular insight into their lives," writes David Austin (2013: 56). "As they peered into the mirror of Césaire's world, many of them saw their own reflections" (ibid.). These postcolonial writers also took interest in the French Canadian situation. Jacques Berque wrote the preface for the *Parti pris* collection *Les Québécois* (1967), and the 1972 edition of Memmi's *Portrait du colonisé* included an essay titled "Les Canadiens français sont-ils des colonisés?"[54] Césaire, for his part, was intrigued by French Quebecers' appropriation of a "black" racialized identity, which he believed, though exaggerated, "demonstrated an understanding that the concept of *négritude* was not an issue of skin colour" (ibid. 60).[55] According to Austin, Césaire retained a soft spot for Quebec well into his senior years:

> When I interviewed him in 2005 he discussed how French Quebecers had become conscious of their own personality while reclaiming their independence; he believed it was an example worth meditating upon. [...] In many ways, prior to the sixties, French Canadians in Quebec had donned English masks. [...] It is not hard, then, to see why *Peau*

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[53] In his 1964 "L'Afficheur hurle," another important reference for Lalonde's poem, Chamberland turned the expression "speak white" into a verb: "en conférence chez le minstre je speakwhite et je sacre à moi les petites ruelles dans l'est de la ville et les bordels sur la Main / où je flambe ce crisse de pays pour dix cennes de robine" (1964: 53).

[54] On postcolonialism in the Quebec context, see Schwartzwald (2003). On French Canadians' dual role as "colonisateurs colonisés," see Delâge (2011).

[55] While the concept of "white blackness" is usually thought to originate with Vallières, its first use can be traced to 1929 (Hanet 2003: 128). Subsequent Quebec authors have also used the metaphor: Jacques Brault (*Suite fraternelle*), Hubert Aquin (*Trou de mémoire*), Roch Carrier, (*La Guerre, Yes Sir!*), Paul Chamberland (*L'Afficheur hurle*) and Wilfrid Lemoine (*Le Funambule*), among others (Scott 2014: 115).

> *noire, masques blancs* [Fanon (1952)] touched the souls of French Canadians as early as the 1950s. (Austin 2013: 60)

But Vallières' and others' use of terms equating the French Canadian experience with blackness has also been harshly criticized, both for crossing the line into insensitive appropriation and effacing the Black experience in Quebec.[56] According to Austin, the appropriation of blackness has a long history in Québécois literature, going back at least to Philippe Aubert de Gaspé's 1863 novel *Les anciens canadiens* (2013: 54):

> The appropriation of blackness might have been an effective tool for French Canadians; but it was problematic for Blacks then, and it remains so now—at a time in which Blacks and other groups have long been reduced to the status of the ethnic, the immigrant, and other epithets that work to exclude them from Quebec's national story and diminish or negate their social standing. (ibid.)

Fernande Roy describes the comparison as ignorant and self-absorbed (2009: 34). "With what seems to me a total unawareness of the condition of African Americans," she writes, "Vallières insists on his metaphor: to be Black, he tells us, is not to be a man in America, but to be somebody's slave" (ibid. 35). For Emilie Nicolas, comparisons between Quebec and the French slave colony of Saint-Domingue, or Vietnam, Congo or Nazi Germany (as referenced in Lalonde's poem), attest to "a total incomprehension of the horror of these regimes," and "rather than creating solidarities, these false equivalencies trivialize the suffering" (Nicolas 2020: 42). The Québécois aspiration to be "Maîtres chez nous," she adds, can mean a lot of things (2020: 45). Bruno Cornellier maintains that against the "deeply flawed and violently appropriative paradigm of the white N-word," it is not simply a "difference in degree of exploitation that separates the white working poor from enslaved black people but rather an entirely different 'grammar of suffering,'" (2017: 41). Defining cultural appropriation as "identification without empathy," he insists that it is not empathy that links the French Quebecer to Black Americans in Vallières "but rather a denial that there even exists a gap" (ibid. 49), which has the effect of "deracializing colonial history, of turning race into a politically insignificant (and acquirable) category" (ibid. 32). Historian Sean Mills concludes that French Canadians, despite at times being racialized to the contrary, were descendants of settler colonizers and, in the end, undeniably white. "Quebec had always been a multiracial society," he writes, "and black and

[56] For more on the appropriation of blackness in Québécois literature and culture, see Dorsinville (1974), Hampton (2012), Scott (2014), Nigam (2014), Néméh-Nombré (2019) and Giroux (2021).

Aboriginal slavery in New France had shaped the initial contours of the racialization of nonwhite peoples" (2016: 199). Conceptualizing francophone Quebecers in terms of a racialized blackness pushed this history even further to the margins.

A third factor, though, also comes into play. In addition to being told to "speak white," on the one hand, and problematically equating French Canadian second-class citizenship to chattel slavery, on the other, the zeitgeist of the moment favoured socio-cultural exchange and political solidarity based on an unprecedented awareness (in a new media landscape) of changes taking place around the world, also on an unprecedented scale. And these changes were giving rise to actual movements on the ground. The comparison was very much of its time.[57] Many Quebec activists and intellectuals identified with what was happening in the United States—the Civil Rights, Black Power and anti-war movements—but also supported, sometimes through concrete action, decolonization movements elsewhere in the world.[58] Various social and political struggles came together under the umbrella of a socialist revolution. At the 1968 Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Vietnam, 1800 participants from twenty-five different countries gathered in Montreal, where Black Panther Bobby Seale called upon all movements to work together to defeat "imperialism in all its forms" (Warren 2014a: 308).[59] Montreal's Black community was also becoming more active and visible at the time, marked by seminal events like the international Congress of Black Writers held at McGill in October 1968, and the Sir George Williams Affair (later Concordia University), an anti-racist protest and occupation of the Hall Building that culminated in the destruction of the school's computer centre in February 1969 (Warren 2014a: 306). According to Austin, the French-media response to these events was more supportive than that of the English media:

> If media coverage is any indication, the stories run by the French-language Quebec media about the Congress of Black Writers and the solidarity demonstrated by Quebec nationalists towards Black protesters during the Sir George Williams Affair suggest that many French Quebecers were, at that moment, more than sympathetic to Black struggles in Quebec and across Canada—and they were now assessing the conditions of Blacks in Canada in relation to their own in Quebec. (2013: 72)

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[57] "Although Francophones made up 80 per cent of Quebec's population, only 47 per cent of Quebecers were employed in francophone-owned businesses. [...] In 1960, French-origin men earned less relative to British-origin men in Quebec (52 percent) than black men did relative to white men in the United States (54 per cent)" (Fortin 2011: 90).

[58] For detailed analysis of the international affinities and political movements of the period, see Warren (2007, 2008a, 2014b).

[59] In addition to Black Panthers, other delegates included the Vietnamese FNL, Cuban and Palestinian activists, and the Latin-American Organisation for Solidarity, represented by Salvador Allende, among others (Warren 2014b).

Vallières, who wrote his infamous book in a prison cell in New York, "boasted of receiving the support of, among many others, the Monthly Review, Youth Against War and Fascism, the Black Panthers and various other Black Power representatives" (Mills 2010: 80). Prominent Black American activist Stokely Carmichael, who had spoken earlier that year at the University of Montreal, sent a telegram of support to Vallières and Gagnon while they were awaiting trial on charges of FLQ-related violence. "Courages nos frères [...]," he writes, "We support you in your trial. Your experiences are no different from those of true patriots everywhere and at any time who resist tyranny. We are confident of your complete vindication. Nous Vaincrons" (cited in Regush 1973: 5).

While Lalonde's poem is now often associated with the anecdotes of French Canadians being told to "speak white," or the exaggerated and problematic metaphors surrounding "white blackness," it is important to keep this broader socio-political and historical context in mind. The reaffirmation of French-language identity and culture was a driving force in Quebec at the time, but transnational movements seeking common cause were also prevalent.[60] For Pierre Vallières, Quebec's national identity and independence were secondary. He was calling for nothing short of an international, socialist, anti-imperialist revolution (violent, if necessary), which he saw uniting working people of all races, languages and backgrounds. He believed that "the partisans of slavery" had for centuries contrived to set people of different skin colours, languages and religions against each other, all the better to exploit them and keep them powerless (Vallières 1971: 52–53):

> The blacks, the Puerto Ricans, and the Mexican-Americans engage in more and more demonstrations and riots. Thousands of them fill the prisons, North and South. Black Power is organizing, inspiring the most conscious elements of the working class with the idea and necessity of "Workers' Power." The war in Vietnam has aroused the youth against the state. Groups opposing the war, fascism, and capitalism are multiplying across the country. Class consciousness is developing despite the long history of senseless hatreds that has so weakened the movement for workers' demands in America in the last thirty years. It is a slow process, but little by little racism is giving way to solidarity. (ibid. 51)

[60] The term "Quiet Revolution," often considered unique to Quebec's *Révolution tranquille*, has international parallels and precedents. See Warren (2016a).

Translating Race, Language and Identity

Lalonde's poem evokes similar themes of solidarity across different histories of violence and oppression but makes an even more explicit link between race, language and identity. As noted above, the poem draws comparisons between Quebec and Saint-Domingue, Vietnam and the Congo (where the oppressor speaks "a purely and atrociously white French"), but also references the yellow star imposed on Jews under Nazi Germany, repression in Russia and Algeria, and the history of racial segregation and violence in Little Rock, Arkansas. "Liberty" is a Black word, "as misery is Black," but the language of oppression is universal (see English translation below):[61]

> parlez un français pur et atrocement blanc
> comme au Viêt-Nam au Congo
> parlez un allemand impeccable
> une étoile jaune entre les dents
> parlez russe, parlez rappel à l'ordre, parlez répression
> speak white
> c'est une langue universelle

French Canadian language and identity are likewise racialized by Lalonde, who remarked in an interview at the time, "Language here is the equivalent of colour for the Black American. The French language is our black colour" (cited in Mezei 1998: 234). The racialization of the French Canadian language and identity had many precedents. According to Jean-Philippe Warren, between 1880 and 1940, the question of "race" was a recurring theme in Quebec, and for intellectuals like Edmond de Nevers, the terms "peuple," "nation" and "race" appear to be have been nearly synonymous (Warren 2003b: 22–23).[62] Indeed, the term "French Canadian race," based on an understanding of "race" that encompassed cultural, ethnic and linguistic identity, remained in common usage until the 1960s (Mills 2016: 26). Corrie Scott (2014) traces this

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[61] All excerpts of the French version of the poem here are taken from the 1977 publication *Change, Souverain, Québec*. According to Lalonde, the poem had been published in various versions up to that time, but the above edition reproduced the original text in its entirety (Lalonde 1977: 100). D.G. Jones' (1970a) English translation reads: "speak a French purely and atrociously white / as in Viet Nam, in the Congo / speak impeccable German / a yellow star between your teeth / speak Russian speak of the right to rule speak of repression / speak white / it's a universal language."

[62] According to Bill Ashcroft, "Language and race are deeply implicated in Western thought because the rise of language studies not only paralleled the rise in race thinking but they were seen, throughout the nineteenth century, to be virtually synonymous. The link between philology and ethnology provided a powerful foundation for the marriage of linguistic hegemony and racial marginalisation that came to be fundamental to imperial discourse. But, ironically, that spurious link had a powerful residual effect on the thinking of post-colonial writers and intellectuals in the twentieth century, who often saw strategies of resistance in terms of the 'racial' autonomy of mother tongues" (2001: 311).

racialization to key works in Québécois literature and history, observing that French Quebecers have often been both the object and subject of racialized discourse, for example, in the 1839 Durham Report depicting French Canadians as a distinct racial "other," in the first instance, or Lionel Groulx's self-racialization in the name of *survivance* (*L'appel de la race*, 1922), in the second. These references are indirectly evoked in "Speak White." Durham famously remarked in his report that French Canadians, "owing to their retaining their peculiar language and manners" were a people "with no history, and no literature" (1839: 95). Lalonde makes several indirect and ironic allusions to this comment in her poem, writing that "we are a rude and stammering people [...] a people who are none too bright" but "not deaf to the genius of a language [...] and please excuse us if in return / we've only our rough ancestral songs" (1970a). "Speak to us of your traditions," she writes:

> Speak white
> il est si beau de vous entendre
> parler de Paradise Lost
> ou du profil gracieux et anonyme qui tremble
> dans les sonnets de Shakespeare
>
> nous sommes un peuple inculte et bègue
> mais ne sommes pas sourds au génie d'une langue
> parlez avec l'accent de Milton et Byron et Shelley et
> Keats
> speak white
> et pardonnez-nous de n'avoir pour réponse
> que les chants rauques de nos ancêtres
> et le chagrin de Nelligan[63]

"Speak White," through this sarcastic reversal, also serves to affirm a Québécois language shared by the Québécois people, a "defence and illustration of the Québécois language," as Lalonde would later title her 1979 essay (Maïsetti 2016: 178). The seemingly off-handed reference to Emile Nelligan (b. 1879), one of French Quebec's most celebrated poets, underscores Lalonde's ironic contrast.

Beyond grounding "Speak White" in a specifically French Canadian linguistic context and cultural memory, the poem extends this racialized language to a broader global, political

[63] "Speak white / it is so lovely to listen to you / speaking of Paradise Lost / or the anonymous, graceful profile trembling in the sonnets / of Shakespeare / We are a rude and stammering people / but we are not deaf to the genius of a language / speak with the accent of Milton and Byron and Shelley and Keats / speak white / and please excuse us if in return / we've only our rough ancestral songs / and the chagrin of Nelligan" (Lalonde 1970a: 25).

context, through shifting perspectives or place exchange. At the outset, it would appear that Lalonde's use of "vous" in the poem refers to Anglo-American English speakers, while "nous" refers to the French-speaking Québécois people. Through double-voicing and code-switching, the admonition to "speak white" is enunciated as though addressed by privileged anglophones to second-class French Canadians citizens. But further into the poem, the identity of "vous" is extended to include other imperial powers and colonizers around the world, and the "nous" comes to represent all colonized and oppressed peoples. As Annette Hayward has observed, though the poem's earlier references to the working class, empires, and strikes foreshadow this deictic shift, it transforms the poem's anti-English nationalist discourse into an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist one, reflecting, according to Hayward, an ideological shift already taking place in Quebec that Lalonde's "Speak White" perhaps actively contributed to (1993: 177).

Translating Diglossic Memory

Two English translations of "Speak White" were published in 1970, one by D. G. Jones in the bilingual poetry journal *Ellipse* and the other by Ben-Zion Shek.[64] Both juxtapose French and English versions. The act of translating any work into the colonizer's language is problematic from the outset. But Lalonde's use of code-switching to subvert the colonizer's language further complicates the translation of this poem into English. Below, we see how the presence of English in the original is represented in the translations:

Speak white	**Speak White, trans. D. G. Jones**	**Speak White, trans. Ben-Zion Shek**
speak white tell us that God is a great big shot and that we're paid to trust him speak white [...]	**Speak white** **tell us that God is a great big shot** **and that we're paid to trust him** **speak white** [...]	*Speak white* *tell us that God is a great big shot* *and that we're paid to trust him* *speak white* [...]
c'est une langue riche pour acheter	it's a rich language for buying	yours is a rich tongue for buying

In Jones' translation, English is indicated in bold, whereas Shek uses italics. The use of code-switching increases as the poem progresses, culminating in the final two stanzas, with the original poem switching again to French in the last two lines:

[64] A third English translation (2001–2012) by Albert Herring (aka Roger Hughes) can be found on a number of web sites. Like Shek, Herring uses italics to offset the English in the original, noting that "the bilingualism of the poem is a translation issue in itself, particularly when working into the oppressor language" (Herring 2012: n.p.). Herring also compares Lalonde's poem to Tony Harrison's "Them and [uz]" (1997), which juxtaposes working-class and "posh" British English in a similar diglossic relation.

Speak white	**Speak White, trans. D. G. Jones**	**Speak White, trans. Ben-Zion Shek**
quand vous nous demandez poliment	when you ask us politely	when you politely ask
how do you do	**how do you do**	*how do you do*
et nous entendez vous répondre	and we mean to reply	and you hear us reply
we're doing all right	**we're doing all right**	*we're doing all right*
we're doing fine	**we're doing fine**	*we're doing fine*
we	**we**	*we*
are not alone	**are not alone**	*are not alone*
nous savons	We know now	We know
que nous ne sommes pas seuls	that we are not alone	that we are not alone

The presence of English in the French text includes many references to British history and literature, and American and British place names and monuments—Shakespeare, Milton, Keats, the Thames and Potomac Rivers, the Boston Tea Party and the Lincoln Monument, among others.

Speak white	**Speak White, trans. D. G. Jones**	**Speak White, trans. Ben-Zion Shek**
parlez de choses et d'autres	speak of places, this and that	speak of this and that
parlez-nous de la Grande Charte	speak to us of the Magna Carta	tell us about the Magna Carta
ou du monument à Lincoln	of the Lincoln Monument	or about Lincoln's Monument
du charme gris de la Tamise	of the cloudy charm of the Thames	or about the grey charm of the Thames
de l'eau rose du Potomac	or blossom-time on the Potomac	or about the pink waters of the Potomac

The poem's many references to business and money are often linked directly to language: "what a marvelous language for hiring and firing [...] for having a monopoly / on how to improve one's speech" (trans. Jones 1970). While French Quebecers speak a "greasy and oil-stained" jargon (trans. Herring 2012), their anglophone bosses speak a language that is "white" but also "rich":

Speak white	**Speak White, trans. D. G. Jones**	**Speak White, trans. Ben-Zion Shek**
c'est une langue riche	it's a rich language	yours is a rich tongue
pour acheter	for buying	for buying
mais pour se vendre	but for selling oneself	but as for selling oneself
mais pour se vendre à perte d'âme	but for selling one's soul	but as for selling one's life blood
mais pour se vendre	but for selling oneself	but as for selling oneself

These business references often appear in English in the original French version: get down to brass tacks, tell us that God is a great big shot and that we're paid to trust him, speak white, big deal, speak white as on Wall Street, white as in Watts:

Speak white	**Speak White, trans. D. G. Jones**	**Speak White, trans. Ben-Zion Shek**
mais quand vous really speak white quand vous get down to brass tacks [...]	But when you **really speak white** when you **get down to brass tacks** [...]	But when you *really speak white* when you *get down to brass tacks* [...]
speak white big deal mais pour vous dire l'éternité d'un jour de grève	**speak white** **big deal** but for telling about the eternity of a day on strike	*speak white* *big deal* but as for explaining to you the eternity of a day on strike

The links between business, money and language emphasize the theme of Anglo-American cultural and economic imperialism, while the code-switching anchors the poem in a long history of unequal relations between French and English, reproducing a diglossic memory through a "literary diglossia" (Shek 1977; Simon 1994). Diglossia refers to a linguistic situation in which two languages or dialects are used under different conditions in a community, often with a hierarchized distinction between them. In the Canadian context, the privileging of (majority) English over (minority) French is reflected, for example, in the prevalence of unidirectional translations (of official documents translated from English into French, with literary works more often translated in the opposite direction) that reproduce the actual "dominant-dominated" relationship (Shek 1977; Simon 1989).[65] Quebec literature has often been written in confrontation or dialogue with English, while also navigating different registers (imperial French versus Québécois vernacular French) (Simon 1994: 29).[66] Rainier Grutman's (1997, 2019) study of heterolingualism in 19th-century Québécois literature highlights the prevalence of these diglossic and heteroglossic relations in Québécois cultural memory.[67]

The code-switching in "Speak White" focuses almost exclusively on the binary confrontation between French and English (with some switching between English registers).

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[65] The Constitution of 1867 was accompanied by a policy of institutional bilingualism: "on one hand, a triumphant English which would become the language of the majority, a language sure of itself, destined to become a worldwide lingua franca; on the other, French, a minority language that had to be protected by the institution of laws and decrees, a language into which would be translated vast quantities of government documents first produced in English" (Ladouceur 2000: 207–208).

[66] As Catherine Leclerc remarks, the affirmation of French along with the cohabitation of French and English gives rise to a sometimes unpredictable and ambiguous heritage (2010: 188).

[67] For Grutman, heterolingualism, defined as a textualization of linguistic relations (which may or may not accurately reflect the sociolinguistic reality), includes, in the Quebec context, any or all of the following: 1) the conflict between standard French and the French spoken in Quebec; 2) the contamination of Québécois French by the English lingua franca (first under the influence of the British Empire, then primarily through American mass media); 3) "la lutte proprement culturelle" between the language of Molière and the language of Shakespeare; and 4) the double and sometimes ambiguous role of Latin as the language of the Catholic Church and classical heritage (2019: 29–30).

There is no trace of Québécois *joual*, for example, and the "universal language" of oppression is metaphorically equated with "speaking white."[68] As Kathy Mezei notes,

> Lalonde upholds *la langue québécoise* against both the imperialism of standard French, language of coercion and imposition, and *joual*, a form of slang which she derides as *Bas-anglois*, and which, with its borrowed anglicisms, is simply further evidence of English colonialism. (Mezei 1998: 235)

It is worth noting that Canadian-English references (apart from the code-switching itself) are absent from the poem (ibid. 245; Gauvin 1995: 20). The "exaggerated appropriation of monuments of British and American traditions, so evidently irrelevant to the Québécois context" stand out (Mezei 1998: 236), just as the English words stand out in the French text. But this "foreign" intrusion only serves to invert the relation: the poem appropriates the English language and Anglo-American *lieux de mémoire* to dethrone them. As Mezei notes, Lalonde's strategic use of English is intended to construct borders, not bridges, but, specifically between two distinct groups: the oppressors who "speak white," on the one hand, and all the oppressed peoples of the world who resist them, on the other (ibid. 236–238).[69]

The English translations, attempting to work in the opposite direction (bridge-building), fail to reproduce the poem's subversive diglossia, not only because the result is a monolingual English text, but also because there is no corresponding socio-cultural context in which a reversal of the diglossia would make any sense (for example, using the title and refrain "Parlez blanc" in the English text to mirror the original). The English translations instead reconstruct "Speak White" as a *lieu de mémoire* in relation to the broader context of post-colonial, anti-imperial, and civil rights movements of the period, articulating "in another language the protests of a generation fighting the Vietnam War, social conformity and American cultural and economic imperialism" (ibid.). While the English versions necessarily efface the linguistic frictions made so palpable in Lalonde's original poem, they reactivate the call for solidarity beyond the specifically French Canadian context that Lalonde herself—though also minimizing crucial differences—sought to evoke. As D. G. Jones explained in an interview with Mezei, he

[68] Louise Ladouceur describes *joual* as an oral language characterized by striking regionalisms specific to Quebec that juxtaposes "archaisms, pronunciations, and turns of phrase from early colonial times with expressions borrowed from Indigenous languages and anglicisms derived from the dominant English culture" (2014: 307). Though *joual*, a working-class sociolect, was widely integrated into high culture and still has its place in contemporary Québécois literature, its status has been subject to intense debate in both literary and political circles (see Larose 2004).

[69] Citing Mikhail Bakhtin, Rainier Grutman distinguishes between "stereo" language blending and "mono" texts that use polyglot devices as borders rather than as bridges (1993: 207).

translated "Speak White" because he identified with the poem's sense of frustration, estrangement and angry impotence" (Mezei 1998: 239). As we shall see, subsequent translations of "Speak White" revisited the poem as a *lieu de mémoire* through different forms of rewriting and adaptation. Also born of particular cultural moments and socio-political movements, they reveal, like Lalonde's original and the English translations, some of the inherent limits of appropriation (where power imbalances and false equivalencies sometimes efface important differences), while simultaneously aspiring to a common world made possible through empathy, conceived as an effort of understanding or invitation to dialogue that taps into the collective memory of both the source and receiving cultures, in an attempt to renew and transform them.

Marco Micone's "Speak What"

Marco Micone's "Speak What" is a French-language poem that was first published in the theatre journal *Jeu* in 1989 and read on the Radio-Canada program "Littératures actuelles" in 1991. It is an intralingual translation or rewriting of Michèle Lalonde's "Speak White" that maintains the same primary language, medium and genre, and addresses the themes and poetics of Lalonde's poem from an immigrant's point of view. Micone, in an interview with Lise Gauvin, explained that he wrote the poem in response to the adoption of Bill 178 in 1988, an amendment to the French Language Charter prohibiting the use of languages other than French on public signs. In response to the new law, Micone said he decided to write a text that would be "mi-politique mi-littéraire" (Gauvin 1995: 22). As a rewriting that both renews and challenges an important Québécois *lieu de mémoire*, "Speak What" engages with the history of French Quebecers' struggle to maintain their language and identity while also foregrounding socio-political events and conflicts of the time, particularly those affecting French Québécois and immigrant-allophone relations and impacting, often adversely, Quebec's immigrant communities.[70]

Marco Micone is an essayist and playwright who immigrated from Italy to Montreal in 1958 at 13 years old. He thus came of age in a Quebec marked not only by the Quiet Revolution

[70] *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 2004), defines "allophone" as "(esp. in Quebec) an immigrant whose first language is neither French nor English." Erin Hurley writes: "the 'allophone' category into which Micone and his generation of 'other-speaking' immigrants largely fell gives the lie to the invitation to start over from a Québécois point of origin. 'Allophone' is an omnibus category encased within the franco-anglo (and a presumed Catholic-Protestant) binary that provides the key terms of reference for Québécois identity. The 'allophone' designation, first used in the 1972 Gendron Report on the language question, situates immigrants whose native language is neither French nor English as simply 'other'" (Hurley 2011: 94).

and the rise of Québécois nationalism, but also by the many heated language debates of the period. The first language bills in Quebec were implemented following the 1968 education crisis, during which Italian immigrants living in the Saint-Léonard borough of Montreal demanded the right to send their children to English schools (Busque, Cooper and Ma 2021: par. 3). The initial legislation (Bill 85) allowed parents to choose their children's language of instruction but was withdrawn in response to protest. This led to the Gendron Commission (1968–73) and Bill 63, the *Act to promote the French language in Quebec* (1969). The latter guaranteed parents the right to choose the language of instruction for their children, while insisting on ensuring that children taught in English acquire a working knowledge of French (ibid. par. 4). But this left the issue unresolved: allophones were further anglicized, and francophones became more entrenched in their demands for a French Quebec.[71] The *Official Language Act* of 1974 (Bill 22) made French the official language of Quebec. It attempted to clarify the language issue but still left room for ambiguity on education and other issues:

> The wording stated that French must be the language of education, and that anglophones wanting schooling in English would have to prove through testing that it was indeed their mother tongue. This caused widespread dissatisfaction: francophones judged the program too moderate; anglophones and cultural communities felt unjustified in submitting to an examination in order to study in English. The issue of commercial signs in French was also broached, but no clear formal requirement was drawn up. (ibid. par. 6)

The *Charte de la langue française* (Bill 101), enacted in 1977 under René Lévesque's Parti Québécois, supplanted and expanded upon Bill 22. It was contested from the outset and several amendments were introduced over time.[72] This included the 1988 Bill that Micone initially responded to with his poem "Speak What." Bill 178 required that signs be in French, with some

[71] The Saint-Léonard Crisis coincided with other pro-francization movements, most notably Opération McGill français (March 1969), which saw different groups come together in the largest post-war demonstration in Quebec. Opération Mcgill came in the wake of the student occupations of Cegeps and Opération Murray Hill (supporting taxi drivers) in the fall of 1968. In March 1969, students, workers and nationalists came together to make McGill University—one of Montreal's most prestigious, rich, anglophone and elitist institutions—the target of their protest against the establishment, anglo-dominated education, low wages, and second-class citizenship. A special issue of the *McGill Daily* opened with the manifesto of the Comité des étudiants de McGill "Bienvenue à McGill" and closed with Michèle Lalonde's poem "Speak White" (Warren 2008b: 101–102). "Speak White" was also chanted at the McGill protests and later during the 1970 October Crisis (Hurley 2011: 200).

[72] The disputes surrounding language legislation are ongoing. Most recently, in May 2021, the Coalition Avenir Québec government announced an important reform to Bill 101 that would limit the number of students able to attend English-language Cegeps, require businesses with more than 25 employees to work in French, and make French the sole language of communication of the Quebec government (also requiring immigrants to communicate with the government in French within six months of arrival). The reform (Bill 96) was adopted amid controversy in May 2022.

exceptions, depending on business size and number of employees, where both languages (French and English) would be allowed on the condition that French predominate (ibid. 9). The sign issue thus focused more on francophone resistance to the infiltration of English in the public space. But the impact on other language communities was perhaps overlooked, and, indeed, the divisions sown between francophones, anglophones and allophones were more complex. The Saint-Léonard crisis, starting in 1967, saw a split between the Mouvement pour l'intégration scolaire (MIS), promoting immigrant integration into the francophone school system, on the one hand, and the Saint-Léonard English Catholic Association of Parents, on the other. Tensions eventually spilled over and set the broader francophone and anglophone communities of Montreal against each other, with the latter openly supporting allophone Catholic parents (Robert 2008), the Protestant-Catholic split being another important divide.[73] After the tabling of Bill 85 in 1968, a series of demonstrations took place in Saint-Léonard, one of which led to a confrontation between francophone militants and Italian parents that resulted in authorities proclaiming the Riot Act (ibid.). In light of this complicated, conflictual history, Micone's decision to rewrite "Speak White" as a polemic response to the imposition of yet another language law is perhaps not surprising.

Micone's position had always been somewhat ambivalent.[74] A supporter of French-language culture and independence as a young adult (he joined the Parti Québécois in 1970), he was also affected, in his early years, by the linguistic "ghettoization" of immigrants and the intercultural and interlingual tensions leading up to the Saint-Léonard protests. Upon arriving in Montreal (speaking neither French nor English), he was refused entry into French-language schools and received his elementary and high-school education primarily in English (Foglia 2014: 31). He recalls being called a "wop" on a regular basis on the bus that took him "to the ghetto school in an Italian neighbourhood" (Micone 2012: para 6). His own efforts to study in French ran counter to the current trend among Italian immigrants at the time. Reflecting on the period in 2012, he writes:

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[73] As Pierre Anctil observes, beyond the language issue, the Protestant-Catholic divide also affected the integration of immigrants into francophone Quebec, particularly among Jewish immigrants: "Between the two world wars, the first generation of Montreal-born Jews of Eastern European background was largely exposed to the demands of an internally bilingual and secular Jewish education, in Yiddish and Hebrew, while facing the pressures of an externally bilingual host environment in which French and English were dominant. For those who opted for public schools, it was the Protestant school system, where English was the dominant language of instruction, that tolerated Jews as 'honorary Protestants'—that is, as Protestants for the purposes of education" (Anctil 2022: 30–31).

[74] Having publicly supported the "yes" vote during the 1980 referendum on Quebec's independence, Micone was castigated by some in Montreal's Italian community, accused of being a traitor and even received death threats (Lachance 1999: 9).

> Thousands of Italians came to Québec in the 1950s and 1960s in an atmosphere of virtual indifference [...] Under Québécois roofs, people told scandalous stories of promiscuous men, made fun of the fat, black-clad Italian mamma, and accused these immigrants of stealing jobs. [...] With no law imposing the French language, these new Quebecers, who had never heard of French being the majority language in Québec, overwhelmingly chose English schools for their children, and quite legally so. For a whole generation, no one protested. Then, suddenly, French authorities understood they had to integrate these immigrants. And as in a Greek tragedy, two legitimate points of view came into conflict, thus causing violent riots in Saint-Léonard (1969) (Micone 2012: par. 6; see also Voyer 2020).[75]

However, as Micone notes, many immigrants did not wait for the coming of Bill 101 to learn French and "put into practice some of the principles of interculturalism long before it became part of public discourse" (ibid.). In a 2000 interview, Micone recounts how reading Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945) when he was 20 years old awakened a sense of identification in him:

> It's at that moment that I understood that Montreal was a North American city, where there were francophone Quebecers, and where I discovered a working class that resembled my family. I began to feel a little more at home reading this novel, then again when I read other works talking about Montreal and Quebec society in general [...] these books were sort of the pillars on which I built my identity [...]. (cited in Foglia 2017: 66)

Micone went on to study Québécois literature (his 1971 MA thesis was on Quebec playwright Marcel Dubé) and teach Italian literature at the English-language Vanier College, where he began to develop his concept of the *culture immigrée*, a forerunner, of sorts, to *écriture migrante* (ibid.). He has since become known for his work in theatre, starting with his trilogy of plays *Gens du Silence* (1982), *Addolorata* (1984) and *Déjà l'agonie* (1988). Translation is intrinsic to his work. He translates others and revisits his own works through rewriting and self-translation, for example, *Gens du silence* rewritten in French (1991,1996), self-translated into Italian (*Non era per noi*, 2004), then back again into French (*Silences*, 2004).[76] He remarks that, even when writing directly in French, there is an element or "pre-condition" of translation in his work (Lévesque 1994: 23). His concept of *culture immigrée* is likewise informed by linguistic and cultural translation:

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[75] Micone exaggerates here in stating that no one protested for a "whole generation," since the period referred to only spans around 10 years.

[76] **"**Micone decided to stop self-translating in a source-oriented manner and, instead, rewrite the entire trilogy in Italian, then translate this translation, almost simultaneously, into French" (Foglia 2017: 228).

> Translation is to languages as emigration is to populations, to human beings. To translate is to emigrate, and vice-versa. It adds something new, it enriches. There are of course many ways to envision a translation. The image that corresponds most to the work I've done is that of a constant tension between the original text and the receiving text, a tension that never disappears. (ibid. 29)

Micone's *culture immigrée* encompasses the remembering of origins, recent rupture and anticipation of the future. Like translation, it entails a loss that "takes into account the dimension of rupture inherent in any relation to culture" (Simon 1994: 156) but is always accompanied by both a "holding onto" (the past) and a "bearing across," a process that can only be accomplished in "a situation of real intercultural exchange" (Micone 1990: 63). The immigrant, the "only being to die twice" (Micone 1996: 20), must come to terms with what is lost in translation in the hopes of what can be found, as echoed in the often-cited quote by Salman Rushdie:

> The word "translation" comes, etymologically, from the Latin for "bearing across." Having been borne across the world, we are translated men. It is normally supposed that something always gets lost in translation; I cling, obstinately, to the notion that something can also be gained. (Rushdie 1992: 17)

The tension between the maintenance of attachments and the opportunity for reinvention, or what Cronin (2006) refers to as "translational accommodation" versus "translational assimilation," speaks to a tension between memory and translation but also reveals translation to be a remembering process in itself, born of an identitary rupture, a challenge to the "promised closure" of identity (Simon 1996: 135), that creates the conditions for renewal. But migration, for Micone, is also a catalyst for writing. The immigrant writer sets out in search of a childhood garden only to discover that the human spirit cannot be confined to a single country, let alone a single culture. All the great works of literature attest to this, he writes, "laying bare, without exception, a shared core of desires, fears, dreams and doubts, buried within each of our singular experiences. It is because of our fundamental similarities as human beings, that we are able to accept our differences" (Micone 1996: 20–21).

The Impossible Palimpsest

Micone's poem "Speak What" has been variously described as a rewriting, imitation, simulation, transposition, pastiche, parody and palimpsest. A number of critics, including Lalonde herself, were offended by Micone's rewriting, regarding it as a plagiarism, if not an outright act of aggression. In its various forms, the poem elicited harsh criticisms and stirred numerous debates

(Gauvin 1995: 24). The 1992 publication of "Speak What" was soon followed by the scandals surrounding Nancy Huston receiving the French-language Governor General's Award for her self-translated novel *Cantique des plaines* (1993), which critics argued should have been considered a translation, not an original French-language publication. In an article published in *Le Devoir* titled "*Cantiques des plaines*: Assez c'est assez!" Jacques Lanctôt (1993) denounced Micone for basing "Speak What" entirely on Lalonde's "Speak White" without consulting the author or editors (Gauvin 1995: 24). Régine Robin (1994) responded with a text titled "Speak Watt," referencing Samuel Beckett's novel *Watt* (1953) and arguing that the writer is always writing from a third place if not a non-place (ibid.).[77] Lise Gauvin, Pierre Nepveu and others interpreted "Speak What" as an homage to Quebec literature. Gauvin reads "Speak What" not as a subversion of Lalonde's text, but rather as a deference to it, considered as a classic and a testament to the very existence of a Québécois literature, capable of generating its own models and counterpoints. As Gauvin writes: "Is drawing inspiration from a text not the greatest homage one can pay to it, in the form of pastiche or parody? The text that serves as the point of departure, if strong enough, can only emerge enriched from the adventure" (1995: 22). She maintains that describing "Speak What" as a plagiarism is patently absurd, that no one could possibly imagine Micone not intending his poem to be read as a direct reference to Lalonde's original poem. Gauvin characterizes Micone's poem rather as a hypertext that takes the form of a "serious parody" following Gérard Genette, who defines parody as a transposition: "singing beside [...] singing off-key; or singing in another voice—in counterpoint; or again, singing in another key—deforming, therefore, or *transposing* a melody" (1997: 10).

Responding to the accusations of plagiarism, Micone wrote an article titled "Le palimpseste impossible" that addressed two "impossibilities": one alluding to the obstacle created by a certain resistance in Québécois culture to the integration of immigrants (then often still designated "néo-Québécois"), the second addressing the issue of rewriting as a literary form in itself: "there is no real palimpsest," he writes, because writers are by necessity always drawing on forms and subjects that preceded them (Micone 1996: 21):

[77] One of the GG jury members also came to Micone'e defence. Writing in *Le Devoir,* Marie-José Thériault asked: "What can one say of a Marco Micone, who writes *Babel* [a one-act play published in *Vice versa*] in four languages? How can we know, without leaning over his shoulder while he works, if a passage in French was not first started in Molisan patois, in English, in normative Italian, or in *italese*? His 'original' could very well have been a patchwork of translations!" (cited in Hurley 2011: 109).

> In my poem, I'm really speaking about the immigrant's experience of linguistic and cultural loss, as well as their vulnerability faced with a francophone majority that is not always sensitive to their situation, a situation analogous to the minority status of francophone Quebecers in anglophone Canada, addressed by Michèle Lalonde. [...] There is no better proof of an immigrant writer's integration than the rewriting of a classic of the receiving culture's literature. (ibid. 21–22)

Micone's defence of rewriting as intrinsic to literature and to his own creative process recalls Borges' suggestion that every original work can be viewed as a re-creation of a re-creation, a translation of a translation. "The fact is that every writer *creates* his own precursors," writes Borges. "His work modifies our conception of the past, as it will modify the future" (1999: 365).[78] Micone's re-creation of "Speak White" places "Speak What" in a long tradition of literary rewritings.[79] The poem is emblematic of Micone's own work and of migrant writing in general, insofar as the latter—the *culture immigrée* intrinsic to Micone's writing and sense of identity—also often takes a subversive or parodic stance: while the poetic parody may be born of an act of aggression, it ends by becoming a space of dialogue and complicity, through the grounding of divergent cultural references in a shared cultural memory (Simon 1994: 155).

Speak What: *Parlons-nous*

While Lalonde's poem marks English as the colonial language through code-switching and the presence of Anglo-American cultural references, Micone's rewriting reverses roles, framing French as the dominant language and culture. Apart from the title "speak what" itself, which is repeated a few more times in the poem, the use of English almost completely disappears in the rest of the poem (unlike in "Speak White," in which the refrain is repeated 16 times and English is consistently present throughout) (Gauvin 1995: 22). But in terms of wording, structure, themes and references, "Speak What" mirrors many other elements of the original poem.[80] So where "Speak White" refers to icons of Anglo-American culture, "Speak What" substitutes Québécois

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[78] What we have in Borges, writes Sergio Waisman, is a "use of the tradition in the target language that allows translators and writers to create versions which are, paradoxically, both new and the same as those in the source texts" (2005: 75).

[79] According to André Lachance, if Micone was a "plagiarizer," he was in good company: writers as celebrated as Molière, Racine, Proust, Voltaire, Goethe, Pouchkine and Valéry also all took pleasure in rewriting, in their own way and according to their own sensibilites, the works of their colleagues (Lachance 1999: 12).

[80] Erin Hurley refers to the "transmutation of the colonial English-French binary into a Hegelian master-slave relation," which she sees as establishing the unifying essence of "Speak White": "Where 'Speak White' establishes 'nous' as a symbolically blackened, francophone, colonized proletariat, 'Speak What' speaks from the position of a 'nous' that does not repose on blackness, nor indeed on any single vehicle" (2011: 103–106).

cultural references. Below are the first stanzas of “Speak White” and Micone’s “Speak What,” followed by the latter’s English translation (2008). The opening lines “il est si beau de vous entendre” are directly transposed into their new context, in which we are no longer speaking of Milton or Shakespeare, but rather of two of Quebec’s most celebrated poets: Emile Nelligan and Gaston Miron:

Speak White	**Speak What**
Speak white il est si beau de vous entendre parler de Paradise Lost ou du profil gracieux et anonyme qui tremble dans les sonnets de Shakespeare	Il est si beau de vous entendre parler de *la Romance du vin* et de *l'Homme rapaillé* d'imaginer vos coureurs des bois des poèmes dans leurs carquois[81]

While the next stanza of “Speak White” lingers on the English references—Byron, Shelley and Keats—contrasting these with the Québécois as a “rude and stammering people” with their “rough ancestral songs,” “Speak What” immediately shifts to a multilingual and international context:

Speak White	**Speak What**
parlez avec l’accent de Milton et Byron et Shelley et Keats speak white et pardonnez-nous de n’avoir pour réponse que les chants rauques de nos ancêtres et le chagrin de Nelligan	nous avions les mots de Montale et de Neruda le souffle de l’Oural le rythme des haïku[82]

Lalonde’s reference to Nelligan is echoed in Micone’s allusion to the voices of Italian, Chilean, Russian and Japanese poets. By foregrounding the language issue, Micone not only reiterates a central theme of “Speak White” but also inscribes his poem in the broader “language question,” in a literary tradition that has privileged the language question from its beginnings (Gauvin 2001: 17). As Cecilia Foglia observes,

> Micone identifies with the Québécois in their struggle against cultural and linguistic assimilation. Just like francophone Quebecers, immigrants are invested in the survival of their identity. Micone sets out to show that immigrants represent neither an obstacle nor a danger to the identitary quest of the Québécois people. Quite the contrary, in their desire

[81] It’s so beautiful to hear you talk / of *la Romance du vin* / and of *l’Homme rapaillé* / to imagine your coureurs des bois / poems in their quivers (Micone 2008). All English translations of “Speak What” are by Donald Winkler.

[82] we brought with us the words / of Montale and Neruda / the breath of the Urals / the rhythm of the haiku

> to integrate and speak French, immigrants play the role of allies seeking to contribute to the re(definition) of *québécité*. (Foglia 2017: 69)

But here, as elsewhere in "Speak What," language is revealed to be an instrument of both communication and exclusion. Micone recreates the sense of alienation present in Lalonde's poem by emphasizing the immigrant's foreignness. Whereas the Lincoln Monument, Thames River and Boston Tea Party stand out as foreign references in "Speak White," in "Speak What," the immigrants themselves become the foreign reference, both with respect to the loss of their own languages and their sense of exclusion from Québécois culture. They are "strangers" to Félix (Leclerc) and Nelligan. The "Grande Charte" (Magna Carta) is replaced by "votre Charte," clearly referring to Quebec's *Charte de la langue française*, the French Language Charter originally at the source of Micone's rewriting:

Speak White	**Speak What**
speak white parlez de choses et d'autres parlez-nous de la Grande Charte ou du monument à Lincoln du charme gris de la Tamise de l'eau rose du Potomac	speak what now nos parents ne comprennent déjà plus nos enfants nous sommes étrangers à la colère de Félix et au spleen de Nelligan parlez-nous de votre Charte[83]

While the use of code-switching is much less present in Micone's poem, the ambiguous interplay between the "nous" and the "vous" already at work in "Speak White" is amplified. Micone's "vous" now refers to the dominant French-speaking Québécois, whereas immigrants to take the place of the "nous," the exploited underclass. Below, we note in the last two lines of "Speak What" the only use of English in Micone's poem, apart from the refrain of the title:

Speak White	**Speak What**
un peu plus fort alors speak white haussez vos voix de contremaîtres nous sommes un peu durs d'oreille nous vivons trop près des machines et n'entendons que notre souffle au-dessus des outils	Comment parlez-vous dans vos salons huppés vous souvenez-vous du vacarme des usines and of the voice des contremaîtres you sound like them more and more[84]

French Quebecers now speak in the "voice des contremaîtres." The singular shift to English draws attention to the line "you sound like them more and more." Does the use of English here

[83] *speak what now* / already our parents cannot understand our children / we are strangers / to the fury of Félix / to Nelligan's melancholy / speak to us of your Charter

[84] how do you talk / in your chic salons / do you remember the factory din / and the foremen's voices / *you sound like them more and more*

imply that the French Québécois bosses are literally speaking English, or are they simply speaking the language of power?

The following excerpt includes the deictic shift (noted by Hayward) in the original "Speak White," where Lalonde's "nous" is now extended to include all oppressed peoples. Lalonde's "colonizers" speak the language of Shakespeare and Longfellow but also a "pure and atrociously white French" in Vietnam and Congo:

Speak White	**Speak What**
dans la langue douce de Shakespeare avec l'accent de Longfellow parlez un français pur et atrocement blanc comme au Viêt-Nam au Congo	Délestez-vous de la haire et du cilice imposez-nous votre langue nous vous raconterons la guerre, la torture et la misère nous dirons notre trépas avec vos mots pour que vous ne mourriez pas[85]

Micone's rewriting brings this distant French colonialism home to Quebec, inviting the Québécois to impose their French language, not a problem, he seems to imply. But the "nous," the immigrants of Quebec, are here, and "nous" (we) can tell you stories about war and torture and poverty. We will translate your cultural memory to ensure your survival, writes Micone: "we will translate our deaths into your words / so that you will not die." And as in Lalonde's poem, the underclass speaks a "bastard language" but one that is here translated through the "fractured accents" of immigrants inscribing their loss in the language of the receiving culture:

Speak White	**Speak What**
parlez russe, parlez rappel à l'ordre, parlez répression speak white c'est une langue universelle nous sommes nés pour la comprendre avec ses mots lacrymogènes avec ses mots matraques	et vous parlerons avec notre verbe bâtard et nos accents fêlés du Cambodge et du Salvador du Chili et de la Roumanie de la Molise et du Péloponèse jusqu'à notre dernier regard[86]

The language issue, as presented in "Speak What," thus remains ambiguous, oscillating between an affirmation of linguistic integration and a "form of suspense, of suspended meaning," beginning with the title itself, which takes the form of a question (Gauvin 1995: 23). Initially, the

[85] enough of hair shirts and traitors / thrust your language upon us / we will speak to you / of poverty, war and torture, / we will translate our deaths into your words / so that you will not die

[86] and we will talk to you / in our bastard language / with our fractured accents / of Cambodia and El Salvador / of Chili and Romania / of the Molise and the Peloponnese / for as long as our eyes can see

title and refrain appear as a rejoinder to the imposition of language (or of yet another language law). But Micone's re-iterations of "speak what" and "speak what now" express a sense of urgency and ground his words in a concrete temporality. Understanding is difficult in Saint-Henri or Montréal-Nord, he writes, where immigrants speak "the language of silence and of impotence":

Speak White	**Speak What**
Speak white and loud qu'on vous entende de Saint-Henri à Saint-Domingue oui quelle admirable langue pour embaucher donner des ordres	speak what now que personne ne vous comprend ni à St-Henri ni à Montréal-Nord nous y parlons la langue du silence et de l'impuissance[87]

Gauvin interprets the mysterious "what" of the title not as referring to "which language are we speaking," but rather "what are we talking about?" or even "let's talk" (ibid.). Reading "speak what" as "parlons-nous" indeed highlights the poem's direct appeal to dialogue and sense of urgency. Instead of speaking of money or "this and that" (*choses et d'autres*), Micone's poem asks Quebecers to "speak to us of other things / of the children we will have together / of the garden we will make for them":

Speak White	**Speak What**
speak white parlez-nous production, profits et pourcentages speak white c'est une langue riche pour acheter	"productions, profits et pourcentages" parlez-nous d'autres choses des enfants que nous aurons ensemble du jardin que nous leur ferons

"Speak White" primarily sets two groups in opposition, concluding in both English and French, that "we / are not alone / Nous savons / que nous ne sommes pas seuls." The "nous," in this case, is understood to include all the oppressed peoples of the world.[88] Micone's "Speak What" likewise seems to oppose two groups, a "nous" and a "vous," but also draws attention to the somewhat elusive position of the immigrant other, revealing, as Corrie Scott notes, the fragility

[87] *speak what now* / so nobody understands you / not in St. Henri not in Montreal North / there we speak / the language of silence / and of impotence

[88] This last line of Lalonde's poem is taken directly from Vallières: "Nous ne sommes pas seuls à nous battre. Notre lutte fait partie de la longue marche des hommes vers ls libération de l'exploitation des uns par les autres" (Vallières 1968: 506). "We are not the only ones who are fighting. Our struggle is part of man's long march toward liberation from the exploitation of some by others" (Vallières 1971: 281).

of the pluralism of the larger collective "nous" alluded to in the original poem (2014: 147–148). By bringing the voices of actual immigrants into the conversation, by surrounding the immigrant "nous" with other "others" (Hurley 2011: 107), Micone disrupts "the antagonistic relation between francophones and anglophones and [proposes] allophones as the new interlocutors of the Québécois majority" (Micone 1996: 21). Micone's poem names the "others" and reminds us that they (we) are here, open to dialogue, and seeking complicity rather than opposition and competition. "Speak What" closes with the "nous" and "vous's" linguistic interpenetration (Hurley 2011: 107), the final stanza reiterating the poem's opening lines:

> nous sommes cent peuples venus de loin
> partager vos rêves et vos hivers [...]
>
> nous sommes cent peuples venus de loin
> pour vous dire que vous n'êtes pas seuls.[89]

Despite the accusations leveled at Micone for his "plagiarism" of Lalonde's poem, "Speak What" clearly seeks to create a space of shared cultural memory between French Quebecers in their struggle for the survival of the French language and identity, on the one hand, and the immigrant's experience of loss, translation and struggle for identitary survival, on the other. Micone's poem takes a critical stance that provokes tension, but it also aspires to a common world made possible through empathy. It asks the Québécois people to put themselves in migrant shoes through "place change" and an appeal to mutual understanding. With "Speak What," Micone does not simply appropriate "Speak White" to use it as a premise for a new work. "Speak What" is constructed in dialogue with "Speak White" and is thus a perfect example of a creative appropriation whose "restaging and re-enacting depends on the audience's prior knowledge of the source" and thus "acquires its status precisely because of the visible presence of the source within it" (Maitland 2017: 117). The visible presence of "Speak White" in Micone's poem reconstitutes it as a *lieu de mémoire*, while also translating it over time and across linguistic and cultural differences. It reinforces the source text's foundational place in Québécois literature while also providing an "alternate entry into [Quebec's] national representation" (Hurley 2011: 92, 106). As confrontational as it is, "Speak What" seeks to build bridges rather than borders.

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[89] We are a hundred peoples come from afar / to share your dreams and your winters [...] we are a hundred peoples come from afar / to tell you that you are not alone.

As writers, both Lalonde and Micone were inspired by personal experiences born of distinct socio-cultural moments and historical and political contexts. While francophone Quebecers were once told to “speak white” and denigrated by a dominant anglophone culture, Italian immigrants like Micone were called “wops” and forced to choose between assimilation and ghettoization—denying the constant tension in translation “that never disappears” (Micone, cited in Lévesque 1994: 29). Their poems, directly inspired by the events of their respective periods, resonated with large publics at the time of their writing and have since been revisited, reinterpreted, and reinscribed in the “impossible palimpsest” of Québécois culture, with rewritings of “Speak White” continually renewing it as a *lieu de mémoire*. As we will see in the following sections, two adaptations of Lalonde’s poem were written and widely circulated during the 2012 Quebec Student Strike. Like Micone’s “Speak What,” they reconstitute “Speak White” as an important site of cultural memory in Quebec while also reinscribing the student movement in the legacy of Lalonde’s original Quiet-Revolution-era poem.

“Speak Red” and “Speak rich en tabarnaque”

Two poetic adaptations of “Speak White” were produced and performed during the 2012 Student Strike in Quebec: “Speak Red” by Catherine Côté-Ostiguy and “Speak rich en tabarnaque” by Marie-Christine Lemieux-Couture. Like Micone’s “Speak What,” both poems are intralingual translations or rewritings of Lalonde’s “Speak White,” written primarily in French with code-switching into English. “Speak Red” was first published on the website of the online journal *Presse-toi à Gauche*, while “Speak rich” was published on the website of *Les éditions de ta mère*.[90] The texts of both poems were the source of inspiration for two videos. “Speak Red,” directed by Jean-David Marceau, features a montage of students and professors reciting different lines of the poem with music by Alexandra Stréliski. “Speak rich,” read by Katia Gagnon, is set against footage of a massive crowd at one of the many Montreal demonstrations (the April 25 “Ostie de grosse manif de soir”).[91] These rewritings and remediations of “Speak White” served as powerful vehicles for mobilizing collective memory and promoting solidarity with the student

[90] Côté-Ostiguy’s “Speak Red” was translated into English by both Rouge Squad and Translating the printemps érable. The English translations used here are by Cameron Joseph Monagle for Rouge Squad (2012c). All English translations of excerpts from “Speak rich en tabarnaque” are my own. English translations of “Speak White” in this section are by D. G. Jones.

[91] The video of “Speak rich en tabarnaque” can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aZC-fj8PqHQ. The video of “Speak Red” can be found at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkbBeQ21d1c.

movement. In revisiting “Speak White,” the two poems not only reactivated an important Québécois *lieu de mémoire*, but also linked the 2012 movement to a tradition of protest in Quebec and, in particular, to the fervent years of the Quiet Revolution and moment of political awakening that made Lalonde’s original poem so potent in its time.

The 2012 Student Strike was the longest and largest in Quebec’s and Canada’s history. A reaction to the provincial Liberal government’s proposed 75 percent increase in university tuition fees, it can be seen as the culmination of a long history of student protests in Quebec. Between 1968 and 2005, there were eight general and unlimited student strikes.[92] The 2012 movement was unprecedented in scale, surpassing the massive 2005 protests and drawing popular support from the broader civil society, as well as widespread local, national and international media coverage. One of the outcomes of this ongoing movement has been to keep university tuition fees relatively low in Quebec, compared to other Canadian provinces (Collectif 2016: 14). Rather than following the North American approach, Quebec had always set itself apart in Canada by looking to European and Nordic models of education. In an open letter of support for the 2012 protests published in *Le Monde*, a group of university professors from Quebec and France noted that the crisis, produced by the Charest government’s refusal to hear student demands, called into question “one of the founding principles of modern Quebec society”—accessible education for all (Enseignants-chercheurs 2012: par. 3). Indeed, in 1960, Jean Lesage’s Liberals ran on a platform of free education at all levels, secularization of the school system, and working-class and francophone access to higher education. The Liberals went on to win the 1960 election and set important educational reforms in motion, resulting in the creation of Quebec’s province-wide college system (1967) and the Université du Québec (1968).[93] Reflecting on this history in 2012, the signatories of the letter emphasized the Quebec university system’s unique place in North America, describing it as “an essential feature of the building of a welfare state founded on the economic and social development of Quebec” (ibid.). One of the student spokespersons of the

[92] “While there have been innumerous sporadic student strikes at individual educational institutions across the province before this century, seven of them were general and unlimited: 1968, 1974, 1978, 1986, 1988, 1990 and 1996” (Hausfather 2017: 60). These were followed by the general student strikes of 2005, up until then, also unprecedented in scale (Warren 2008a: 254) and 2012.

[93] The *Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement* (Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education) also known as the Parent Commission (chaired by Alphonse-Marie Parent), was established in 1961. The five-volume Parent Report was published between 1963–66 and proposed 500 recommendations.

2012 strike, Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois, likewise drew a direct line from the Quiet Revolution to the current uprising and renewed call for accessible education:

> Faced with this attempt to Americanize the Quebec education system, young adults have answered with an energetic defence of the principles inherited from the Quiet Revolution, which, though imperfect, nevertheless offered an effective compromise between the concern for public usefulness and the humanist, republican project of democratizing education. The cégeps continue to embody that project. The attacks against them are symptomatic of the looming threat to accessible education, the legacy of the hard-fought battles of the 1960s.[94] (Nadeau-Dubois 2015: 63)

The 2012 strike lasted seven months, from February to September 2012. By the end of March, at the strike's climax, there were 300,000 students on strike, many of them taking to the streets in mass demonstrations and nightly protests.[95] These evolved into a broader civil rights movement with the passing of Bill 78, which restricted public assembly. As Nadeau-Dubois observed at the time, "Ten years of accumulated anger against the Charest government spilled out into the streets" (2012: par. 4), and tens of thousands of students and citizens were soon out "casseroling" every night. The terms "casseroler" and "casseroling" became commonly used verbs in both French and English (e.g. "J'ai casserolé hier soir"/ "I went casseroling last night"), as citizens spontaneously took to the streets banging pots and pans in response to Premier Jean Charest's restrictive new Bill. The protests led up to and directly influenced the results of the September 2012 provincial election, which saw the Liberals ousted from power and Charest losing his own seat.

Emerging from a politicized Québécois collective memory, the movement was driven by both the students' historically informed demands and an emotionally charged escalation of hopes and expectations. In her participant study of the Quebec student movements, Nadia Hausfather observed that the collective "high" experienced by the students was particularly intense because it took place alongside the empowering effects of direct democracy, as well as a "feeling of living and creating something 'historic'":

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[94] Cegeps (Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel) are Quebec's general and vocational colleges.

[95] As Ancelovici and Dupuis-Déri remark, the movement stood out for its extremely diverse forms of protest, including "teach-in sessions in the street, people's tribunals, outdoor concerts, a critical mass of thousands of cyclists, demos parodying the right, numerous *maNUfestations*, where protesters' naked bodies expressed vulnerability and sacrifice, red paint splashed on the Education Minister's office or in the streets, the proliferation of graffiti and illegal postering, a locust invasion at the l'École des hautes études commerciales, the decorating of buildings with red fabric, the knitted creations of the Maille à Part collective, red square banners, bricks thrown on the tracks of the Montreal metro, and smoke bombs in the Centre Desjardins" (2014: 17–18).

> I argue that these historic "high" collective-oriented emotional experiences were intricately woven with rational ideas involving both past and future expectations, strategies, and ideals that were often deliberated for hours in general assemblies or meetings; and that these emotional experiences were not so much determined by "l'urbanité" [...] as by the particular historical context created by these strikes, or the collective memory of such historic-feeling moments. (Hausfather 2017: 91–94)

The student strikes, she concludes, have continuously revived and resuscitated these historic-feeling moments, in recurring cycles, since the 1960s (ibid. 286). Given this emotionally charged atmosphere, it not surprising that the 2012 student strike also spawned a proliferation of creative endeavours—diverse protest tactics, but also art and design collectives (inspired, in part, by Paris' May 1968 posters), exhibitions and in-situ installations, blogs, comics strips, films, music, and translation collectives, among others. Numerous scholarly publications, homages and memoirs followed, making the movement an important site of collective memory in itself.[96]

Translating the printemps érable

Translation was in many ways intrinsic to the 2012 Quebec Student Strike from the start. The movement soon came to be called the "Printemps québécois" or "Printemps érable" (Maple Spring), the latter being a play on words of the expression "Printemps arabe" widely used to designate the vast popular uprisings that spread across the Arab world, throughout the Middle East and Maghreb in 2010 and 2011.[97] As Michelle Hartman observes, as local and Québécois as the movement was, its student leaders also had a global view, orientation and strategy:

> Thus the imagery and sound power of this strike and its manifestations also drew on cultural and linguistic translation. As an Arabic translator, the framing of the movement as the Printemps érable, drawing upon the sound similarity with the events of the year before, dubbed by some the Printemps arabe, provided an unmistakable consonance [...] and watching young Québécois people want to emulate their Arab counterparts and use the Arab world as a role model was something that felt to me, and many people I know, as if it could potentially have transformative social meaning. (2020: 74–75)

[96] In addition to Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois' 2013 *Tenir tête*, translated into English as *In Defiance* (2015), see also: Ancelovici and Dupuis-Déri (2014), Barney, Massumi and Sorochan (2012), Boudreau and Vallée (2013), Carlisi (2013), Clain (2013), Collectif Dix Novembre (2016), Colón Rodríguez (2018), Lamarre et al. (2014), Lapointe, Bonenfant and Glinoer (2013), Meunier (2016), Poirier St-Pierre and Éthier (2013), Isabel and Théroux-Marcotte (2012), and Tremblay, Roche and Tremblay (2015), among others.

[97] The notion of "spring" is often adopted to designate popular uprisings, for example, the "Springtime of Nations" that spread across Europe in 1848 or the Prague Spring of 1968 (Ancelovici and Dupuis-Déri 2014: 8).

Like the movements that defined the era of Lalonde's "Speak White," the 2012 Quebec Student Strike emerged at a crossroads of national and international struggles. On the one hand, it was clearly anchored in a specific Québécois history and memory, looking to the Quiet Revolution as the symbol of a heritage to preserve. On the other, the Printemps érable was aligned with other anti-globalization and student uprisings around the world (Warren and Nadeau-Dubois cited in Lamarre et al. 2014: 164). The Quebec movement gave rise to ongoing exchange with student activists in Chili, Columbia and South Korea, and its influence was felt across North America and Europe, as evidenced by numerous acts of solidarity, demonstrations and conferences, both during and after the strike (Robert 2017: 202).

Two voluntary translation collectives emerged in Montreal during the protests: Rouge Squad and Translating the printemps érable. It is thanks in part to these translators that the Quebec students' message was able to travel so far. But the translations also resonated closer to home, in Quebec and Canada, and within the movement itself. The Rouge Squad's "tactical translation team," primarily the initiative of bilingual and multilingual students from Montreal's Concordia University, focused on translating for student organizations, such as CLASSE.[98] The collective translated both into and out of French and English, with some Arabic, and was also seeking translators working into Chinese, Spanish and Punjabi (with little success) (Colón Rodríguez 2018: 74). Many involved in the Translating the printemps érable project—I was a contributing translator—also hailed from Concordia or McGill University. We translated primarily from French into English, focusing on French-language media coverage of the strike and protests, including articles, news reports, subtitled videos and interviews.[99]

Translating the printemps érable was founded by Anna Sheftel, then a postdoctoral fellow at Concordia, in direct response to the implementation of Bill 78:

> I founded *Translating the printemps érable* with my husband, in my pajamas, on Saturday, May 19th, the morning after the Charest government passed Bill 78. While I had supported the student movement from the sidelines since its inception; the special law was what kicked me into action. I did it because as a bilingual Anglophone Montrealer who was born here and who has lived here almost my entire life, I have long deplored the disparity between French and English media. The former is at least a large

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[98] CLASSE stands for "Coalition large de l'Association pour une solidarité syndicale étudiante."

[99] As a member of the Translating the printemps érable collective, I contributed 35 translations, mainly long-form opinion pieces published in *Le Devoir*, *Voir*, *Le Monde* and other mainstream papers in Quebec and France. These included articles by Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois, Normand Baillargeon and Xavier Dolan, among others. For a detailed description and analysis of Translating the printemps érable, see Collectif Dix Novembre (2016), Colón Rodríguez (2018), and Sherry Simon's chapter "Activist Translation: The Streets of Montreal and Cairo" (2019b).

> enough world that it contains multiple perspectives, while the latter caters mostly to knee-jerk conservative and Québec-phobic politics. [...] Translation seemed like the quickest and the most direct way to redress this profound imbalance in media representation.[100] (Sheftel, cited in Collectif Dix Novembre 2016: 48–49)

Sheftel and her partner set up the *Translating the printemps érable* website and invited friends to contribute to the project. Within a few hours, both friends and "like-minded strangers who felt a similar urgency to show the English-speaking world what was happening" responded (ibid. 50). From May until September 20, when the tuition hike was officially suspended, the website received over 92,000 unique visitors and over 183,000 page views.[101] The collective translated "anything that gave important perspectives on, or texture to, the movement: newspaper articles, editorials, blog posts, first-hand accounts posted to Facebook, memes, and funny videos" (ibid. 51). "We wanted everyone," writes Sheftel, "to be able to really see what was happening here. We wanted them to feel it" (ibid.).

In this way, both Rouge Squad and Translating the printemps érable played important roles in the dissemination of information during the strike, while also contributing to building solidarity within the student movement and across cultural and linguistic differences. Without access to English translations, many anglophones and allophones, whether long-time residents, recent immigrants to Quebec, or residing elsewhere in Canada, often had to rely on scant and very biased information. The many speeches and interviews given by the exceptionally articulate and well-informed student spokespersons, for example, were almost entirely ignored in the English media.[102] That said, since the English translations did not always reach a broader, mainstream audience, their impact was probably mostly felt within the movement itself. The translation activities of these two collectives provided access to a shared space of protest, allowing those who participated to be immersed in something "happening very much within French," while also crossing "invisible but very present" linguistic divides. Recounting protesting with one of her anglophone colleagues, Hartman writes:

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[100] Canada's English-language Maclean's magazine, in particular, is often accused of "Quebec-bashing." During the strike, the magazine's June 4th issue featured a photograph of a masked protester, with the headline: "Quebec's New Ruling Class: How a Group of Entitled Students Went to War and Shut Down a Province. Over $325."

[101] Between May and September, 541 texts were posted to the site, the vast majority being translations from French to English, along with some English editorials. Beyond this number, as noted above, translation activity extended to Facebook posts, blogs, texts accompanying photos, posters, and so on (Colón Rodríguez 2018: 79).

[102] The four student spokespersons were Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois and Jeanne Reynolds, for CLASSE, Martine Desjardins, for FEUQ (Fédération étudiante universitaire du Québec), and Léo Bureau-Blouin, for FECQ (Fédération étudiante collégiale du Québec).

> When we parted at night, night after night, we often wondered aloud how long the chants would ring in our ears and if we would wake up the next morning humming their rhythms, deeply rooted and located in French-speaking, Quebec society. These French manifestation sounds became a part of our ways of thinking about the world, of our linguistic repertoire, writing and expression—though both of us were based at Montreal's most devotedly English-language university at the time. (Hartman 2020: 73–74)

The Language of Protest

As the above quote highlights, protest movements are always accompanied by chants, slogans and rhymes that often draw on past events and existing formulas. These might include current popular themes and references or adaptations imported from previous periods or other contexts. The uptake and circulation of existing discourses make use of appropriation, re-iteration and derivation to accord them legitimacy and reinscribe them in a new context and collective memory (Bernard Barbeau 2017: par. 4).[103] These "rewritings" re-actualize past discourse while also supporting the current cause. In her study of slogans used on posters during the 2012 Quebec Student Strike, Geneviève Bernard Barbeau identified three main discursive strategies: the reuse of classic or "prototypical" protest slogans, the reappropriation or rerouting of the opponent's discourse, and the use of cultural references beyond the context of protest.

In the first case, regardless of the cause, we might find slogans like "Quand l'injustice devient la loi, la résistance est un devoir" or "Le peuple uni jamais ne sera vaincu."[104] A slightly modified version of the latter appeared in the 2012 protests, adapted to the student's cause: "Un peuple *instruit* jamais ne sera vaincu"—a united but also *educated* people will never be defeated. A Spanish-language version also circulated: "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido," with an image of Quebec sovereignist leader René Lévesque's face superimposed on a portrait of the Argentine revolutionary Ché Guevara.[105] In borrowing and modifying these expressions and

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[103] Douglas Robinson links Derrida's "iterability," to the idea that "language becomes usable, speakable, writable, performable, through its [...] capacity for being repeated in new contexts," to Bakhtin's theory of "double-voicing," the notion that "every word ever spoken is saturated with all the dialogues it has ever been used in," and that "each language user brings to every use of a word the memory of all the past dialogues s/he ever heard it in" (Robinson 2003: 20).

[104] The English translations are: "When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty" and "The people united will never be defeated."

[105] René Lévesque was a minister in Jean Lesage's Liberal government from 1960 to 1966. He founded the sovereignist Parti Québécois in 1968. With the Parti Québécois election win in 1976, he became Premier of Quebec from 1976 to 1985. In 1980, he led Quebec in its first referendum on separation from Canada. Historically, he is thus remembered for his legacy as a central figure of the sovereignist movement in Quebec.

images, student activists were tapping into a broader cultural memory of protest beyond geographical or temporal borders and linking them to their cause (ibid. par. 11–12).

The second type of slogan identified by Bernard Barbeau was based on a strategy of hijacking or rerouting (*détournement*). Students often (mis)quoted or adapted their opponents' discourse, with a particular focus on statements made by Charest or members of his government. "Où s'en va le Québec? M. Charest, je veux connaître votre itinéraire" refers to the imposition of Bill 78, restricting assembly and demanding protest itineraries in advance. In response, the students' slogan asked where Quebec was headed and what Charest's itinerary was. A similar example, both written on banners and chanted out loud, was "Charest, dehors, on va te trouver une job dans le Nord." This referred to Charest's reaction to students protesting outside during the Salon du Plan Nord (a meeting to develop resource extraction in northern Quebec), where his statement, "to those knocking on our door this morning, we can offer them a job up North, as far as possible" was met with laughter and applause (ibid. par. 16).[106] In the slogan that served as their rebuttal to Charest, the students demanded *his* resignation and offered to find *him* a job up North instead, reversing the roles and power dynamics (he did lose his electoral seat, in the end).

The third type of discourse is similar to the first—the reuse of classic slogans—but draws on a broader range of cultural references from art, literature and popular culture. Among the examples noted by Bernard Barbeau are references to television shows that evoke childhood memories. For example, a line from the theme song of the popular 1980s TV show *Passe-Partout* (1977–1993)[107] was transformed from "Passe-Montagne aime les papillons, les souliers neufs et les beaux vestons" into "Passe-Montagne aime les papillons, les souliers neufs et l'éducation" (ibid. par. 22). Instead of liking butterflies, new shoes and nice jackets, the character Passe-Montagne likes butterflies, shoes and *education*. Bernard Barbeau also notes several variations on the theme "Line la pas fine," which refers to a controlling, unpleasant character—Line "la pas fine" [not very nice] Boisvert—from the popular TV series *Les Invincibles* (2005–2009). In the context of the student protest, use of the name "Line" was a clear reference to then-

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[106] To be fair, Charest's quote is somewhat taken out of context: "Le Salon du Plan Nord que nous allons ouvrir aujourd'hui, qui est déjà très populaire—les gens courent de partout pour entrer—est une occasion, notamment pour les chercheurs d'emplois. Alors à ceux qui frappaient à notre porte ce matin, on pourra leur offrir un emploi, dans le Nord autant que possible."

[107] The series ran from 1977 to 1993 and was revived in 2019. According to the show's creator, Laurent Lachance, "*Passe-Partout* started out by consciously trying to avoid being cast as just a French version of *Sesame Street*, to which it is often compared" ("French Pre-Schoolers" 1984: 15).

Liberal Minister of Education, Line Beauchamp. In a somewhat less confrontational mode, the students also cited poets in their slogans. Emile Nelligan's poetic line "Ah! comme la neige a neigé" is transformed into "Ah! comme la hausse a haussé," while Gaston Miron's "Je suis arrivé à ce qui commence" becomes "Nous sommes arrivés à ce qui commence" (ibid. par. 20).[108] As Bernard Barbeau observes, these allusions to both popular and high culture provided a way for the student activists to distance themselves, to some degree, from direct confrontation by evoking a broader range of references that were shared by many, both within and beyond the movement. In reactivating these sites of collective memory and sharing their knowledge of a cultural and literary tradition, the students also drew attention to the importance of education, the issue at the heart of their cause.

As we shall see in the next sections, the two adaptations of "Speak White" that were produced during the 2012 strike—"Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque"—draw on all of the above strategies (appropriation, re-iteration, derivation) to both renew and reroute an important site of collective and cultural memory in Quebec. While the two student poems introduce cultural and linguistic references and forms of wordplay specific to the current context of protest, they also echo the thematic and structural dynamics of Lalonde's original poem and lay claim to a distinct Québécois political and cultural heritage. The combination of politics and poetry was a potent force during the 2012 Student Strike, as the diverse forms of protest, links to past movements and slogans, and prolific, creative output demonstrate.[109] "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque" were products of both this longer history and the poetic-political zeitgeist of the moment.

Appropriation, Re-iteration and Derivation

As intralingual translations or rewritings of "Speak White," the two poems produced during the student strike incorporate different strategies of appropriation, re-iteration and derivation.

[108] The "snow has snowed" becomes "the [tuition] hike has hiked," and "I have arrived at a beginning" becomes "We have arrived at a beginning."

[109] As Nadeau-Dubois observes, the output of poetry was very prolific during the 2012 strike, with the Fermaille poetry collective serving as a hub: "What was interesting in this poetry was that it was very, very rooted in a Quebec cultural point of view with references to the important Québécois traditions. Not so much nationalist, but certainly very rooted in elements of Québécois culture. [...] In Quebec [compared to Paris 68], there was a surprising reaffirmation of very strong traditional aspects, and we see that in the poetry that was written" (cited in Lamarre et al. 2014: 172). On the Fermaille collective, see Labonté (2015) and Garnier (2016).

In revisiting an important *lieu de mémoire* and tapping into a collective memory of protest, Côté-Ostiguy ("Speak Red") and Lemieux-Couture ("Speak rich en tabarnaque") firmly anchored their critique of the Charest government's neoliberal policies within a historical context, adding weight and momentum to their cause. The "language question" is present in the two poems but takes a slightly different turn (as we will see below). While both poems adopt the French-English code-switching prevalent in "Speak White," they foreground social and economic issues over linguistic and cultural ones, highlighting the original text's themes of economic and political oppression. Likewise, many of Lalonde's formal structures, discursive strategies and cultural references are mirrored or updated in the two rewritings, beginning with the title and refrain.

While Lalonde's repetition of "speak white" serves to ironically appropriate the oppressor's voice and subvert the command to "speak English," Côté-Ostiguy's and Lemieux-Couture's derivations of this formula express, in different ways, the students' solidarity within their movement, the power of their voices, and the defiance of their stance. The "red" in "Speak Red" draws its symbolism both from progressive and socialist revolutionary history as well as from a central theme of the Quebec student movement as a whole. One of the movement's recurring motifs was the "carré rouge," the small red felt square worn by student activists symbolizing, among other things, to be "carrément dans le rouge"— to be "in the red" or totally [squarely] in debt.[110] The term "carré rouge" holds a special place among the 118 entries included in the 2012 "dictionary of revolt" (*Dictionnaire de la révolte étudiante : Du carré rouge au printemps québécois*). The entry's author writes:

> Come spring 2012, with the Liberals once again attacking access to university education, the red square was back in service: on our clothing and backpacks, on the windows of our apartments, and on the fur coat of a panda, on the cross of Mont-Royal and the Jacques Cartier Bridge, on the tower of the University of Montreal and, even, tone-on-tone, on the red carpet of the Cannes Film Festival.[111] (Lupien 2012: 30)

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[110] The red square had a history that preceded the 2012 movement. It made its first appearance in Quebec in October 2004 during a presentation made by the Collectif pour un Québec sans pauvreté in their opposition to Bill 57 modifying Quebec's social assistance programs. It then became the emblem of the massive Quebec student strike of 2005.

[111] The "panda" here refers to one of the movement's most notable mascots: Anarchopanda. The character was the creation of a Cegep philosophy professor who donned a panda bear costume during nightly protests to support and protect students and defuse tensions. Anarchopanda became known for "offering affectionate hugs to police officers and protesters alike" (Chénier 2012: par. 1). The red square was worn on the red carpet by celebrated Quebec filmmaker Xavier Dolan and the cast of *Laurence Anyways* during the film's premiere at the Cannes Film Festival.

Beyond the red felt square itself, the colour red was subsequently integrated into many other visual displays of protest—the posters, costumes and props created by the design collective École de la montagne rouge [Red Mountain School], the monuments and trees wrapped in red fabrics, the red body-paint and underwear donned during the semi-nude *maNUfestations*, and so on. The title of Côté-Ostiguy's poem reiterates the reference to colour in Lalonde's, but in shifting from "white" to "red," her rewriting rejects the conflation of race and language, and imparts an entirely different, but no less potent, historical symbolism.

In Lemieux-Couture's "Speak rich en tabarnaque," Lalonde's "white" becomes "rich," echoing the original poem's ironic appropriation of a highly charged term in order to subvert the power associated with it. We recall that the anglophone bosses in "Speak White" speak a language that is "white" but also "rich," that the language of power is "a rich language for buying." The second part of Lemieux-Couture's title and refrain, the "en tabarnaque," is drawn from the unique repertoire of swear words furnished by the Québécois French language. Many if not most Québécois swear words originate in terms borrowed from the Catholic Church: *câlisse* (chalice), *criss* (Christ), *ostie* (host), and *tabarnak/tabarnaque* (tabernacle), among others. These swear words were often integrated into slogans, chants, puns, comics and memes during the protests, whether used synonymously or expressed across different grammatical categories (Vincent 2014: 339).[112] As verbs, for example, they appeared in expressions like "La loi spéciale, on s'en câlisse" [the special Bill, we don't give a shit/fuck], where "on s'en criss" would have roughly the same meaning. As adjectives, they might be followed by nouns, for example, "décision de criss d'épais" [decision of a fucking idiot], or serve as attributes in expressions like "to be *en criss*" or "to be *en tabarnaque*" (ibid.). One popular poster that appeared during the 2012 strike read "Même ma pancarte est en tabarnak!" [Even my poster is pissed off!]. Lemieux-Couture's use of this profanity in her title "Speak rich en tabarnaque" expresses the anger and revolt that gave rise to the student uprising, while also reaffirming a distinct linguistic and cultural heritage, one that, from the Refus global to the Quiet Revolution, rejected the domination of the Roman Catholic Church and irreverently appropriated its terms to redefine Québécois identity.[113]

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[112] See also: Collectif de débrayage (2013).

[113] The Refus global was an artistic and political manifesto written by painter Paul-Émile Borduas and signed by 15 Québécois artists and writers (the Automatistes). Published in 1948, it called for a "total refusal" of traditional French Canadian values, rejecting, in particular, the domination of the Roman Catholic Church. As François-Marc

Like Marco Micone's "Speak What," both "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque" are written in dialogue with "Speak White." They both pay homage to the original poem, reiterate its themes, and adapt its references to a new context. There are also, however, important differences between the two rewritings. For example, while "Speak Red" closely adheres to the structure of "Speak White," mirroring it line by line, stanza by stanza, "Speak rich" deviates from the original model formally, using longer stanzas and different rhythms and phrasings, as we see in the opening lines:

Speak White	**Speak Red**
Speak white il est si beau de vous entendre parler de Paradise Lost ou du profil gracieux et anonyme qui tremble dans les sonnets de Shakespeare	Speak red il est si beau de vous entendre parler d'équité sociale et de la jeunesse instruite et engagée qui sortira un jour de nos universités

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
Speak white il est si beau de vous entendre parler de Paradise Lost ou du profil gracieux et anonyme qui tremble dans les sonnets de Shakespeare	Sur toutes les chaînes de radios comme celles de la TiVi Speak rich say Québec Inc Parlez-nous du bien commun vendu au moins offrant Des trous dans les poches de la nation Pour que vos gaz de schiste perforent notre ignorance Speculate on our future Donnez-nous des chroniqueurs de foutaises Des bourreux de crânes de nuages pelletés Des démagogues de la condescendance érigée en système Pour nous faire avaler la pilule de votre mépris

The last lines of the first stanza of "Speak rich" above roughly correspond to the lines in the second stanzas of "Speak White" and "Speak Red" below, where the "chagrin of Nelligan" is replaced by the "obstinate silence of our ministers":

Speak White	**Speak Red**
speak white et pardonnez-nous de n'avoir pour réponse que les chants rauques de nos ancêtres et le chagrin de Nelligan	speak red et n'acceptons pas de n'avoir pour réponse que des statistiques économiques réductrices et le silence obstiné de nos ministres

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Gagnon writes, "In the manifesto Borduas launched a frontal attack on the parochialism (*esprit de clocher*, as it was called) in Quebec, the stifling dominance of Catholicism, and the narrow nationalism of the provincial government under Premier Maurice Duplessis" (2014: 8). Though Borduas was expelled from his position at the École du meuble upon its release, the Refus global had an important influence on the redefinition of Québécois society and identity leading up to the Quiet Revolution.

The equivalent line in “Speak rich” refers instead to a “pill of contempt” (that is hard to swallow). Rather than sarcastically apologizing for “rough ancestral songs” (Lalonde) or rejecting “reductionist economic statistics” (Côté-Ostiguy), Lemieux-Couture responds: “Give us journalists peddling nonsense / Stuffing our heads with pipe dreams / Demagogues of systemic condescension / To make us swallow the pill of your contempt”:

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
speak white et pardonnez-nous de n’avoir pour réponse que les chants rauques de nos ancêtres et le chagrin de Nelligan	Donnez-nous des chroniqueurs de foutaises Des bourreux de crânes de nuages pelletés Des démagogues de la condescendance érigée en système Pour nous faire avaler la pilule de votre mépris

In “Speak rich,” variations on lines drawn from “Speak White” are dispersed throughout the poem, often appearing earlier or later and incorporated into other themes. In the example below, we see Lalonde’s famous line “We are a rude and stammering people / but we are not deaf to the genius of a language” (trans. Jones). In “Speak Red,” Côté-Ostiguy immediately pushes back at the insult. Instead of reproducing Lalonde’s irony, she firmly denounces the imposition and asserts the students’ voice and position: “They’d like to keep us ignorant and docile,” she writes, “but we are not mute, and our voice carries.”

Speak White	**Speak Red**
nous sommes un peuple inculte et bègue Mais ne sommes pas sourds au génie d’une langue	On voudrait nous garder incultes et dociles mais nous ne sommes pas muets et notre voix porte

Lemieux-Couture’s “Speak rich” also deviates from the above lines but in a different way. Here, the sarcasm of the original lines is maintained but transposed from a cultural to an economic context:

Speak rich en tabarnaque

Because nous sommes lobotomisés par vos modèles de consummation
Nous comprenons des langages simples
Comme celui de la publicité

The language now imposed is neither "genius" nor English or French but rather a "simple" language of consumerism and advertising: "Because we are lobotomized by your consumerist models / We understand simple languages / Like the language of advertising."

Another notable difference between the two poems is that while "Speak Red" foregrounds the issue of education in Quebec, "Speak rich" evokes a broader context of neoliberal politics and global economic imperialism. Below, we see that the references to the "Grande Charte" and "monument à Lincoln" in "Speak White" are replaced in "Speak Red" by the "rapport Parent" and the "Révolution tranquille": "Speak red / let's talk about education and social justice. / Talk about the Parent report, or the Quiet Revolution, / of our predecessor's battles, / for their victories to be brushed aside today":

Speak White	**Speak Red**
parlez de choses et d'autres parlez-nous de la Grande Charte ou du monument à Lincoln du charme gris de la Tamise de l'eau rose du Potomac	Parlons d'éducation et de justice sociale parlons du rapport Parent ou de la Révolution tranquille des luttes de nos prédécesseurs pour des acquis aujourd'hui balayés

The references to the Parent Report and Quiet Revolution are particularly relevant here, as they serve as reminders of the reforms that Lesage's Liberal government implemented to make education accessible to the francophone majority at the time that "Speak White" was written—in stark contrast to the Liberal government's policies in 2012. "Speak rich," on the other hand, often highlights American references, as in the example below referring to the three American credit-rating agencies Fitch, Moody's, and Standard and Poor's:

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
parlez de choses et d'autres parlez-nous de la Grande Charte ou du monument à Lincoln du charme gris de la Tamise de l'eau rose du Potomac	As if we don't know about how you lead a financial crisis Dites Fitch, Moody's, Standard & Poor's Pour calmer notre tension du désespoir Faites-nous croire que nous payons la dette de notre solidarité Quand nous écopons des frais de 25 ans de libéralisme corrompu

These lines directly evoke the problem of student debt, a central theme of the student movement. So we read, in English: "As if we don't know about how you lead a financial crisis," followed by "Say Fitch, Moody's, Standard and Poor's / To calm our tension of despair / Make us believe

we're paying the debt of our solidarity / When we bear the cost of 25 years of corrupt liberalism." As in "Speak White," the frequent references to business and money in "Speak rich" are often presented in English. But in this case, the presence of and resistance to English is not so much a defence or affirmation of French as it is a denunciation of Quebec's selling out to global, economic models and interests. In the following examples, where Côté-Ostiguy once again prioritizes education in the Québécois context, Lemieux-Couture revisits and expands upon (in English) the Anglo-American and economic references featured in "Speak White":

Speak White	**Speak Red**
speak white de Westminster à Washington, relayez-vous speak white comme à Wall Street white comme à Watts	speak red de Montréal à Québec relayez-vous speak red comme à Trois-Rivières red comme à Rimouski

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
speak white de Westminster à Washington, relayez-vous speak white comme à Wall Street white comme à Watts	Speak rich en tabarnaque From Thatcher to Reagan In Friedman or Von Hayek's words Bring us to the Washington Consensus

Lemieux-Couture likewise appropriates and deforms a number of familiar English expressions, almost always in reference to money or business—"Speculate on our future," "Speak rich over our dead bodies," and "Give us an American dream," among others. These (mis)appropriations recall the discursive strategies used by protesters in their chants and slogans. In "Speak rich," Lemieux-Couture makes use of familiar turns of phrase in English (the language of global business) but injects them with subversive content to reroute and undermine their original meaning.

Beyond these correlations between English and business, the "language of power" takes different forms in the two poems. In the lines below, "Speak White" indirectly draws comparisons between global English and French imperialism, universalizing the language of oppression, as noted in the previous section. "Speak rich" reiterates Lalonde's shift from a specific use of language (French Quebecers being told to "speak white") to a broader, global framing, where "whiteness" comes to stand in metonymically for any language of power and imperialism. In Lemieux-Couture's rewriting, this reference is updated and resituated in a contemporary context of economic globalization and political corruption. The language of power

is now reflected in the empty, deceptive language of politicians and profiteers: “Don’t turn your double-tongued words in your mouths / Clearcut our forests for profits / Finance multinationals straight from our public purse / While we struggle under the weight of our “fair share”:

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
dans la langue douce de Shakespeare avec l’accent de Longfellow parlez un français pur et atrocement blanc comme au Viêt-Nam au Congo	Ne tournez pas vos langues de bois sept fois dans votre bouche Coupez à blanc nos arbres à profits Financez les multinationals à même notre trésor public Pendant que nous peinons sous le poids de notre « juste part »

“Speak Red” also recreates this transposition from the specific to the universal, from the local to the global, but with an emphasis on empowering the voice of protesters. Côté-Ostiguy once again eschews Lalonde’s ironic mode in favour of a direct call to action. “Speak Red” continually reaffirms a distinct Québécois cultural heritage, but also seeks to uplift and spread the voice of resistance. Where Lalonde ironically extols the “sweet tongue of Shakespeare” spoken in the “accent of Longfellow,” Côté-Ostiguy counters with “the sweet language of Molière” expressed in the “accent of Miron.” And where “Speak White” universalizes the language of oppression, “Speak Red” universalizes, instead, the language of protest, claiming it as the language of a new generation:

Speak White	**Speak Red**
dans la langue douce de Shakespeare avec l’accent de Longfellow parlez un français pur et atrocement blanc comme au Viêt-Nam au Congo parlez un allemand impeccable une étoile jaune entre les dents	dans la langue douce de Molière mais avec l’accent de Miron nous parlons la langue de notre génération comme en Angleterre en Colombie nous disons notre colère clairement un carré rouge entre les dents

Regardless of the nation or language, we (the student activists), writes Côté-Ostiguy, “speak the language of our generation” and “express our anger clearly, a red square between our teeth.” These lines of “Speak Red” are indicative of Côté-Ostiguy’s overall approach to recreating the shifting modes of address in “Speak White.” Whereas “Speak rich” more or less emulates Lalonde’s distinction between an oppressed “nous” and an oppressor “vous,” “Speak Red,” with few exceptions, consistently represents the students as both “nous” and “vous,” whether to denote a shared history of struggle (nous), or to address students directly in a call for solidarity

(vous). Meanwhile, government and corporate interests are primarily represented as "ils" and "on" [they], relegating the opponent's discourse to the sidelines. There is no dialogue in "Speak Red" between a "nous" and a "vous" (as in Micone's "Speak What"), only a clear line drawn between an "us" and a "them."

The ending sequences of both poems emphasize, like Lalonde's "Speak White," the solidarity of the "nous" against the alienating presence of the "ils" or the "vous." While "Speak Red" again adheres to "Speak White" formally, reproducing its cadence and rhythms, it substitutes Lalonde's ironic mode with an affirmative tone and creates a different opposition, one that, as noted above, excludes the "oppressor" from the conversation. In response to Lalonde's ironic command to "be civilized / and understand our conventional answer," Côté-Ostiguy responds "let's be strong, and continue to bravely defend our values":

Speak White	**Speak Red**
be civilized et comprenez notre parler de circonstance quand vous nous demandez poliment how do you do	soyons forts et continuons de vaillamment défendre nos valeurs devant ceux qui nous demandent encore pourquoi

Lemieux-Couture's rewriting of Lalonde's final lines (part of which occurs earlier in the poem) is more confrontational. Rather than being told to "be civilized," she retorts: "Tell us how 'socially responsible' you are." And instead of apologizing for a "conventional answer," she replies, "[Tell us] our leftist language is emptied of its meaning / to the profit of your dominant ideology's smug soliloquys":

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
be civilized et comprenez notre parler de circonstance quand vous nous demandez poliment	Dites-nous combien vous êtes « socialement responsables » Que notre lexique gauche se vide de son sens Au bénéfice de vos soliloques sourds d'idéologie dominante

Finally, both poems end by recreating the repetitions of Lalonde's final verses: "we're doing all right / we're doing fine / we / are not alone / We know now / that we are not alone." "Speak Red" closely mirrors these lines but again takes a more affirmative tone: "we believe in tomorrow / we won't give up / We are Québec." The very last lines of "Speak Red" reiterate Lalonde's lines word for word: "/ And we know / that we're not alone":

Speak White	**Speak Red**
we're doing all right we're doing fine we are not alone nous savons que nous ne sommes pas seuls	nous croyons en demain nous n'abandonnons pas Nous sommes le Québec et nous savons que nous ne sommes pas seuls

"Speak rich," on the other hand, appears to include two rewritings of these final verses, both of which, as in the original poem, make use of repetition to emphasize the burden of struggle but also defiant resolve. So we read below: "Align us on your axis of evil / We are docile in the terror / Stuck in the winter torpor of your daily xenophobia," followed by the repetition, roughly corresponding to Lalonde's: "But if we awaken / If we awaken/ We know how to rouse all the springtimes of the world":

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
we're doing all right we're doing fine we are not alone nous savons que nous ne sommes pas seuls	Align us on your axis of evil Nous sommes dociles dans la terreur Pris de torpeur hivernale dans vos xénophobies quotidiennes Mais si nous nous réveillons Si nous nous réveillons Nous savons soulever tous les printemps du monde

"Speak rich" closes with a much longer stanza that includes another repetition but also deviates from the original poem's final lines:

Speak White	**Speak rich en tabarnaque**
we're doing all right we're doing fine we are not alone nous savons que nous ne sommes pas seuls	Condamnez notre culture de misère à votre dédain Parce qu'elle ne cadre pas dans votre économie du Savoir Parce que vous craignez que la force de notre « nous » Renverse la faiblesse de votre « je » Quand vous vous recroquevillez sur une « majorité silencieuse » Pour mieux nier la rumeur dont la rue est otage Quand nos cris résonnent sur les pavés Pour vous faire entendre qu'une autre voie est possible Commencez-vous à comprendre Que vous êtes seuls?

Like Lalonde's "Speak White" and Micone's "Speak What," both "Speak Red" and "Speak rich" function as poetic manifestos, clearly setting different groups in opposition. As Jeanne Demers has observed, the poetic manifesto is often turned towards a future that paradoxically constitutes a sort of return to a source (1980: 20). The "true manifesto" writes Demers, "rarely appears in isolation and is often marked by a phenomenon of re-iteration" (ibid. 12). This phenomenon, almost rhythmic, takes many forms. The re-iteration can be simple: a first manifesto is launched, a second follows, then a third, and so on, each echoing but slightly modifying the former (ibid.). As we have seen in the previous section, while "Speak White" targets two groups, the group to mobilize and the group to attack, Micone's "Speak What" initially adopts this formula but ends by bringing the two groups together: "we are a hundred peoples come from afar / to tell you that you are not alone." Côté-Ostiguy, for her part, also ends "Speak Red" by reiterating Lalonde's unifying "nous," as well as, by extension, Micone's broader call for solidarity. Lemieux-Couture, on the other hand, concludes by sending a clear and defiant message, almost a warning, to those who would remain indifferent to the students' cause. "Speak rich en tabarnaque" ends on a question:

> Condemn our culture of poverty to your scorn
> Because it doesn't fit into your economy of Knowledge
> Because you fear the strength of our "nous"
> Will overturn the weakness of your "I"
> As you cower behind your "silent majority"
> To better deny the word that holds the street hostage
> When our cries echo off the pavement
> To make you hear that another way is possible
>
> Are you starting to understand
> That you are alone?

The dynamics of appropriation, re-iteration and derivation inherent in both "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque" are representative of the broader phenomenon of rewriting that infused the 2012 Quebec Student Movement as a whole, from the variations on classic protest slogans and rewritings of famous lines of Québécois poetry, to the repurposing of symbols drawn from a broader collective memory of protest, both within Quebec (the Quiet Revolution, the history of student protests) and beyond (the "redness" of the red square, May 68, Ché Guevara, etc.). As Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois remarks in his memoire *Tenir tête* (2013), it was no coincidence that the poetry of Gaston Miron was read and chanted in the streets during the

protests. For Nadeau-Dubois, all of these things were connected. Beyond the traditional clash between left and right, he writes, they expressed "our adherence to a model of society that underpins our shared identity and through which we hope to survive as a distinct culture" (2015: 130–131). In a world where everything seemed decided in advance, his generation was to inaugurate the "end of history," but this end turned out to be just a new beginning (ibid. 27–28).

Robert Lepage's *887*

Robert Lepage's *887* is a theatrical production about remembering and forgetting that makes Lalonde's "Speak White" a central motif. Unlike the intralingual translations discussed in the previous sections, *887* is not a rewriting in the strict sense of the term. In *887*, a fictitious Lepage playing himself on stage is invited to recite "Speak White" for a 2010 event commemorating the 40th anniversary of *La Nuit de la poésie* of 1970. As he struggles to memorize the words of the poem by heart, the exercise plunges him into the past, into a period of his life associated with Lalonde's poem and with his own coming of age in 1960s working-class Quebec. A solo performance that integrates diverse sets, fictive dialogues, music, video projections and interactive models, *887* revisits Lalonde's "Speak White" to explore individual and collective memory. As we will see, the piece's shifting modes of address and use of media and language draw the audience into an experience that oscillates between intimacy and distance, familiarity and difference, personal memory and collectively remembered pasts. Translation and adaptation work in tandem, crossing languages, sign systems, genres and media. In Lepage's *887*, these come together in the transmedial space of theatre, where representational modes intermingle with presentational and performative ones—what Linda Hutcheon calls "telling, showing and interacting" modes of engagement (2006: 27). *887* constitutes a remediation and re-enactment of "Speak White" that incorporates intertemporal and interlingual translation both formally and thematically to foreground the tension between past and present, between a source and its re-inscription in a new temporal and linguistic context. In making "Speak White" a recurring motif of the piece, Lepage's *887* reactivates and reconstitutes it as a *lieu de mémoire.*

Resources and Representations

Robert Lepage is an internationally acclaimed Québécois-Canadian stage and film director, designer, playwright, and performer, with a career spanning four decades. He has written,

directed and acted in dozens of theatre pieces and numerous films. His first international success *The Dragons' Trilogy* (1985) was soon followed by *Vinci* (1986), *Polygraph* (1987) and *Tectonic Plates* (1988). As artistic director of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, he produced *Needles and Opium* (1991), *Coriolanus*, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempest* (1992), among others. Since 1994, with his Quebec-based theatre company Ex Machina, he has continued to create ground-breaking and award-wining pieces—*The Seven Streams of the River Ota* (1994), *The Far Side of the Moon* (2000), and *Lipsynch* (2007), among many others—which have been revisited and restaged around the world. Lepage's widely acclaimed, innovative theatre has become known for mixing languages, multicultural elements, media and images in surprising and unconventional ways, with some of his pieces lasting anywhere from five to nine hours:

> Lepage has a genius for conjuring mysterious and powerful images. In his hallucinogenic play *Tectonic Plates* (1988), he had rain falling from pianos hovering in midair. In *Needles and Opium* (1991), his one-man show about Miles Davis and Jean Cocteau, Lepage himself hung suspended in a harness, flying past skyscrapers projected on a screen. In his London adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1992), he had actors wallowing in mud. (Johnson 2013: par. 7)

Lepage's works have been studied and analyzed extensively, some focusing on his intermedial innovations, others more on the contact and hybridization between different cultures. As Aleksandar Dundjerovic has observed, it is impossible to settle on a definitive interpretation of Lepage's solo and collective work, as his new interdisciplinary art form moves between various artistic "languages" (2007: x). His performances cross diverse media, combining "written text with collectively devised material, mixing popular culture with mythological references, and openly quoting original sources, as well as subverting them within newly found contexts" (ibid.). As Jane Koustas notes, many studies of Lepage's oeuvre have focused on the importance of mediation with the other through language, culture and performance (2016: 4). According to Sherry Simon, for example, Lepage's productions are part of a tradition of interculturalism in theatre but also, despite their transnationalism, "outgrowths of a specifically Québécois obsession with questions of identity and language" (1998: 125). In Lepage's performances, the "otherness" explored is always an otherness within (ibid. 140), where the "nous" of the audience is also redefined as it recognizes itself both in the internationalism of the content and in the sometimes ironic take on identitary nostalgia (Simon 1994: 163). Different languages are often juxtaposed without translation. In *The Dragons' Trilogy*, for example,

languages are played against one another, not only as languages but also as registers: "the intimate against the formal, the conversational against the declamatory, the familiar vernacular against the strangely accented foreign" (Simon 1998: 137). Likewise, in *The River Ota*, languages are "staged" through the crossover figure of a translator (ibid. 137–138). In these works, translation is neither a mode of transfer nor a mechanism for regulating differences, but rather "one of the elements contributing to the creative complexity of the work" (Simon 2000a: 229).

Along with the mixing of diverse linguistic and cultural references and media, the concept of the "resource" is also central to Lepage's creative process. Working with Jacques Lessard and the Théâtre Repère in the 1980s, Lepage adapted Anna and Lawrence Halprin's RSVP method to the theatre context as "Repère Cycles," a multidisciplinary approach that made the "resource" a key element.[114] Lepage's theatre company Ex Machina later began to place more emphasis on the "re" of "Repère":

> The "re-presentation" performance aspect of it is the writing process. The writing starts when you perform and it's a difficult thing to comprehend for a lot of people in this line of work because we're used to the traditional hierarchy [...] I've always believed—even before I was working with the Repère Cycles or this method of working we have now—that writing starts the night that you start performing. (Lepage cited in McAlpine 1996: 134–135)

The centrality of the resource and the concept of performance as (re)writing continue to shape Lepage's productions. Lepage describes a resource as "'an individual provocation rich in meaning,' a trigger inspiring the actor-author to create his or her own material, revealing a personal side of themselves and sharing it with the group" (Dundjerovic 2007: 76). The resource has both personal and group relevance, providing "a multitude of possibilities that can be divided into different avenues all converging into one point" (Lepage cited in McAlpine 1996: 135). As Lepage explains, unlike an idea or a theme (that requires decision, definition), a resource elicits open-ended reactions and impressions that are built upon in the early stages of creation (Fouquet and Lepage 2018: 52). In addition to being a stimulus or trigger, it can also serve as a connector

[114] "Formulated in the late 1960's by landscape architect Lawrence Halprin (1969) in collaboration with dance-artist Anna Halprin, the RSVP Cycles offers a model for collaborative working across disciplines. Inherent to this model is a cyclical approach to artmaking, through and across four key stages: Resourcing (R), Scoring (S), Valu-action (V) and Performance (P)" (Voris 2018: 44).

or “continuity object” that contributes to the seamless unfolding of the story (Albacan 2016: 206–207).[115]

While it is often assumed that “Speak White” was the original source of inspiration for *887*, Lepage’s choice to use Lalonde’s poem actually came at the end of the creative process (Fouquet and Lepage 2018: 53). Though “Speak White” is a recurring reference throughout the piece, leading up to one of the final scenes in which the full poem is recited, the “resource” for *887* was in fact the apartment block at 887 Murray Avenue:

> I had the title and I knew the piece would talk about this building at 887 Murray Avenue, where I grew up in Quebec. Right away, the building became the resource. What is this resource made of? There are apartments. Who lives there? My family. So I’ll talk about me and my family. And there are also other residents. So I’ll talk about the neighbours too. *887* comes with an address, the 887 of Murray Avenue. Who was Murray? Oh, he was a British general! So I’ll evoke the British Conquest, and from there also the political context of the 1960s. At the end of the creation, once everything was written, people think the starting point was “Speak White” by Michèle Lalonde. Not at all: this text came at the very end of the process! I had to try to learn a poem, so I found this text, “Speak White,” which, just like that, placed at the end of the performance, seemed to sum up the whole thing and already contain all its threads. (ibid.)

While 887 Murray is the initial touchstone for the creative process, both the apartment building and Lalonde’s poem serve as a continuity objects through their reconstruction and repetition on stage. Fragments of “Speak White” are recited at certain points in the performance to be eventually pieced back together in the final scenes, when the multiple possibilities and avenues provided by the resource all “converge into one point.” In this way, “Speak White” is fully integrated into Lepage’s performative (re)writing process. It is not only a memory site but also a means for linking the threads of the story—Lepage’s memories of the building and neighbourhood, of the family and neighbour relationships that unfold within and around it, and the broader historical events of the period.

Between Fact and Fiction

Playing himself, solo on stage, Lepage incarnates two main roles in *887*—the “real” Robert Lepage, who addresses the audience directly as the narrator of anecdotes, stories and events, and

[115] In his study of Lepage’s 1985 epic *The Dragons’ Trilogy*, Aleksandar Dundjerovic examines how a single resource can have a multiplicity of meanings and yet “serve as the starting point that takes the group in the same direction or be simultaneously a personal provocation and a collective reference point” (2007: 76).

the "fictive" Robert Lepage, who speaks and interacts with other characters (present only in the audience's imagination) in various acted scenes.[116] In the first case, Lepage makes use of the "memory-palace" technique, based on remembering events, people, and so on, by associating them with places and spaces that are easily recalled to mind. His verbal narration is accompanied by the various ways that he physically manipulates and transforms different scenographic elements, often models of varying scales, which allows him to illustrate the story, all the while implicating us, the spectators, in the memory-reconstruction process. When incarnating his more fictionally presented character, we see the Robert Lepage who is trying to memorize the poem for the event, which he manages eventually to do. Lepage recites "Speak White" in its entirety in one of the final scenes of the piece in front of the fictional audience of the commemorative event, the audience that we now come to embody.

The direct-address scenes are not always clearly demarcated from the acted scenes. Nor is it really clear, in the end, which Robert Lepage seems more "real" and which, more "fictive." This is because the piece, through his performance and the various media engaged, continually shifts between transparency and opacity, between effects of illusory immediacy that draw us in and modes of hypermediacy that remind us of the mediation process and create distance. This dynamic has been described as "hypermediality." As Jean-Marc Larrue explains:

> The concept of theatrical hypermediality, which goes well beyond that of hypermediacy as propounded by Bolter and Grusin, seems to be particularly appealing insofar as it not only does not raise the question of representation but also, bearing in mind the "window" metaphor evoked above [representation is not a window onto the world but "windowed" itself], the concept of hypermediality does not make it necessary to choose between looking at and looking through. Even better, it even accommodates both actions simultaneously, which perfectly suits contemporary theatrical practices! (Larrue 2016: par. 17)

Indeed, Lepage in narrative mode, though addressing the audience directly, at times takes a stance that seems more like that of a history professor (or neuroscientist, when explaining how memory works in the brain), and, other times, he slips into poetry. These shifting registers create distancing effects, though we as spectators are still sharing the "same" space and still feel we are

[116] Louis Patrick Leroux traces the emergence of a "poetics of self-representation" (2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2006) in Québécois theatre through the study of "biographically inflected plays and epic plays reinterpreting history […] alongside the more explicitly autobiographical, autofictional, and self-reflective works that have come to typify recent Quebec theatre production" (2009: 2). The interplay between history and autobiography is central to Lepage's *887*. On the performing body and blurring of boundaries between creators and their (auto)fictionally staged characters, see Leroux (2014).

in the presence of the "real" Robert Lepage. During the "acted" scenes, we have the illusory experience of being a fly on the wall of Robert Lepage's private life, looking not "at" but "through" to "another" space (*inside* his current apartment, not *outside* the scaled-down apartment block of his childhood memory). However, due to the moving sets (that Lepage physically moves himself), the imaginary characters that we have to invent, and the imaginary dialogues that we have to fill in, the illusion of immediacy continually breaks down. The permeable fourth wall becomes evident within the first few minutes of the performance, as Denys Arcand explains in his preface to the play's published script:

> In *887*, we get the feeling there is no disconnect between Robert and his character. We are with him, in his kitchen, with poor old Fred from Radio-Canada. We are with him when he steps on stage at the beginning to ask us, somewhat disingenuously, to turn off our phones—a cunning sleight of hand that announces the magic of the whole show. (Lepage 2019: viii)

The result is a theatrical event that depends on the performativity of all concerned (actors, artists and audience).[117] As audience members, we participate in Lepage's intermedial and intertemporal translation of "Speak White," as he sorts and sifts through personal and collective memories. This is no doubt especially true for audience members who are familiar with Lalonde's poem or have their own personal memories of the events portrayed and thus partake in the "doubled pleasure of the palimpsest," in the adaptation's superimposition of references and dialogue with the past (Hutcheon 2006: 116). In this sense, *887* integrates all three of Hutcheon's distinct modes of engagement (telling, showing and interacting), creating what is ultimately an intimate experience, regardless of what type of reality—here/there, actual/pretend, past/present—we are supposed to be taking part in. In Lepage's words, "people still come to the theatre to sit down around the fire" (cited in Monteverdi 2003: 6).

Translating Memory, Staging Difference

[117] According to Aristita Albacan, Lepage not only uses intermedial strategies of mise-en-scene, developed mainly through the hybridization and/or juxtaposition of conventions belonging to other media, but he integrates both media and audience into "a live system in perpetual transformation that feeds back into the work-in-progress aspect of his practice" (2016: 33). Spectatorial feedback "is further integrated as a 'Resource,' the target being the remediation of performance" (ibid. 71).

From its opening in Toronto in 2015 and continuing into 2022, *887* has been touring the world to acclaim.[118] As in Lepage's previous work, translation is thus a recurring preoccupation, both on and off the stage. In Amsterdam, *887* was performed in English with Dutch surtitles; in Barcelona, it was performed in French with Catalan surtitles. It is sometimes performed exclusively in French (Montreal, Quebec, La Rochelle, Le Havre) or exclusively in English (Denmark, Norway). The National Arts Centre in Ottawa has staged French-only and English-only productions. For English audiences, it is often performed in both French and English with English surtitles. The choice of performance language and use or not of surtitles undoubtedly depends on many factors, but the bilingual versions are notable. Clearly the use of surtitles is not, in these cases, a communicative necessity—the piece could just as easily, indeed more easily—be performed for English audiences entirely in English, without the introduction of surtitles (which are sometimes distracting). The choice to perform part in French, including, of course, the performance of "Speak White," likely has more to do with what Michael Cronin refers to as *presencing*, in this case, the presencing of the French language on the stage.[119] As renowned Quebec theatre translator Linda Gaboriau has remarked, the greatest challenge in translating Québécois playwrights is their preoccupation with language, the constant awareness of the importance of speaking French:

> In all Quebec theatre, there is an omnipresent, invisible character and that is the Québécois language. The presence of that spoken language, whatever level the playwright might have chosen, is a statement in itself. A statement of cultural survival, aspiration and communion. Quebec audiences are aware of this dimension and consciously involved in this experience of hearing Québécois on stage. This dimension of theatrical language is impossible to capture in translation. This is one of the reasons why I've chosen not to dilute the so-called wordiness of some Quebec texts, the love of holding forth, that Quebec playwrights often allow their characters to indulge in. It is an indirect way of communicating the importance that Québécois playwrights give to the "*prise de parole en français*" [...]. (1995: 86)

I attended two performances of *887*, one in Montreal, performed in French and the other in Toronto, performed in French and English with English surtitles.[120] In the Toronto version, the

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[118] *887* pre-premiered in its original French version at Le lieu unique theatre, in Nantes, on February 24, 2015. The world premiere (in English translation by Louisa Blair) was at the Bluma Appel Theatre in Toronto, July 14, 2015.
[119] Michael Cronin proposes the term "presencing" to refer to "forms of presence that do not involve actual spatial or corporeal displacement, but that bring someone or something into the field of attention of others at another point in space and/or time," adding that "we can conceive of translation itself as a form of presencing, a making present in one language of what has been absent because it was initially expressed or formulated in another" (2016: 104–105)
[120] *887*, Théâtre du nouveau monde, Montreal, April 2016; *887*, Bluma Appel Theatre, Toronto, April 2017.

switching between French and English directly mirrors, with few exceptions, Lepage's shifting modes of address and presentation: when addressing the audience, he speaks English, and, when "in character," in dialogue with other imaginary characters, he speaks in French. The use of language and translation here introduces a dissonance that has two contradictory effects. On the one hand, it makes the "acted" scenes, the scenes during which we are "looking through" to a Robert Lepage who no longer shares our ontological space, more distant, which the presence of the French language amplifies. The non-French speaker has access to the illusion, but is simultaneously blocked, hindered in understanding the conversations taking place in French. One wonders, for example, how English speakers fill in the imaginary lines of dialogue of the imaginary character "Fred de Radio-Canada" (whose lines are not actually vocalized, only indicated by Lepage's pauses, responses and body language). This nonetheless recreates an authentic experience of hearing a language that is not understood and trying to make sense of what is happening all the same (through attention to other signals, diction, tone of voice, facial expressions, etc.). On the other hand, the code-switching, that is to say, the presencing of otherness and use of surtitles, disrupts the illusion, distracts from being immersed in the fiction and brings us back to or keeps us on the surface, where we are constantly aware of the mediation. We are thus simultaneously drawn in and kept at a distance, oscillating between looking at and looking through, experiencing, that is, the theatrical hypermediality described by Larrue above. In translation studies, this can be likened to the tension between the (distancing) foreignization or (assimilating) domestication of texts in translation, which either foreground or efface the act of mediation (see Venuti 1995), or, again, to Hutcheon's shifting modes of engagement.[121]

The bilingual performance thus provides a very effective translation of "Speak White" in recreating the poem's disorienting diglossia. One could say that, in the Canadian context—because it surely has different effects elsewhere in the world—it taps into a kind of official bilingual, bicultural memory by suggesting a "need" for translation and a difference in perspectives. The presence of both languages on stage is thus a way to "remember French" ("I remember that I am different, I remember my language") (Lepage, cited in Dundjerović 2003: 18), but also a way re-imagine, to translate, that is, the memory sites of the Quiet Revolution as

[121] See also Schleiermacher—the translator either moves the reader to the author, or the author to the reader (1813) and Berman (1992), as well as Venuti's (1995) reinterpretation of their work in his distinction between foreignizing versus domesticating translation.

they might be remembered in English Canada—as something taking place in another language and somewhere else. As Jane Koustas has observed, the "two solitudes," though perhaps a tired cliché, is still very much a part of the Canadian cultural imagination (2016: 5–6).

Between Individual and Collective Memory

According to Erll, what is known about a past event often refers not to the actual event but to a canon of existing medial constructions of it (2012: 111). Intermedial processes, she argues, are the basis of all sites of memory: topoi, images and narratives about the past are brought together and "cross-faded" (ibid. 131), blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction, and between individual and collective memory. In *887*, Lepage explores this terrain and attempts to sort things out, to "compose" [*composer*] with the past in order to both rewrite and come to terms with it. The piece revolves, in part, around a memory block, Lepage's inability to memorize the lines of Lalonde's "Speak White." The reconstruction of memory is presented as a way of making sense, a way of re-integrating and literally re-membering the poem and events of the period. In juxtaposing private and personal anecdotes with socio-political events of the Quiet-Revolution era, the memories of both are absorbed into the same temporality. That is to say, the historical events have not yet "gone down in history," and their importance is weighed against the more personal aspects of the remembered event or episode. As audience members, we are inhabiting both temporalities, taking part in the palimpsest and cross-fading of individual and collective memory, all of which is enhanced by the simultaneous experience of "looking at" and "looking through."

A number of scenes foreground this juxtaposition (drawn here from the English version). In the scene "Parc des Braves No. 1," a model of the park is rolled out onto the stage, behind which is a video projection of the park and the Laurentians in the background. Lepage begins reciting lines of poetry:

> Diving deep in the waters of my past
> I see this one bright place from far away;
> The first and oldest memory of them all
> is what began my lifelong one-act play.
>
> The Parc de Braves, that legendary place
> where every Sunday wealthy families go
> To eat their picnic sitting on the cliff,

gazing at the town stretched out below.[122] (2019: 11)

In the very next scene "Street Names," Lepage addresses the audience in front of a screen showing a map of his childhood neighbourhood.

> We lived here. Right in the heart of the Montcalm district, an area sandwiched between two battlefields that were pivotal in the history of Canada: the Parc de Braves, to the north, and the Plains of Abraham, to the south. That's why the streets in this neighbourhood are almost all named after the great British and French military officers. (ibid. 13)

General James Murray, he notes, fought alongside General James Wolfe at the famous Battle of the Plains of Abraham, defeating the French troops under Montcalm in 1759. The toponym "Anse au Foulon," he explains, is another place that is supposed to trigger the memory of that very important historical event. But, in the following scene ("Anse au Foulon"), the site triggers something very different for Lepage. In front of a video projection of a period photo of a beach at the same site, he recounts his memories of "the beautiful sandy beach it was to become centuries later" where his father worked as a lifeguard (ibid. 15). Lepage clicks to different photos of his father: in swim trunks, in his navy uniform, at his parent's wedding ceremony, as a taxi driver, and so on.

In a scene called "FLQ—The Monster of Pont-Rouge," he recounts the story of a serial killer who was active in and around Quebec City in the 1960s. Lepage's mother decides to accompany his older brother Dave on his paper route, leaving Robert stuck playing with the neighbour's kids, who spend their time lighting firecrackers in garbage cans in the back alley. Meanwhile, we learn that Montreal is witnessing the birth of the FLQ (the Front de libération du Québec).[123] As Lepage lights the fuse of his firecracker, an animated projection of the letters "FLQ" appears behind him as though spray-painted on the wall. He goes on to explain:

> In the next four months, more than thirty bomb attacks are perpetrated against federal buildings, military barracks and mailboxes in Montreal's wealthy Westmount neighbourhood. (ibid. 50)

Dropping the firecracker into the drum to the sound of explosions, he continues:

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[122] En sondant le méandr' profonds de ma mémoire, / Ce tableau lumineux est l'imag qui surgit. / Le plus lointain souv'nir à marquer mon histoire. / Le tout permier morceau de mon anthologie. / Le fameux parc des Brav' dont le charm' légendaire / Attir tous les dimanch' les famill' plus à l'aise / Qui profit' de la vue qu'offre le belvedere / Sur la vill' qui s'étale au bas de la falaise (2016: 25).

[123] See note 51 on the FLQ and the October Crisis.

> It all culminates in Quebec City when a statue of Queen Victoria is blown up in broad daylight. [...] The blast is so powerful you can hear it all over the city. But if you talk to people who lived in Quebec city at the time, very few remember the event, and even fewer remember that there was even a statue of Queen Victoria there. It's what they call a collective memory lapse. (ibid.)

While in Montreal the papers were plastered with news of the FLQ attacks, all the Quebec City papers were focused on the discovery of Léopold Dion's victims.

In the scene titled "Manifesto Read by Gaétan Montreuil," the radio announcer can be seen on black-and-white TVs through the windows of the model apartment block on 887 Murray. Montreuil is reading a special bulletin—the FLQ manifesto. As Lepage enters on stage, the reading of the manifesto can be heard in the background:

> One evening in October, when I come back from my paper route, I find the building suspiciously quiet. I go upstairs to our apartment and find my parents and two sisters sitting in the living room watching TV. They are listening to Gaétan Montreuil read every word of the FLQ manifesto on Radio-Canada. The situation is surreal. At one point my father turns to me and says, "The worst thing about all this is that the bastards are right. But don't get me wrong, they're not right to be doing what they're doing." (ibid. 98)

An argument between Robert and his (imaginary) father character ensues, with Robert challenging his father's seemingly contradictory definitions of "right" and "wrong." Then the telephone rings. His (imaginary) mother leaves the room to answer it, then returns and announces that his grandmother, who had been suffering from severe Alzheimer's, died in her sleep that afternoon:

> My two sisters start to cry, my mother doesn't know how to react, and my father says nothing for two whole minutes. Then he gets up, puts on his coat and his cab driver's cap and without looking back, says, "I'm off to work." I'm standing there in the middle of the room, not knowing if I should stay for this historic event or run after my father, because he sure isn't going to work. He's probably gone to take refuge in his taxi in the garage, where no one can see him crying. (ibid. 99–100)

In this scene, Lepage's character is both immersed in the personal moment and realizing that he is bearing witness to an historic event. He is experiencing history in the making intertwined with the unfolding family drama and his connection (or lack thereof) to his father, another recurring theme throughout the piece.

In the "Paperboy" scene, we see Robert in a hooded raincoat on his paper route, where he is confronted by a military officer enforcing the War Measures Act, implemented in response to two FLQ kidnappings and the murder of Quebec minister Pierre Laporte. The scene, which

stages a personal memory associated with what would come to be known as the October Crisis, is recounted in poetic verse. Once again, Lepage seems to be both immersed in and taking a distance from the episode:

> Empty your bag of paper—NOW! he says,
> and points his gun directly at my head.
> I obey without a word and pray to God
> his finger doesn't slip and shoot me dead.
>
> Inspection done, I gather up my papers
> and wonder how rewarding is his role
> Of taking such a patriotic pride
> in terrorizing kids of twelve years old.
>
> I stand up slowly under his hostile glare
> and walk away, although I'm seeing red;
> I hold my tongue, but want to yell out "Idiot!
> The bombs aren't in my bag, they're in my head!"[124] (ibid. 103)

The second-last scene "Speak White," is limited to the sparse decor of the 40th anniversary *Nuit de la poésie* event, with a single beam of light centre-stage. Robert enters in a three-piece suit and stands in the circle of light, prepared to recite the poem that he has finally memorized. After a moment, he moves downstage, but his shadow stays behind in the light, "moving slightly as if it were alive and breathing" (ibid. 105). Robert addresses the audience, appealing to his shadow as a witness:

> What is it, exactly, that I'm supposed to remember? Then I thought, I don't deserve to recite these words. Any more than the people sitting in this room deserve to hear them. And I thought, whatever I inherited from my father, it certainly wasn't his humility. And I thought, that bill for $465 I can feel in my left pocket, which was the cost of my taxi fare from Quebec City to Montreal so I could get to this event, and which I paid without even batting an eye, would have represented more than a month's wages for my father. And then I thought, in all truthfulness, only someone like him would have the authority to read these words. (ibid. 107)

At this point, Lepage returns to the circle of light. Surtitles in English appear as he recites Lalonde's poem in French. Lepage's performance of "Speak White" is a climactic moment of the

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[124] Il me braque son arme à la hauteur des yeux / Et m'ordonn' de vider le cont'nu de ma poche. / J'obéis sans mot dire, et je prie le bon Dieu / Qu'il n'appuie par mégarde et qu'un ball' se décoche. / Son inspection finie, je remball' mon journal / Et j'me d'mand' ce qu'il trouv' de si valorisant / Pour s'donner les allur' d'un héros national / Parc' qu'il vient d'affronter un ado de 12 ans. / Je me relèv' lent' ment sous son œil de guerrier. / Pour détendr' l'atmosphère il fait un signe « paix ». / Mais au moment d'partir, j'ai juste envie d'crier : / « Sont dans ma têt' les bomb', pas dans ma poche, épais ! » (2016: 100).

piece. While the overall tone of *887* is often understated, Lepage's delivery in this scene is charged with emotion. It is here that the different threads of the piece come together, and the "two Roberts," Lepage's previously divided characters, seem to fuse into one, as he not only remembers the words but comes to understand what the poem might have meant to someone like his father.

In *887*, Lepage translates the experiences remembered and recounted across time to reintegrate them into a memory that is at once personal and collectively shared. As an important Québécois *lieu de mémoire*, "Speak White" serves as a reference point for a Québécois and, to some extent also, Canadian public. In a global context, audiences not familiar with the poem or other Quebec references bring different histories and memories to *887*, having to translate it yet again across different affiliations, times and places for it to resonate in a meaningful way. Alison Landsberg coined the term "prosthetic memory" to describe a type of memory that emerges at an experiential site such as a movie theatre or museum, and through which a person does not simply understand a historical narrative but experiences a more personal, deeply felt "memory" of it, in spite of not having experienced it first hand (Landsberg 2004: 2). In a way that is analogous to memory sites, prosthetic memories are neither purely individual nor entirely collective. They are "privately felt public memories" that develop when "new images and ideas come into contact with a person's own archive of experience" (ibid. 19)

Lepage's work has long navigated this broader terrain of transmedial and translated memory, and responses to his pieces have often taken unexpected turns when performed in different countries around the world. Lepage has never forgotten, for example, the public's response to his piece *The Far Side of the Moon* when it was first performed by Yves Jacques in Seoul in 2003.[125] This work, which Lepage has described as a "silly little family drama" about two Québécois brothers trying to reconcile their differences, took on a whole other meaning in South Korea, where the audience saw an allusion to its nation's own fraternal conflict with North Korea. Rather than simply interpreting Lepage's piece in an intellectual or cerebral way, South Korean audiences translated it into a language and cultural memory whose themes and references resonated for them in a deeply personal way. In translating the unfamiliar into familiar and deeply resonant terms, South Korean audiences made sense of Lepage's piece, while also

[125] Following its premiere at Le Trident in Quebec City in 2000, *La Face cachée de la lune*, like many other Lepage productions, has been translated and performed around the world.

revealing an underlying, more universal, meaning waiting to be discovered. “You can never know that your show contains this,” says Lepage (Nuovo and Lepage 2016: n.p.). Yves Jacques returned to Seoul to perform *The Far Side of the Moon* again in 2018. He described different global performances of the piece in a recent interview:

> What I find fascinating actually—and this is where I realize the extent to which Lepage really knows how to touch the human soul—is seeing audiences everywhere reacting at the same moments, almost down to the exact line, whether it’s in French or English, because I play the role in both languages. (“Entrevue” 2019: 5)

Jacques recalls how global audiences have nonetheless reacted in different ways. In Mexico, he saw audiences laughing more than he had ever seen in his life, sending text messages and taking photos throughout the performance. Playing to a soldout theatre in Hong Kong, the piece opened to a resounding, anticipatory silence. In Barcelona, the Catalan theatre insisted on a French rather than English production, a stance of solidarity, it seemed, with regard to the parallel French-English and Catalan-Castilian situations in Canada and Spain (ibid. 5–6). Reflecting on his two performances of the piece in South Korea, Jacques describes the effect it has had there:

> People are extremely emotional, sometimes in tears, when they come to meet me after the show. Members of the production crew, who we worked with for almost two weeks, were also very moved, overwhelmed. In Korea, families have been torn apart, between the North and the South. They haven’t seen each other for decades, and there are so many Koreans who want nothing more than that, a reconciliation. *La Face cachée de la Lune* touches people all over the world, but the intense reaction we saw in Seoul... there’s no comparison. (ibid. 5)

Citing his indebtedness to Michel Tremblay, Robert Lepage has often said that if you want to attain the universal, you have to write about what’s happening in your kitchen—“the more sincere and authentic it is, the more likely it is to resonate elsewhere” (Nuovo and Lepage 2016: n.p.). In *887*, Lepage taps into a site of memory that is particular to the Québécois context in order to make sense of personal experiences and ground them in a shared history and memory. This sought-after connection between individual and collective memory is a theme that seems to resonate with audiences, in different ways, around the world.

Conclusion

The recreations of “Speak White” discussed in this chapter reveal how a *lieu de mémoire* can be simultaneously anchored or re-anchored in the past while also being renewed or rerouted through

translation in the present—across languages, cultures, media and time. Cultural memory emerges at the intersection of subjective experience and objectively shared external forms, *lieux de mémoire* that are material, functional and symbolic, but that are constituted through the very act of their recreation, re-iteration, and transformation. In the examples discussed above, the concept of TRANSLATION AS REWRITING has been examined both with reference to literal processes of intralingual translation—textual reformulations of the original poem—but also in the context of theatrical performance, understood to be a "rewriting" process in itself. The embodiment of the text in performance indeed already informed Lalonde's reading of the poem at the *Nuit de la poésie*, which was filmed for posterity and has since been restaged and revisited in countless re-readings, publications and events.[126] One of the paradoxical features of a *lieu de mémoire* is that many people who identify with a particular linguistic or cultural community might "remember" a reference, whether or not they have ever actually read the full text or heard it recited in person. In this way, it can persist as a "surface" memory to unite the group in question. On the other hand, when translated across different linguistic and cultural affiliations or across time, the surface is pierced, so to speak, and the memory site is reconstituted, opening it up to a broader range of possible significations.

In revisiting "Speak White" as a *lieu de mémoire,* as a generative site of new interpretations, the English translations of "Speak White, Micone's "Speak What," the students' "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque" and Lepage's *887*, elicit a reflection on the relation between the past and the present, on memory and forgetting, and, especially in Lepage's case, on the refusal to forget, to not be deprived of meaning. In *887*, Lepage confronts what is lost in memory and translation in order to identify what can be found. Like Borges' character Pierre Menard, he is finally able to recite (and rewrite) Lalonde's poem by creating it anew, "word for word and line for line" (Borges, 1998: 91). And, like Menard, he does not achieve this by projecting himself into the past and becoming the author. Instead, he translates it across time,

[126] Two other rewritings of "Speak White" are of special note here: the poems "Speak void" (2011) and "Speak blanc" (2019) by Sylvain Campeau. "Speak void" is an earlier version of the later reworked "Speak blanc," which is also the subject of a short film by Alain Lefort ("Speak blanc" 2021), which premiered at the 2021 *International Festival of Films on Art* in Montreal. The epigraph of Campeau's "Speak blanc" revisits the poetic line by Gaston Miron that also appeared in chants and slogans during the 2012 Quebec Student Strike: "Nous ne sommes pas arrivés / à ce qui commence / Nous continuons de survivre / à ce qui ne semble pas pouvoir être" [We have not arrived / at a beginning / We continue to survive / that which seems cannot be] (Campeau 2019: 7). Campeau also published a poetic homage to the students striking in 2012: "Plan mort" (2013).

through the lens of his own personal experience, to re-enact it as Robert Lepage, a man "composing" with his past to become a subject rather than an object of history.

Chapter Four: Translation as Counter-Memory

Translation as Counter-Memory

The idea of counter-memory is often linked to subordinated memory, suppressed histories, and the subversion of dominant narratives and discourses (Foucault 1977). The resurfacing of suppressed history functions to subvert the dominant culture from within while also reaffirming the legitimacy of previously effaced memories, identities or languages. But counter-memory can also be activated through the appropriation of alternative sources and references "from without," through various forms of cultural borrowing, transfer and translation. Operating across national, transnational and transcultural memory, TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY is primarily concerned with remembering across and against difference in a way that sidesteps or confuses the idea of the nation.[127] It foregrounds cultural transfer and circulation, reciprocal transmission processes, the liminal experience of in-betweenness and "creative interference" born of contact zones, where "words and histories meet—in modes of coexistence, rivalry or conquest" (Simon 2019a: 1). The contact zones studied by translation scholars include everything from multilingual pre-national empires (Baer 2011; Wolf 2015; Simon 2016) and diasporic language communities (Apter 2006: 5), to courtrooms and war zones (Baker 2005; Salama-Carr 2007; Inghilleri 2012), virtual communities (Cronin 2016), translational cities (Simon 2006, 2012), and even villages, neighbourhoods and households (Simon 2018).[128] Meanings, memories and identities are not contained. They travel within, between and across borders and operate at different levels of identification and filiation.

As both Halbwachs (1925) and Erll (2011a) have shown, the frameworks of collective and cultural memory are not exclusively defined by territory, ethnicity or nationality but also include social classes, generations, religious communities, subcultures, the "fuzzy edges" of national memory, and global *lieux de mémoire* arising from travel, trade, war, and colonialism

[127] As Sherry Simon observes, "On the one hand, the spread of international cliché produces effects of homogenization; on the other, meaningful engagements across cultures, in increasingly diverse modes, produce increased particularization. Relations of intercultural exchange perform on a continuum whose one extreme carries the force of non-translation ('translating out of, away from, against, a culture') and whose opposite pole mobilizes the energy of cultural specificity ('translating for, into, with')" (2000b: 28).

[128] Simon's studies of translational cities like Montreal, Barcelona, Calcutta and Trieste are particularly revealing of these dynamics. Unlike multilingual contexts, where diverse languages simply co-exist, the translational city foregrounds the tensions and power struggles between languages—sites of exchange, avoidance and interpenetration—as well as the on-going situated processes of remembering and forgetting, the "place-making" (Till 2012) that individuals, groups and political regimes engage in through language.

(Erll 2011a: 8). Though permeable and plural, these "multiple mnemonic memberships" (ibid. 10) or "geographies of remembrance" (Steiner 1998: xiv) are not transcended but revealed in translation. Naoki Sakai has observed how the very demarcation of distinct languages sets the limit beyond which understanding is no longer possible, thus signaling the need for translation:

> The measure by means of which we are able to assess a language as a unity [...] is given to us only at the locale where the limit of a language is marked, at the "border" [...] Language as a unity almost always conjures up the co-presence of another language precisely because translation is not only a border crossing but also and preliminarily an act of drawing a border, of bordering. (2009: 83)

Figurative uses of the term translation, he argues, illustrate how difficult it is to construe translation as a linking or bridging of two languages, two cultures or two spatially marked domains (ibid. 84). As Bakhtin maintained, language, in its real, historical context, is a process of heteroglot development that is "pregnant with possibilities" and "teeming with future and former languages" (1981: 357).[129] TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY thus also partakes in border-making and border-crossing, whether across actual territories, in the case of transnational memory (De Cesari and Rigney 2014: 11), or within worlds already saturated with a logic of translation (Simon 1996: 165). This "bordering" aspect of translation has both a playful and subversive dimension. Like language, it plays "hit-and-miss games with the world" (Sommer 2004: xiv). In bilingual or multilingual contexts, the potential to err is multiplied—mistakes, false friends, double entendres, and mixed registers abound. Multilingual encounters, like art, humour and surprise, promote aesthetic effects by blocking habitual perception. This creates a critical perspective, since interrupted communication requires humility, begs debate and necessitates negotiation (ibid.). Likewise, "multivocal" and multilevel connections between local, national and global memories give rise to both dissensus and differentiation as well as convergence and agreement, highlighting the "frictions at play at the interfaces between different social formations and cultural imaginaries" (De Cesari and Rigney 2014: 3–5). TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY draws on these sometimes contradictory fusings and frictions. It creates alternative spaces, navigates centres and margins, and initiates new signs of identity.[130]

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[129] "Lotman writes in a similar vein of the periphery as the place where 'our language' is 'someone else's language' and 'someone else's language' our own (Lotman 1985: 110)" (Monticelli 2012: 333).

[130] Homi Bhabha's reference to the "performativity of translation as the staging of cultural difference" (1994: 227) is based on the idea of an enunciative "present" that "opens up possibilities for other 'times' of cultural meaning (retroactive, prefigurative) and other narrative spaces (fantasmic, metaphorical)" (ibid. 178). It foregrounds the

Though postmodern and postcolonial scholars have problematized the concept of nation (Anderson 1983; Bhabha 1994; Appadurai 1996), the nation-state is still a primary political and cultural entity in the 21st century, and the persistence of nationality or "nation-ness" as a category of group identity is deeply interwoven with memory and language. While the construction of stories about identity, origins, history and community is crucial in all accounts of the genesis of nations, a key question is how "national identities emerge in specific instances and are then translated over time" (Bell 2003: 69). This idea of translation as a reinterpretation of national identity is more than evident in the memory studies research inspired by Nora's work in the 1990s. Michael Rothberg's concept of multidirectional memory offers a different perspective. Instead of *lieux de mémoire*, he proposes a project oriented around *noeuds de mémoire* (knots of memory) that makes no assumptions about the "content" of communities and their memories. In all places and acts of memory, he argues, networks of temporality and cultural reference "exceed attempts at territorialisation (whether at the local or national level) and identitarian reduction" (2010: 7). Performances of memory may have territorializing or identity-forming effects, but the effects are always contingent and open to resignification (ibid. 7):

> Memories are not owned by groups—nor are groups "owned" by memories. Rather, the borders of memory are jagged; what looks at first like my own property often turns out to be a borrowing or adaptation from a history that initially might seem foreign or distant. Memory's anachronistic quality—its bringing together of now and then, here and there—is actually the source of its powerful creativity, its ability to build new worlds out of the materials of old ones. (Rothberg 2009: 5)

Translation has played a significant role in the reconfiguration of national or otherwise seemingly "contained" memories. In their seminal work *Translators through History*, Delisle and Woodsworth show how translators have contributed to the construction of national identities through their historical influence on the development of national languages and literatures (2012). While translation, by introducing difference, can represent a threat to the receiving national language or culture, foreign texts have often been used to construct a national identity, albeit one often assumed to pre-exist the translation process, as demonstrated by Garneau's translation of Shakespeare into "Québécois" in the previous chapter. Translation has also played a role in preserving and renewing more precarious collective identities by contributing to the

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moments and processes that emerge in the articulation of difference, the in-between spaces that "provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity" (ibid. 2).

survival and revival of languages that have been suppressed by political regimes or that, as minority languages, are threatened with extinction.[131] The presence or absence of translation affects many colonized, migrant and minority peoples around the world, including those actively seeking national autonomy, sometimes referred to as small or minority "nation peoples." As Woodsworth observes, translation into minority languages and vernaculars, as well as into non-standard forms of major languages, has often been associated with "efforts to sustain and promote minority cultures" (1996: 212) through, among other avenues, the restoration and revival of languages and literatures.

In the Quebec context, the translation of Michel Tremblay's 1965 *Les Belles Soeurs* into Scots (*The Guid Sisters*, 1988), provides a notable counter-example to Garneau's *Macbeth.* While Garneau's translation works to foreground the "Québécois language," Tremblay's original play was the first to bring Quebec's very distinct *joual* dialect to the stage. The term *joual*, as noted above, is derived from the Québécois pronunciation of the word *cheval* and refers to the urban, working-class French spoken in Quebec long considered an inferior dialect (Woodsworth 1996: 219). During the 1960s Quiet Revolution, *joual* was elevated to a literary language in poetry, novels, music and, especially, on the stage in the works of Michel Tremblay and others. The translation of Tremblay's work into Scots was the product of a transatlantic collaboration between Martin Bowman, a Montrealer of Scottish origins, and Bill Findlay, a Scot well-versed in the Scots language (Woodsworth 1996: 218). With their translation of the play into Scots, Bowman and Findlay were seeking to reflect the realities of urban, working-class life in Scotland and foster the development of a Scottish theatre tradition. Tremblay's *Les Belles Soeurs*, first performed in Montreal in 1968 amidst rising nationalist sentiment was an inspiration, both for its innovative use of a non-standard language and valorisation of a previously suppressed collective memory.[132]

While the translation of *Les Belles Soeurs* into Scots served to reaffirm linguistic and cultural identities, it was not based on the reactivation of a prestigious source, as in the case of Garneau's *Macbeth* but, rather, on what Sherry Simon refers to as a "lateral" translation from one vernacular to another (2006: 39). According to Simon, minor-to-minor translations "work

[131] As Folaron observes, Indigenous, minority, minor, and lesser-used languages constitute about 90% of the world's 7000 languages (2015: 16). Some commentators believe that this same percentage of existing languages will be extinct by the end of this century (Cronin 2006: 35).
[132] See Findlay (1988, 1992, 1993).

against the dominant binary model of major and minor cultures" and also challenge the notion of universality (ibid. 209). While *joual* has been often regarded as resistant to translation if not untranslatable, it became "spectacularly translatable" when transferred laterally (without pivoting through standard English) into Glasgow Scots, which had a parallel status vis-à-vis *joual* as a mixed, regional, working-class, low-prestige idiom (ibid.). As Woodsworth observes, the translation of Tremblay's plays from Québécois *joual* into Scots for a Scottish audience is a striking case of translation promoting both source and receiving cultural identities—"means of 'keeping faith' with both family and class roots, as well as an expression of socialist and nationalist sympathies" (Delisle and Woodsworth 2012: 78). The play has met with resounding success in Scotland (over many restagings), and Tremblay has even been described the "best playwright Scotland never had" (Honoré 1992: C5).[133] As an example of TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY, the Scots lateral translation of Tremblay foregrounds the reciprocal transmission processes that can renew both source and target memories of minoritized languages and cultures. Transversal or minor-to-minor translation can "successfully break the isolation of identitarian languages, while at the same time reshaping the cultural memory associated with these languages" (Simon 2006: 209).

Another Québécois phenomenon that can be viewed through the lens of TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY is the concept of *américanité*. As distinct from *américanisation*, or the assimilation of a consumer culture made in the USA, *américanité* is a cultural sensibility that took shape during Quiet Revolution, at a time when French Canadians were remaking their identity as Québécois. In an early use of the term, Michel Tétu discusses the Québécois expression of *américanité* in Jacques Godbout's work, describing it as an anthropological and sociological notion indispensable to the emancipation of the new world from the European model (1971: 271).[134] Paul-André Bourque, in turn, defined it as a "grey zone of the collective

[133] By contrast, Ladouceur has shown how the same *Les Belles Soeurs* translated into a standardized North American English for the Toronto stage (1973) had a very different effect. The translations, she writes, "replaced the realistic aesthetic of the source-text dialogue with an artificial bilingualism that served to underscore the play's alterity in the target language," by blending the languages in a way that did not correspond to any actual usage in a Canadian anglophone context. (2014: 309–10). The English version, she notes, retained the characters' French names and forms of address "despite the difficulty performers had in pronouncing them correctly" (ibid.).

[134] Though the American influence on Quebec novels dates to the mid-19th century (Morency 2004), the term *américanité* first emerged in the 1960s. Speaking at a 1966 conference in Paris, Jacques Godbout used the term "nord-américanité" to describe the sensibility of French writing in Quebec. The term *américanité* appeared the following year in *Le Devoir*. In 1971, Jacques Languirand's *Klondyke* included a text titled "Le Québec et l'américanite" (Dupont 1991: 190). For an overview of the evolution of the term see Gélinas (2008).

unconscious" (1975: 15), while Jean-François Chassay would come to regard it as a central Québécois reference (Chassay 1995: 127). *Américanité* foregrounds the tension between Quebec's attachment to the *mère patrie* of France versus its re-inscription and renewal in an American territory and imaginary as a new world society (Bouchard 2002). Some writers and scholars embrace the no-man's land, the identitary ambivalence, the concept seems to evoke, "as a francophone space [...] with no particular memory, a quasi-virtual community that reinvents itself day-to-day, on the periphery" (Bouchard 2002: par 4). As Claude Beausoleil writes:

> We are from here and nowhere. Detached from all territories. [...] Our non-past. Our uncertain mastery of language. Our imagined territory. All of this propels our works, scattering desires and drives. Writing incarnates this voyaging beyond. [...] If Europe tells us we're Americans, America says we're from somewhere else. (1984: 72)[135]

Other Québécois writers have rejected an *américanité* that is seen to only co-opt and confuse identities. In his contribution to a 1984 special issue on the subject, Jean Morisset writes:

> Et plus je nage vers moi, plus je m'éloigne de moi. *Please help. America... America*? Cette perpétuelle interrogation *that keeps bouncing back and forth in the brain of my ameriquest*. Mais je ne peux pas. Je ne peux plus. Ni *gringo-go-away*, ni *yankee-go-home*, moi qui parle anglais sans être anglophone, moi qui parle francophone sans être français, moi qui parle "joualo-pocho" avec les "caballos" des arizonas invisibles, moi qui parle bilingue *fluently*, voila qu'on m'invite à me départir de mon Amérique pour découvrir enfin *L'Amérique*! (Morisset 1984: 28–29)

Both the literary-cultural developments and broader socio-political issues surrounding *américanité* have been subject to extensive analysis and debate (Fournier 1984; Lamonde and Bouchard 1995; Lachapelle and Gagné 2000; Thériault 2002; Lachapelle 2011) which, for some, has shed light on "an important social [class] divide between an Atlantic, European, francophile cultural elite and a continental, popular North American culture" (Balthazar and Lachapelle 1999: 90). This is evident in Michel Tremblay's work, which contributed to shaping the *américanité* that would come to infuse Québécois literature in the 1980s. In addition to his novels and plays, Tremblay is also a prolific translator, having translated some 40 plays into Québécois French.[136] His translations and adaptations of American works, often based on

[135] "Nous sommes d'ici et de nulle part. Enfuis de tous les territoires. [...] Notre non-passé. Notre maîtrise discutable de la langue. Notre territoire imaginé. Tout cela donne à nos livres un envol qui disperse au large les désirs et les pulsions. L'écriture est ce voyage qui s'incarne et mène ailleurs. [...] Si l'Europe nous apprend que nous sommes américains, L'Amérique nous apprend que nous sommes d'ailleurs" (Beausoleil 1984: 72).

[136] Tremblay incorporated *joual* into his first translation, Paul Zindel's *The Effect of Gamma Rays on Man-in-the-Moon Marigolds* (1964) (*L'Effet des rayons gamma sur les vieux garçons*, 1970). His subsequent translations continued to make use of Québécois French, sometimes necessitating retranslations of works already translated in

working-class themes, presented an opportunity to further develop his use of *joual*, which, in turn, nourished his own work, his efforts to produce a "legitimate representation in a 'noble' genre of a disdained social class and language previously denied access to the Québécois stage" (Ladouceur 2011: 107).

A broader view of *américanité* is one that spans both American continents, and different languages, cultures and time periods. The Québécois concept of *américanité* is paralleled in the Brazilian concept of *americanidade*, for example. Both evoke the "Americanness" of contemporary writing in the Americas and imply a turning away from European models toward hybridization and a focus on movement, interrelation, and transcultural contact (Charron and von Flotow 2018: 119). The comparison is not surprising given some of the similarities between Brazil and Quebec, not least of which are the nations' linguistic distinctness in their respective contexts (Nareau 2011: 167). The Brazilian concept of literary cannibalism also has echoes in Quebec.[137] The notion of cannibalistic translation—devouring the other, the colonizer, to not be devoured—represents not so much a rupture as an overtaking, not a refusal of the other, but an absorption (Nareau 2011: 56). For Morency, citing the "cannibalistic gesture" in Victor-Lévy Beaulieu's prolific incorporation of references to American and other authors, it's as though "certain Québécois writers, in the 1970s, were sensitized to the questions envisioned 50 years earlier by the Brazilian modernists. […] The writer of the *pays incertain* becomes the receptacle for all discourses, for all texts, all words. He is surrounded by a multitude of foreign languages, in an absent space and an abolished time" (1993: 58).[138]

The following sections will examine TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY in the Quebec context in greater detail, specifically focusing on the 1970s counter-culture in Quebec. As we will see, *américanité* played an important role in the making of Quebec's counter-culture, due, in part, to the real and imaginary trips taken south of the border, but also to the influence of a broader transcultural, transnational movement (across the Americas, between France and Quebec, to new "exotic" lands) that sought to expand, redraw and transgress borders. The counter-culture was a global phenomenon, one that situated Quebec within "planetary

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France (Ladouceur 2011: 95–96). Tremblay thought Quebec's writers were better equipped to translate American texts, because "Québécois is a North-American language" (cited in Ladouceur 2011: 102).

[137] The concept was first proposed by Oswald de Andrade in his 1928 *Manifesto antropófago*, which later influenced the Brazilian school of translation through the work of Haroldo and Augusto de Campos.

[138] Beaulieu's repertoire of "devoured" authors includes Kerouac, Melville, Faulkner, Burroughs, Hawthorne, Homer, Cervantes, Flaubert, Hugo, Tolstoy and Joyce, among others (Morency 1993).

geographies" beyond time and space, in the conventional sense of these terms (Taylor 2018). Quebec's hippies indeed seem to personify the scattered desires and drives, the "voyaging beyond" evoked in Beausoleil's lines.

I first discuss the emergence of alternative sites, frames and networks of memory in post-Quiet-Revolution Quebec (avant-garde, feminist, Black, queer, migrant) to then concentrate on Quebec's counter-cultural movement and, in particular, the periodical *Mainmise* (1970–1978) as a locus of counter-cultural memory and translation. After tracing the evolution of *Mainmise* and the role of translation as a vehicle of cultural transfer, I develop the idea of counter-memory as a translational phenomenon based on re-identification and retemporalization—the construction of alternative collective references that are both past- and future-oriented, through cultural borrowing and transfer. I show how the community that formed around *Mainmise* embraced an active appropriation of *otherness*, whether through reification and abstraction ("cosmic consciousness") or through the borrowing of concrete cultural references (American, Indigenous, "Eastern," etc.), which often entailed the (re)negotiation of specific intercultural relations and power dynamics. Counter-memory, here, can be conceived as a particular, subversive form or sub-category of transcultural or translated memory. The editors of and contributors to the counter-culture magazine *Mainmise* sought out and embraced a "freak" otherness whose characteristic feature was precisely its transgressive potential and alterity—otherness for the sake of otherness, so to speak. While the affirmation of the French language and identity infused *Mainmise*'s project and Quebec's counter-culture more broadly (indeed, the *joual* sociolect figures prominently), the movement still looked elsewhere to forge new identities across languages, cultures, times and places. I will show how these alternative references were appropriated and mediated through text, image, music and other forms of cultural transfer.

The Making of a Counter-Culture in Quebec

While the affirmation of Quebec's national language and identity continued well beyond the strictly-defined period of the Quiet Revolution (1960–1966), the end of the decade saw the emergence of alternative sites, frames and networks of memory. Indeed, the Nuit de la poésie in 1970 already united poets and artists of diverse political, aesthetic and cultural backgrounds.[139]

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[139] "The euphoric event, which soon achieved mythic status, was representative of Quebec's poetry scene (Yves Préfontaine, Gatien Lapointe, Jean-Guy Pilon), singers and performers (Michèle Lalonde, Suzanne Paradis, Michel

Montreal's Expo 67 marks a decisive turning point, and the social and cultural changes that transformed Quebec from 1967 to the election of the sovereignist Parti Québécois in 1976 undoubtedly had as much of an impact on Quebec society as the Quiet Revolution itself (Warren and Fortin 2015: 7). Quebec's counter-cultural movement arose over this period, partly as a result of the ideological transformations taking place but also due to the increased standards of living and education that accompanied these changes in Quebec, as elsewhere in North America (Warren 2012a: par. 5). The new craze for counter-culture magazines emerged, in part, from this context. Across North America, more than 4000 counter-culture periodicals were published between 1965 and 1970, with and estimated readership of 15 million. The daily *Los Angeles Free Press*, founded in 1964 and often considered the first underground periodical in North America, had a print run in 1971 of 90,000 copies. *The Realist* printed 100,000 and, *Rolling Stone Magazine*, 300,000 (ibid. par 5). The first Canadian counter-culture magazine was *Georgia Straight*, created in Vancouver in 1967 and inspired by the beatnik tradition of Kerouac and Ginsberg. Its print run quickly exceeded 60,000 copies, some of which found their way into the hands of Montreal readers every month. The first Québécois venture was the magazine *Logos* (1967–1973), initially published in bilingual editions then in English alone. Appearing in 1968, *Le Voyage*, more political than psychedelic, was a kind of francophone version of *Logos* (ibid. par. 9).

At the same time, in Quebec, literary and political journals and periodicals of all stripes entered onto the scene in great number—108 new publications appeared between 1970 and 1979 (Guay 2015: iv; Fortin 2006). Of note are the avant-garde literary journals *La Barre du jour* (1965), later renamed *La Nouvelle Barre du jour* (1977), and *Les Herbes rouges* (1968), described as sites of "rupture and continuity" that redefined the literary landscape and served as hubs for the young poets and writers of the period (Biron et al. 2010: 490; Guay 2015: 22). Feminist publications such as *Québécoises deboutte!* (1971–1974) and *Têtes de pioche* (1976–1979) were pioneers of feminist thought, the former oscillating between counter-cultural and

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Garneau, Georges Dor and Raymond Lévesque, Pauline Julien and Gérald Godin, reciting a text by Roland Giguère and a song by Gilbert Langevin), and the younger provocative "freaks" (Denis Vanier, Claude Péloquin, Louis Geoffroy, Raôul Duguay and his *Infonie* group), and the *Parti pris*-turned-counter-cultural Paul Chamberland playing the role of intermediary. On the stage of the Église du Gesù in March 1970, another young writer, Nicole Brossard, also impressed with her *telquelliennes* influences, just as did Claude Gauvreau with his touch of surrealism and automatism" (Guay 2015: 34).

Marxist-Leninist influences before adopting an activist orientation inspired by the national and social struggles taking place in Quebec and elsewhere in the world (Guay 2015: 54). Sean Mills (2010) and David Austen (2013) have traced the emergence and evolution of the Black Power movement in Montreal, starting in the late 60s, as represented in publications like *Uhuru* (1969–1970). This period also saw the beginnings of *écritures migrantes* discussed in the previous chapter, particularly with the founding of the journal *Dérives* published between 1975–1987 and bearing the subtitle: *Tiers-Monde/Québec*, *une nouvelle conjoncture culturelle*. A site of multicultural encounter and translation, *Dérives* was one of the "the first discursive spaces in Quebec to be infused with so many voices from elsewhere" (Guay 2015: iv).[140] All of these publications were hubs for emerging social movements, providing platforms for innovative cultural production but also social frames and networks conducive to building new memory sites and solidarities in their diverse but often overlapping political struggles.

The idea of the counter-culture, in the strict sense of the term, is most often associated with the American movement of the 1960s and hippy meccas like Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco or Greenwich Village in New York. Theodore Roszak coined the term in his 1969 *The Making of a Counter Culture*. That same year, the Woodstock music festival marked both the zenith and decline of the American movement, which, over the course of the 1970s, was gradually co-opted by mainstream media (Larose and Rondeau 2016: 9) and consumer society (Warren and Fortin 2015: 13). Meanwhile, the counter-culture movement was just getting underway in Quebec. Following the upheavals of the Quiet Revolution, Quebec's hippies found themselves immersed in a wave of national affirmation that allowed them to assimilate their revolt to a collective project already in the making (ibid. 10). Quebec was perceived by many to be the perfect milieu for the burgeoning counter-culture movement. For translator Linda Gaboriau, Quebec as a whole could be regarded as Canada's underground (ibid. 11). Victor-Lévy Beaulieu described Quebec as being counter-cultural "par définition même, pis global'ment"

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[140] In its first issue, *Dérives*' editors announced their intention to act as *passeurs culturels*, to short-circuit established power relations, and create new circuits of distribution. It sought to build a bridge between the "third world" and Quebec, both to better understand new perspectives on cultural decolonization developing in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and also to transform Quebec as a whole (Nareau 2011: 171). In 1983, *Dérives*, produced a special three-part issue on Brazilian literature. This triple issue (37/38/39) "was intended as an introduction to Brazilian literary production, an invitation to establish contacts between Brazil and Quebec, and a new way, namely through direct links, of exploring the continental scope of the literatures of the Americas. The originality of the exercise is largely related to the selection of authors, the general introduction to the corpus and, most of all, the Quebec translation of the selected texts" (ibid. 165).

(ibid.). Others saw in Quebec's counter-culture a natural reflection of the differences between Canada's anglophones and francophones (ibid.). But while affirmation of the French language and identity infused Quebec's counter-culture, the movement still looked to predominantly American, English-language sources of inspiration (authors, music, references and trips to the American hippy meccas), a fact reflected in the many English-language expressions that it adopted—freaks, pot, dope, high, love in, drop-out, and so on (ibid. 12).

The Evolution of *Mainmise*

Among the alternative periodicals to emerge in Canada and Quebec at the end of the 1960s, the magazine *Mainmise*, though not the first, would prove to be the most influential and long-lasting. Published in Montreal between 1970 and 1978, *Mainmise*—based on the French term meaning "hands on" (*main* "hand" and *mettre* "to put")—was the quintessential hub of the counter-cultural movement in Quebec. Its editors drew inspiration from themes that formed the cornerstones of the American counter-culture movement—sex, drugs and rock n' roll—in order to imagine and (re)create an alternative vision of society. If *Cité libre* was the emblematic journal of the 1950s in Quebec and *Parti pris* that of the 1960s, *Mainmise* expressed some of the most characteristic aspirations of the 1970s (Warren 2012a: par. 2). In the wake of the 1968 student strike and the 1970 October Crisis, Quebec's youth were seduced by a new and stimulating discourse that seemed to fuse the dreams of Marx and Rimbaud: "change the world, change your life" (Duchastel 1986: 62).

In addition to being the hub of Quebec's counter-culture, *Mainmise* was also a product of translation. As a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS), the periodical had access to images and texts drawn from over 200 publications worldwide. For the amount of 25 dollars per year, any publication could join the UPS and receive copies of other members' publications. As Jean-Philippe Warren observes:

> These exchanges gave members [of *Mainmise*] unlimited access to the bank of texts, images and photographs produced by this network of publications. The large number of French translations of texts previously published in American papers stemmed, in part, from one simple fact: free and easy access to a bank of bold and catchy texts that the Mainmisiens (the name that the magazine's creators gave themselves) had only to translate (2012a: par. 18).

It was also thanks to this access that *Mainmise* was able to translate the comics of Robert Crumb, for example, into Québécois *joual.* The magazine *Actuel*, also a member of UPS, did the same in France. Indeed, in the first 42 editions, articles drawn from foreign sources—primarily American texts translated from English into French—constituted half of the periodical's thematic and specialized content (Duchastel 1976: 43–44). The magazine's title *Mainmise* itself derives from this idea of "access to" or, more specifically, "taking back," as one of its co-founders, Georges Khal, explains in an interview:

> While writing the manifesto, I came up with the name *Mainmise*, inspired by Abbie Hoffman: take back all the powers you've been robbed of, in other words, "put your hands on" what is yours, what you've given up to priests, doctors, politicians and specialists. So, for me, *Mainmise* was both about taking back—getting your hands on—and performing a kind of blessing. (Khal 2010: par. 28)

Mainmise acted as a kind of "almanac for the global village" (Warren 2016b: 432)[141] or a "*Reader's Digest* of turned-on thought" (Pénélope 1970: 64). It catalogued the American movement's key writings and music, adapted the psychedelic graphic styles of its comics and periodicals, offered tips on health and lifestyle, and provided a hub for an alternative social network. In this respect, *Mainmise* represents not only an indispensable reference for understanding Quebec's counter-culture. It also comprises a large corpus of translated texts, images and commentaries that shed light on the role that translation played in the construction of a counter-cultural movement and memory in Quebec.[142]

Mainmise evolved over three distinct periods, each of which saw changes in editorial direction, thematic content and structure, readership contribution, and visual style and format. The first 20 issues (1970-1973) were published in pocket-book form. From 1973 to 1975 (32 issues), *Mainmise* adopted an 8 x 11-inch magazine format and, from 1975-1978 (26 issues), a larger tabloid magazine format, modelled, like the French underground *Actuel*, after France's more mainstream *Paris Match*. Over its publication history, *Mainmise*'s print run spanned 5000 to 30,000 copies. The inaugural issue was launched in October 1970 and served primarily as the

[141] According to Warren, *Mainmise* sought to include "a mosaic of diverse information that, from the fabrication of snowshoes to grandma's remedies, and the best organic coops to legal advice, could contribute to building a more useful and community-based knowledge" (2016b: 432).

[142] *Mainmise* was certainly not the first vehicle of American cultural transfer in Quebec. As noted above, the American influence on Quebec novels dates to the mid-19th century (Morency 2004). The closest precursor to the *Mainmise* phenomenon, however, was the Yéyé music trend in 1960s, which was accompanied by an "avalanche of translations" of American songs into French (Homier-Roy 2009: n. p.).

program for The Who's rock opera *Tommy*, a co-production with the Grands Ballets Canadiens performed at Montreal's Place des Arts. The opera's lyrics were fully translated into French by *Mainmise* and accompanied by interviews and photographs taken during rehearsals by the Office du film du Québec. Visually, the issue is marked by an eclectic, psychedelic style that would come to prevail over the next 20 issues (1970–1973), often creating the effect of a random collage of texts, drawings, photos and comics.[143] Different sections sometimes overlap and extend over several pages in a non-linear fashion, and titles and contributors' names are often omitted. The main editorial director over this period was one of the magazine's co-founders (along with Georges Khal), Jean Basile Bezroudnoff. The latter, under the pseudonym Pénélope, also penned several articles and most of the music reviews. French translations of English texts also figure prominently. The first 20 issues include 29 individual translated texts, one entire issue structured as a collage of translated quotations (by Buckminster Fuller, Marshall McLuhan, Eldridge Cleaver, Jerry Rubin, Theodore Roszak, Allen Ginsberg and others), and several isolated quotes, translated song lyrics and adapted comic strips.

The second format (1973–1975) assumed a new look, focus and editorial direction (Georges Khal, Rolland Vallée and Michel Bélair). As in the first version of *Mainmise*, this period is also marked by an eclectic mix of textual and visual styles. The overall structure is more consistent, and more space is given to Quebec writing, music and art, including credited cover illustrations and comics by Quebec artists (which form the basis of two special issues). Carried over from the first format, local resources and practical information are a recurring theme (for example, how to grow your own pot or start a commune). Nonetheless, translations still make up a large part of the content (40 translated texts, plus song lyrics, quotes, interviews and comics), much to the dismay of some readers who, in their *Lettres d'amour* (letters to the editor), denounce the over-emphasis on American content. One letter signed "Don" complains of the "pathetic" reliance on American translation (Don 1973: 63). Another laments the lack of writing by "people from here, who have no means other than MM to express themselves" (Pierre 1973: 4). The shift to a more mainstream, less artistic design is also noted, with regret:

[143]"Such inventive page layouts, and the paperback book format of early issues of *Mainmise,* can be likened to Marshall McLuhan's most popular works, designed by Quentin Fiore and distributed among an international readership. McLuhan's *The Medium is the Massage,* for example, used juxtaposition between image and typography to produce similar sensory effects" (Taylor 2018: 17).

> I really miss the old format, with its photos, its drawings filling the entire page, without limits in the space. From the moment I bought it, it already smelled of incense and pot. It was the work of an artisan; it had a soul. Now *Mainmise* feels to me like any other magazine, lost in the newsstand between the cigarettes and chewing gum. (Eric 1973: 7)

The third format (1975–1978) saw an even more radical transformation and change in editorial direction (eventually assumed by Michèle Favreau), as well as a clearly identifiable fourth shift in the final 6 issues. In terms of design, structure and content, this new format is by far the most conventional of the three versions. It focuses almost exclusively on local music, arts, culture and interviews.[144] Photos rather than illustrations grace the magazine's covers, the first nine of which all feature popular Québécois musicians: Charlebois, Beau Dommage, Louise Forestier, Harmonium, Plume, Les Séguin, Dionysos, Félix Leclerc and Clémence Desrochers. The addition of a "Dossier Province" highlights this recentring of Quebec content, as does the reduction in the number of translations. There are 13 translated texts overall and, for the first time, translations are often altogether absent. Issues 72–78 include, along with *Mainmise*, the subtitle *Rezo* on the cover. The new *rezo* section features contributions from different parts of the alternative *reseau* across Quebec. This third format is less experimental and radical than the previous two, both in form and content. The last issues, in particular, espouse a more responsible and focused approach to "rebuilding the movement" through networking and community.

Translation as a Vehicle of Cultural Transfer

Despite the waning interest in translation towards the end of the magazine's publication history, the central role that it played in *Mainmise*, if only in terms of quantity, seems self-evident. Among the 82 individual, often lengthy, translated texts identified over 78 issues, *Mainmise* translated at least 68 of these from English into French. We say "at least" because some appear to combine existing and original *Mainmise* translations. Indeed, line-by-line, source-to-target translations tend to be the exception. Most of the translated texts are excerpts, compilations or abridged versions that include adapted content and sometimes translators' commentaries integrated into the body of the text (often without clear attribution of authorship). In addition to these individual translated texts, translated quotes of varying lengths, adapted diagrams, ads,

[144] This third format, with its emphasis local music, arts and news, and balance between alternative and popular culture, bears some resemblance to the free alternative weeklies that emerged in the mid-1980s in Montreal: the English-language *Mirror* (1985–2012) and French-language *Voir* (1986–present). Though perhaps not a direct precursor, the later *Mainmise* format may have set a precedent.

comics, and so on, are sprinkled throughout. Moreover, many of the original French-language contributions rely heavily on foreign or alternative sources or focus on the movement's connection to other time periods or "zones" (acid trips, tantric sex, meditation, etc.). Taken together, these diverse interpretive processes constitute modes of translation that range from the imitation and transposition of texts or practices to different forms of adaptation and appropriation, as explored, for example, through the lens of cultural transfer theory (see Espagne and Werner 1987; Dion 2007; Lüsebrink 2014). *Mainmise* provides a rich terrain for examining cultural transfer in action.

Where the "transfer" element of translation is foregrounded—where translation serves primarily as a vehicle of borrowing or exchange—the methodological frameworks developed in cultural transfer theory can provide useful tools of analysis. Transfer theories effectively shed light on different actions and interactions unfolding over time and involving specific actors, factors and circumstances. Compared to "influence" theories, they offer a dynamic vision that takes into account not only the final result but also the entire process, including the origins, contents and agents involved (Danaux and Doyon 2012; Doré 2010). It is this richer, more complex definition of transfer that we wish to develop here. Translation is not limited to transfer but can act as a vehicle of cultural transfer that informs every stage of the process. Translation thus conceived is not a single act or operation. It partakes, rather, of a temporal and multifaceted series of processes, involving different agents, against a background of interrelated social, cultural, political and institutional conditions.

In the case of *Mainmise*, translation became both a means to experiment with new cultural references and language practices and an important avenue for interlinguistic and intercultural exchange. The period, however, was still marked by a certain ambivalence toward translation, born of a long frustration with the unequal relations between French and English (Simon 1989: 32–33). On the one hand, this gave rise to a certain resistance to translation, whether in Michel Tremblay's initial refusal to have his works translated and performed in English in Quebec, or later, in the "creative interference" and code-switching inscribed in many Quebec literary works themselves (Simon 1995, 2006). On the other hand, the translation of foreign works into Québécois French, as seen in the Garneau and Tremblay examples above, helped affirm Québécois identity. This process of distinguishing Québécois French from the French spoken in France, heralded, as Annie Brisset notes, "the birth of a language that

translation [would] have to bring to the fore, or at least, *expose*, in the photographic sense of the word" (2012: 286). While these translational tensions are not foregrounded in *Mainmise*, they form part of the magazine's original context of production and reception.

As we shall see, Québécois *joual* figures prominently in the pages of *Mainmise*, as do numerous references to Québécois artists, culture and identity, along with many critiques of or justifications for the preponderance of American content. Here we will consider three distinct but overlapping modes of cultural transfer: selection, mediation and reception, before going on to examine the idea of counter-memory as a translational phenomenon based on re-identification (the construction of alternative collective references through cultural borrowing and transfer) and retemporalization (the re-inscription of references in a remembered past or utopic future). Selection is concerned with the choice of sources to be translated, with respect to their origin and content (what is being selected, what forms these take) as well as the potential motivation and circumstances governing the choices being made. Mediation refers to the bridges or avenues of crossover and all of the agents involved (translators, editors, teachers, travellers, and so on). Reception traces the transmissions, imitations and transformations—the productive incorporation of borrowed cultural references into a new receiving context, and how the context itself is transformed in the process.[145]

Selection

The selection of references in *Mainmise* is tied to several interrelated factors—the precedent set by earlier publications (*Seed, Rolling Stone, Black Panther* and *San Francisco Oracle* in the United States, or *Georgia Straight*, *Logos* and *Le Voyage* in English Canada and Quebec), the growing influence of television, which had begun covering hippy culture, and the emergence of independent media, with the support of cooperatives and artist-run centres (Warren and Fortin 2015: 62–75). The context seems to have spawned both an identitary affirmation and an identity crisis. In the second issue of *Mainmise*, Normand Bourque, a professor at the Collège du Vieux-Montréal, promoted a "Québécois alternative" as an ideal model for the counter-culture. According to Bourque, Quebec had reached a critical period in its history and was "desperately" trying to arrive at a cultural synthesis:

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[145] For a more detailed breakdown and analysis of the different stages of cultural transfer see Robert Dion (2007).

> Everything in our cultural history attests to the universal propensities of our culture; we already have all the historical elements that define the new culture of the new generation: from our *coureurs des bois* (our hippy great-grandfathers!) to the newcomers and iconoclasts in our Cegeps and universities, and all the ambivalent phases of colonialism, the both sad and happy fate of minorities, the matriarchy, clergyism, *joual*, beatniks and the alienated no-culture-no-language-of-our-own non-identity. (Bourque 1970: 28)

In this somewhat cryptic citation, the author pays homage to Québécois cultural heritage, all the while highlighting the ambivalent phases, historical ruptures and new possibilities facing the younger generation.

This identitary ambivalence is accentuated in *Mainmise* by the prevalence of American content. As we have noted, half of the magazine's thematic and specialized articles in the first 42 issues originated from foreign sources. Selection, a process consisting, for the most part, of choosing which texts to translate, was integral to the magazine's utopic mission: "*Mainmise* is, first and foremost, a source of information. [...] *Mainmise* wants to be useful. This is why we have set aside creative texts in favour of studies and inquiries" (Pénélope 1970: 62). This explains the important place accorded to foreign texts, to the detriment, at times, of original contributions in French. Counter-culture texts of an informative nature had already been circulating for some time in American networks:

> *Mainmise* has often been criticized for being a byproduct of the American underground papers. When the magazine was first launched, the counter-culture movement had already existed in the United States for a number of years. The early years were thus devoted to catching up, and this entailed first translating and assimilating the key ideas developed in the United States and then adapting these to the Québécois context. [...] Québécois "counter-cultural" creativity was just starting to make itself felt. (Moore 1973: 364)[146]

The selection of texts to translate was largely determined by the magazine's association with UPS, which provided both a contextual and institutional avenue of access to many different types of content. Rock music, for example, occupied an important place in underground magazines, as it did in the counter-culture movement as a whole: "Rock was at the centre of the counter-cultural pursuits that transformed the United States from the mid-1960s on. It is not surprising, therefore, that it figured prominently in the pages of Montreal magazines like *Mainmise* and *Logos*" (Fillion 2016: 36). Rock was considered an "international music," a "complete sensory

[146] For more on the evolution of *Mainmise*, see Thériault (1973) and Moore (1975).

engagement" and an "aesthetic of discovery," which "always called for public participation" (Ulysse 1971: 88–92). *Mainmise*, for example, translated the lyrics of songs by The Who, Bob Dylan, The Rolling Stones, Graham Nash and Cat Stevens, among others. The translations were included in a section titled "Encyclopédie du mutant." The editors of *Mainmise* explain why they chose to translate these Anglo-Saxon groups:

> Kébékois rock fans rarely understand the lyrics of their favourite Anglo-Saxon groups, and, even when they know English, they're not always able to make out the words that rock singers holler, shout, murmur, hum and hurl. So after a long and difficult working session, we chose five sample songs that we translated (i.e. la mère michel, who has the pulse of poetry in his veins) and present them to you here. ("Encyclopédie du mutant" 1974: 32)

The musicians featured in the magazine are predominantly from the United States (29 of the 48 rock groups listed in its "Rockothèque" are American). Groups from England and France make up many of the rest, but Québécois artists also have their place:

> Rock is international music [...] There is a Québécois rock that emerged with the advent of Charlebois. Every singer, while basing their message on the universality of rock, adds the spirit of their people. When Charlebois performs dressed as a Montreal Canadiens hockey player, he is literally performing a rock act, just as Dr. John is when he arrives on stage dressed as a witch doctor from Louisiana. (Ulysse 1971: 88–90)
>
> We hear over and over that pop music has not produced any musically interesting groups who are doing in French what the Americans and British are doing in their language. The music of Dionysos is American because they live on the North American continent, but their texts are French because they are first and foremost Québécois [...] in managing to find a balance between Anglo-Saxon rock'n roll and the French language, they have set themselves apart. (Dignard 1971: 227)

While the first of these two citations is taken from a text defending rock music against its Québécois critics, the second is drawn from a "*petit dictionnaire des groupes rock québécois*" aimed at making Québécois music more accessible (the names and phone numbers of the groups' agents are included).[147] However, in both cases, they emphasize the universality of rock music while also highlighting the unique form it takes in the Québécois context. In this case, selection includes not only choosing which works to translate but also striking a balance between the universal and the particular, and between Anglo-Saxon influences and francophone Quebec.

[147] Among the Québécois groups listed are Dionysos, Mahogany Rush, June 3, Expédition, Incubus, and Nécessité.

Mediation

The circulation of information and networking (Warren 2016b) were important to the overall mission of the Mainmisiens. Writing under the pseudonym Pénélope, Jean Basile emphasizes the active role that members of the collective played as mediators committed to translating meaning, but also adapting information to a material and symbolic context that would resonate with its readership and community:

> Mainmise is first and foremost, a magazine of information. This means: no ego-trips. The primary goal we have set for ourselves, given the lack of any means of official information, is to make stuff we think should be transmitted available, one way or another. [...] That's why we think *Mainmise*, which is fundamentally underground, must also be spread overground as much as possible, because it is the size of reach on which the free spread of ideas ultimately depends. (Pénélope 1970: 62–64).

The magazine's goal- and future-oriented approach was also target-oriented. In the fifth issue of the magazine, the editors elaborate on their social mission: "the major problem for any parallel social group is communication. We call this CONNECTION" ("Branchez-vous" 1971: 144). For the editors, mediation thus involved both the interlingual translation of American texts, but also a process of cultural translation that included translating their own experience of the American counter-cultural universe, for example by sharing their favourite music or recounting stories about their trips to the hippy meccas. Georges Khal had discovered the counter-culture movement during a three-month *séjour* in New York's East Village in 1966:

> From 1967 to 1968, I immersed myself in the American underground press; the superb and mind-blowing *Logos* published in Montreal; the period's fabulous interviews in *Playboy*; the work of Timothy Leary and the visionary Buckminster Fuller; the incredible *Whole Earth Catalog* from California; the essential work of the prophet Marshall McLuhan (which read on marijuana is of a dazzling clarity); my great hero, Abbie Hoffman, author of *Revolution for the Hell of It.* (2010: par. 8)

On his return to Montreal, Khal received a call from Basile, who was looking to buy some marijuana. He described the meeting as the mutual discovery of two kindred souls: "For months on end we smoked pot and dropped acid together while listening to the latest rock albums, and the symphonies of Mahler, Tommy and Handel. [...] I introduced him to all of the American writing, the new thinking" (ibid.) Throughout their time collaborating on *Mainmise*, the editors and contributors were in constant contact with the American counter-culture:

> The next issue of MAINMISE will be somewhat special. We decided to travel a little bit, a lot actually... The end-goal of the trip... was San Francisco. Why San Francisco?

> Because there are ten years of acid in San Francisco. Because San Francisco is a Mecca for us. That's where our movement was born. That's where our music comes from. (Pénélope 1972: 74)

The editors, aiming to keep their readers "connected," compiled numerous lists of music to listen to and authors to read, acting, in a way, as curators of the "freak" universe. Recommended (and translated) authors included Buckminster Fuller, Timothy Leary and Carlos Castaneda. Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog* (1968–1972) became the model for *Le Répertoire québécois des outils planétaires*, published by *Mainmise* (Allègre) in 1977.

The names of *Mainmise*'s translators, however, are rarely mentioned, even though almost every issue includes material translated from English into French. The effect of the "translation pact," which invites readers to engage with the text as the original (Alvstad 2014), prevails here, rendering the actual translators for the most part invisible (Venuti 1995). Linda Gaboriau was a founding member of *Mainmise* who went on to become one of Quebec's most accomplished translators (having translated more than 125 Québécois plays and novels into English). She may have contributed translations to the magazine, but, if so, they are not clearly credited (typically, though, she translated from French to English). A search of all of the issues in PDF format using keywords designating translation—"*traduire*," "*traduit*," "*traducteur*," "*traductrice*" and "*traduction*"—does, however, yield a number of results.[148] We learn, for example, that Michel Chevrier (who used the pseudonym La Mère Michel) translated *NeuroLogic* (1973a) by Timothy and Joanna Leary. The editorial team provides a summary of the original text, along with the following footnote regarding the translation:

> We would like to highlight the remarkable translation by Michel Chevrier, who had the singular task of transposing a text written in a technical and synthetic language into French, a language that proceeds in a more analytic fashion and is ill equipped to deal with the technical mentality. For example, English does not require prepositions to fuse certain words together: bio-feedback regulation engineering; try transposing that without quickly becoming mired in *de*'s and *à*'s and other redundancies. (Leary 1973b: 58)

In their introduction to the translation of Buckminster Fuller's *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth* (1968), the editors write, "The translation of Fuller's text is by Serge Laliberté. For those

[148] This method is clearly not infallible due to the limitations of character encoding, especially with respect to drawings and hand-written contributions and, in the case of *Mainmise*, the magazine's psychedelic style. The character-recognition capacity (the software's ability to isolate readable text) is nonetheless remarkable. An exhaustive overview would require meticulous examination of print versions of every issue of the periodical.

familiar with the complexity of Fuller's English, Serge's work is nothing short of a miracle: Fuller is probably one of the most difficult English authors to translate" ("Manuel" 1974: 43). Among the other translators mentioned, we find Jean Clouâtre, Jean Guernon, Christine Pillet and Michèle Favreau. Georges Khal, who, like Linda Gaboriau, went on to work as a translator after *Mainmise*, most likely contributed several translations, though our keyword search returned only one result—his translation of an excerpt from Stewart Brand's *II Cybernetic Frontiers* (1974), about which he wrote the following:

> The Splendours and Miseries of this translation. I did not wrestle with words, and certain semantic anglicisms are maintained. Our grammar can and must change, to better reproduce the changes that are taking place in our heads. Ellipses and parables. Cultural pollution is complexity is health. (Khal 1977: 27)

For Khal, a certain degree of linguistic and cultural pollution was not only inevitable but also necessary—a "polluted" language was better suited to representing the complexity of the new, utopic, revolutionary thinking.

Reception

Though translators' names are not often mentioned in the pages of *Mainmise*, translation is omnipresent. Some translators aspire to fidelity, while others take greater liberties. But beyond interlingual translation, adaptations of textual and visual material are also prominent. Translation, in this sense, corresponds to Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink's definition of reception as a range of interpretive processes:

> Appropriation covers a diverse range, from phenomena based on the imitation and transposition of texts or practices originating in another culture to forms of adaptation and productive appropriation, as well as refusal, resistance and rejection [...] [This also entails] the synchronization, translation and adaptation of various paratextual elements, such as the title, the credits, the preface, the cover page (in the case of books) or the poster (in the case of films), as well as press releases provided by authors and directors. (2014: 33–34)

Many of these different types of "productive reception" are to be found in *Mainmise.* It could even be argued that, taken together, they constitute an essential characteristic of this magazine, this "*commune de production*." Throughout its publication history, as Duchastel has shown, the magazine presented itself as a kind of "operating manual" addressed to a community of "users." The Mainmisiens came together "with the objective of producing an alternative instrument of

information," of developing "every dimension of an alternative or parallel culture" (Duchastel 1986: 62). This is evident from the first issue, most of which was devoted to the translation of The Who's rock opera *Tommy*, which, as noted above, served simultaneously as the show's program. Many of the processes identified by Lüsebrink are present here: imitation, synchronization, translation and adaptation of paratextual elements. The program for *Tommy* begins with an introduction:

> It is almost impossible to adequately translate the lyrics for the program of TOMMY. As is often the case with songs, the phrasing is elliptical or, on the contrary, repetitive. We have thus resigned ourselves to presenting the simplest translation possible, in prose, of this apparently anodyne text that is in fact full of allusions and stumbling blocks. ("Les paroles de Tommy" 1970: 12)

Mainmise also adopted and adapted the psychedelic visual aesthetic common to counter-cultural magazines everywhere and to the movement as a whole. Marked by an eclectic style, not to mention unpredictable layouts that vary from one page to the next, the content can be difficult to decipher at first view, necessitating both an intertextual and intersemiotic reading. Comic strips, likewise, figure prominently, as Camille St-Cerny-Gosselin observes, pointing to the active contribution of the magazine's readers to its content:

> [The movement's] creativity and pluralism were not only conveyed through ideology; they also contributed to enhancing a multitude of pictorial aesthetics. This multiplicity can perhaps be explained by the fact that *Mainmise* had become a veritable hub, a unique platform to which even the readers sent numerous texts and drawings to be used in the publication. (2016: 363)

Productive reception is also evident in some of the commentaries on translations. The preface to *Est*: *The Steersman Handbook, Charts of the Coming Decade of Conflict* (1970) by L. Clark Stevens offers a particularly striking example. In their introduction to this text, *Mainmise*'s editors emphasize its importance as a response to the "profound malaise" of the establishment. They go on to explain how the text should be read, even advising readers on how to "complete" the translation:

> This text is obviously based on an analysis of American institutions. It thus constantly refers to the United States Constitution or analyzes the conduct of certain American revolutionary parties, like the Black Panthers, for example. It would be wrong, however, to read this text too literally. The author's vision goes far beyond the American reality alone, and, if we know how to read it, we can draw conclusions that directly concern us. We can easily replace the name of a state governor with the name of one of our premiers;

> we can also substitute the name of this or that American mayor with that of one of our own. (“Est” 1971: 122–123)

According to Hans Robert Jauss, the analysis of reception aims to situate literary works in a complex set of reciprocal relations. The historicity of a work does not reside solely in its representative or expressive function but also in the effects it produces (1978: 39). Along similar lines of thought, Agnes Whitfield has discussed Antoine Berman’s distinction between the actual translation of a work (*traduction* in French) and its reception and resonance (or *translation*) in the host culture. As Berman observes, the “*translation* of a literary work into another language/culture does not occur solely through translation per se (*traduction*) but through reviews and numerous other forms of textual (or even non-textual) transformations not necessarily translative in nature. It is the sum of all of these texts and transformations that constitutes the *translation* of the work” (1995: 17, cited in Whitfield 2006: 102). In the case of a cultural phenomenon like *Mainmise*, production and reception clearly worked in tandem to form part of an overall translation process.

Mainmise’s borrowing and dissemination of information also served to build an alternative social network. This necessitated the integration of American cultural references into a specifically Québécois linguistic, cultural and social context. The meeting places and networks at the centre of Quebec’s counter-culture—small businesses, “head shops,” cafés, bars, communes and so on—were also sites of reception. *Mainmise* was distributed throughout Quebec, thanks to the Messagerie du Jour service and to the contact between *Mainmise* and various alternative groups and businesses:

> Alongside the popular bars (like the New Penelope, the Chat noir, La Paloma, the Yellow Door and the Swiss Hut), rock concerts (by groups like Frank Zappa and the Mothers of Invention), meeting places, food cooperatives, and community cafés, counter-culture magazines allowed francophone nonconformists to gravitate to new values. (Warren 2012a: par. 12)

Mainmise thus played an active role in building a new kind of audience by directly addressing its readers (“branchez-vous!”), by engaging them as “users” and by soliciting their responses and contributions (anticipating, one might say, present-day online networking).[149] *Mainmise*’s

[149] In a 2005 commencement address at Stanford University, Apple founder Steve Jobs described the *Whole Earth Catalog* as “Google in paperback form, thirty-five years before Google came along” (Wiener 2018: par. 4).

followers did not simply constitute a readership, but also considered themselves part of a community (as their "*lettres d'amour*," letters to the editor) attest to. As one reader comments,

> Your magazine came at the right time. It was a point, a link, a joint. It broke down distances and barriers to let me know that I was not alone, that there are tons of other young people everywhere who are devoted to the same quests and hopes that I am. For all of us, it was a necessity (Jannie 1971: 36).

Other types of productive reception could be further explored in *Mainmise.* Of note, for example, is the magazine's duration and evolution over three distinct periods, which saw it adapting to its readership as well as to changing social and cultural conditions. The connections and exchanges between *Mainmise* and other francophone periodicals and members of UPS also merit further study. In the fifth issue, for example, the editors introduced the French magazine *Actuel* to its readers and announced a project to create a distribution network between Europe, Quebec and the United States ("Branchez-vous" 1971: 146). That same year, *Mainmise* published an article on the most important European underground periodicals.[150] The responses of writers and artists associated with other publications, along with the critical reception and analysis of the counter-culture in academic journals of the period are also revealing. In 1976, for example, Philippe Haeck and Jules Duchastel, each in their own way, accused the counter-culture movement and *Mainmise*, in particular, of perpetuating a bourgeois ideology by promoting absolute individualism and "declared apoliticism" (Haeck 1976: 12; Duchastel 1976). Patrick Straram was also a critic of the counter-culture movement:

> The Québécois version of the American counter-culture as it was, shall we say, propagated by *Mainmise* was worth nothing. When I say nothing, I'm exaggerating: *Mainmise* introduced Quebec to sociocultural values and notions of fundamental liberation; but by elevating this to an absolute, it produced another totalitarian imperialism that alienated, reified and distorted it (interview with Patrick Straram in Beausoleil and Roy 1973: 33).

Certain readers of *Mainmise* expressed their disapproval of the magazine's under-representation of Québécois content. One of the more virulent criticisms can be found in the "*lettre d'amour*" signed by "Don":

> THE CONTENT: PATHETIC. American translation: WAY TOO MUCH. THE QUÉBÉCOIS HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY WHY NOT GIVE THEM A PLACE? COMIC STRIPS: AMERICAN. I have friends who do excellent comics but are obliged

[150] Their list included the French publications *Tout*, *Le Torchon Brule*, *L'Idiot*, *Le Parapluie*, *La Veuve joyeuse*, and *Le Pop*, and the Swiss magazines *Hotcha* and *L'Oeuf*, among others ("L'underground européen" 1971: 66–79).

> to stash them away in a drawer because the straight papers and MAINMISE prefer the big-ass AMERICANS... ROLLING STONES (the cash cow of MAINMISE). (Don 1973: 63)

The letter denounces, among other things, the commercial orientation of *Mainmise*, which was seen by some to be the inevitable outcome of its infatuation with the American counter-culture and the latter's hegemonous influence. Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, writing in the academic journal *Études littéraires*, qualified this as a failure of translation:

> The counter-culture was first of all an American critter [...] If I look a little closer at what happened in Quebec from an official counter-cultural point of view, I notice one thing right off the bat. It's that our counter-culture is, despite my respect for Mister Memmi, mimetic [...] the folks at *Mainmise* seemed to have been incapable of "québécizing" the thing, in other words, of integrating the whole American counter-cultural phenomenon, of giving it an evolution and a meaning that would have really mattered to us. (1973: 364–366)

This "*mainmise*" on the American counterculture was perhaps not always successful in québécizing, that is to say, "translating," the movement in a convincing way, as far as some critics were concerned. However, *Mainmise*'s readership and community, along with a number of commentators and scholars, all recognized the origins of the phenomenon and the role that the magazine played in the appropriation, adaptation and assimilation—however imperfect or indecisive—of the counter-culture into the Québécois context.

Beyond the borrowing from American sources, the editors and contributors of *Mainmise* seem to have embarked on a never-ending identitary quest that spanned diverse cultures, worldviews and time periods. Indeed, the translational dynamics in *Mainmise* are marked by what might be described as an experimentation with different collective identities and memories—the construction of a counter-memory through re-identification and retemporalization. As we shall see, the "identitary translations" in *Mainmise* primarily foreground 1) American (counter-cultural), 2) marginalized (Gay, Indigenous and women's), and 3) exotic (cosmic, "Eastern," or "freak") identities. The "temporal translations" draw on: 1) ancient, biblical and medieval sources, 2) French Canadian history and *survivance*, and 3) millenarian, utopic and futuristic themes.

Re-identification

With respect to the Mainmisiens' identification with alternative collective references, the American counter-culture, as demonstrated above, was by far the most prevalent source of inspiration. The magazine's founders, Georges Khal and Jean Basile, drew on their shared passion for the alternative American authors and music, which, the critics notwithstanding, infused *Mainmise* as a whole. As the translators of Stewart Brand's iconic catalog exclaimed, "Yes, Freaks, my co-believers! We're finally going to have a *Whole Earth Catalog* in French" (Allègre 1975: 72). A 1972 special issue based on a group trip to San Francisco—their Mecca for music and acid—provided an extensive overview of the local scene there, incorporating several paraphrased and partially translated interviews. If Khal and Basile were kindred souls, so were San Francisco and Montreal:

> One thing struck us in particular: the PHYSICAL and MENTAL similarity between San Francisco and Montreal. Of course, San Francisco has the sea and Montreal the snow; but the streets are the same, the friendly vibe is the same. Like Montreal, San Francisco has a bit of a provincial side. (Pénélope 1972: 75)

Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome was Québécois when translated under the Montreal sky, just as Jean LeMoyne's *mécanistique christique* was American when read in San Francisco (Pénélope 1970: 64).

American texts translated into French include excerpts from Abbie Hoffman's *Woodstock Nation* (1969) and Rasa Gustaitis' *Turning On* (1968), translated articles from *Esquire*, *The Los Angeles Free Press*, *Playboy* (Alan Watts), *Scientific American* (Lester Grinspoon), and comics by Ron Cobb, Rick Veitch and Robert Crumb, among others, translated into *joual*. A 1973 issue includes a long interview with Ken Kesey (of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* fame) conducted by Linda Gaboriau on a visit to the author's Springfield farm in Oregon. Kesey recounts anecdotes from the history of the 1960s American west-coast psychedelic movement, including meetings with Bob Dylan, Jim Morrison, The Beatles and Janis Joplin, road trips (and acid trips) with Neal Cassady and other members of the Merry Pranksters, and a rather strange encounter in Palo Alto involving a group of Stanford professors, Eldridge Cleaver and Jean Genet. The interview reads like an insider's testimony on the birth of the movement, straight from the horse's mouth.

The next two periods of *Mainmise* would see lengthy translations, spread over several issues, of works by other key American counter-cultural figures. Michel Chevrier, whose

Chronique de la Mère Michel was the longest-running column in the magazine, translated Joanna and Timothy Leary's *NeuroLogic* (1973a) and Rick Strauss' *How to Win Games and Influence Destiny*: *A Manual for Apprentice Gods* (1969). He also co-translated (with Christian Allègre, Michel Bélair, Denis Côté, Clément Despelteaux, Georges Khal, Robert Tétreault, and "John") Leary's *Terra II: The Starseed Transmission* (1974a), which is, in itself, framed as a kind of translation, an extraterrestrial "transmission." Serge Laliberté translated Buckminster Fuller's 1968 *Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth*, and Georges Khal translated excerpts from Stewart Brand's *II Cybernetic Frontiers*: *Both Sides of the Necessary Paradox* (1974). Over the course of the magazine's evolution, *Mainmise*'s indebtedness to and almost veneration of many of these American figures and sources remained fairly constant, though, as noted, it was often tempered by calls from readers and contributors to better "*québécizer*," or assimilate, the content. But for *Mainmise*'s editors and contributors, the borrowing and translation of American material was always justified by the magazine's utopic vision and purpose:

> We will therefore publish EVERYTHING, regardless of the source, that seems important to us in achieving this UTOPIC ALTERNATIVE [...] Are there texts of American origin in our paper? No doubt. Because an American who is utopic is worth more than a Québécois attached to his toque. (Pénélope 1970: 64)

While the counter-cultural movement already sought to carve out an alternative space in mainstream society, *Mainmise*'s contributors also identified with groups that were seen to be marginalized, both within the counter-culture and beyond. Links between counter-cultural figures and the Black Power movement, for example, are occasionally highlighted, along with images (Eldridge Cleaver photographed in Algeria with Timothy Leary), news stories, or translated quotes by Black Panther leaders (Bobby Seale, Malcolm X and Huey Newton).[151] The avant-garde poet Denis Vanier, in his role as president and "practically sole member of the Québécois White Panthers," is described as a pioneer of the Quebec counter-cultural movement (Lemaître-Auger 1972: 14–15). In the special issue dedicated to San Francisco, the authors refer

[151] The photograph of Cleaver and Leary was used to illustrate a translation of Leary's *The Politics of Ecstasy* (1968). As Felicity Taylor notes, "it is possible to imagine how, on the one hand, *Mainmise*'s coverage of the legal battles of the FLQ attracted a readership that drew inspiration from Algeria as a successful example of independence from colonial rule. Reciprocally, followers of the FLQ would have looked to Cleaver and the Black Panther Party as proletarian allies. On the other hand, archival interview footage of the meeting shows Cleaver dryly commenting that Leary's politics of ecstasy produced 'delusional allies' for the revolutionary goals of a movement rooted in the historic experience of slavery and forced migration" (Taylor 2018: 21).

to the Weathermen, socialists, the Yippies, Woman's Lib, the Gay Front and the Black Panthers as "all forevermore linked by vibes, the vibes of the counter-culture" ("Après" 1972: 4–5).

But in terms of the most translated and referenced content, gay, Indigenous and women's groups figure most prominently. From as early as the second issue, *Mainsmise* is touted as the "Québécois organ of international rock, magical thinking and *gay sçavoir*" [sic.] ("Mainmise 2" 1970: 16–17).[152] These first issues include a text translated from *The Los Angeles Free Press* on cinema and Gay Power (Richer 1970), an article titled "Pour un Front gay à Montréal" (Maujincourt and Hughes 1971), and, most importantly, a lengthy but abridged translation of Carl Wittman's *A Gay Manifesto* (1970a), translated into French as *Manifeste du Front de libération homosexuell*e (1970b). While *Mainmise*'s French translation of this text has been critiqued for certain biases and omissions, (Schwartzwald 2016; Rény and Wilson 1978), we recall that partial and abridged translations were quite common in *Mainmise*.[153] Translations, even longer ones, were often integrated into thematic content that spanned entire issues and drew on information from diverse sources. Though individual translators may have set out to create accurate translations, the early issues of the magazine were dominated by a fragmented, psychedelic style that most likely affected how translations were presented.

Mainmise introduced a new column titled "La vie gay" in issue 21 (1973), which, after issue 29 changed to the "Page gay." These often-short, one-page entries include translated interviews ("Allen Ginsberg" 1973), book reviews (*Homosexuel? Et Pourquoi pas!* by Jean LeDerff) ("Un ouvrage" 1973), event coverage (*Les sœurs en congrès* lesbian conference in Los Angeles) ("Les soeurs" 1973), letters (Pierre Falardeau writing to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on gay rights) (1973), news reports (the censuring of Toronto's gay magazine *The Body Politic*) (1973), and opinion pieces, such as "Rôle prophétique de l'homosexuel dans notre société judéo-chrétienne" (Celier 1973, 1974) and "Un front homosexuel québécois de libération" (Lavoie 1974), among others.

Indigenous sources and authors are also foregrounded. The Mainmisiens were inspired, in part, by what they saw as the Indigenous connection to nature, which they associated to their

[152] "Gay sçavoir" references Rabelais ("un de ces jours, je te ferai docteur en gay sçavoir"), Friedrich Nietzsche (la gaya scienza) and probably Lacan.
[153] As Robert Schwartzwald writes, "*Mainmise* was not content to make a 'faithful' translation of Wittman's manifesto. Let's just say that 'A Gay Manifesto' imposed a 'framework' modeled on the Québécois situation as the magazine perceived it" (2016: 463–464). According to Rény and Wilson, entire paragraphs and sentences, in particular those with more of a political leaning, were removed (1978: 30).

own back-to-nature movement. A section titled "Les Indiens parlent (parfois)" (1973) includes excerpts of 19th-century speeches by 11 Indigenous leaders.[154] Starting in issue 28, a column by Raynold Lortie titled "L'Indien" is introduced. The column continues over 10 issues and includes reports on trips to James Bay (Barrière 1973), a review of a special issue of *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* ("Structures" 1973), and an interview with filmmaker Arthur Lamothe, "Les indiens et le péril blanc" (1976). The first version of the column features an excerpt from the French translation (1970) of *The Unjust Society* (1969) by prominent Cree activist Harold Cardinal, who writes: "We offer our culture; we offer our heritage. We know it is different from yours. We are interested in your culture and heritage; we want you to discover ours" (Cardinal 1969: 79). According to the column's author, "all the freaks who are advocating a return to nature have already begun to understand this message [...] In the months to come, I'll be tripping on this message with you" (Lortie 1973: 74). While the "Indian" is subject to a certain *othering* in some of these pieces, a number of *Mainmise*'s contributors and readers expressed great interest in learning more about Indigenous languages, laws, culture and history, which they saw as being linked to their rejection of mainstream society and forging of new identities and possibilities.

The Mainmisiens also wrote and translated texts on a wide range of topics related to women's issues and emerging feminist movements around the world. Sometimes these overlap with writings on the gay movement, calling both men's and women's gender roles into question. Other texts focus on women's health and sexuality ("Just Like a Woman," 1970) or highlight work by women artists (L'Heureux 1974). Issue 21 features a translated excerpt of Yoko Ono's essay "The Feminization of Society" (1972). A "Spécial bonnes femmes" edition (1974) is devoted entirely to women's issues and identity. It includes an interview with French feminist Monique Wittig, originally published in *Actuel*, an article on the women's movement in Montreal (L'Heureux 1974), a listing of women's resources, and an interview with Germaine Greer and Kate Millet, conducted and presumably translated (from English into French) by Marie-France Moore. The third format, under the editorial direction of Michèle Favreau and, later, Paule Lebrun, would see an even greater emphasis on feminism and women's art, writing

[154] The speeches are by Tatanka Yotanka (Sitting Bull), Mahpiya-Luta, Tashunca Uitco, Adhahtsi-Ahush, Heraka Sapa, Ours-Ruant, Parra-Wa-Samen, Satank, Cochise, Geronimo and Heinmot Tooyalaket. The sources are not listed in *Mainmise*. Further research is needed to locate the original sources and languages, as well as the circumstances of their transcription into writing, and translation from Indigenous languages into French and English.

and resources, interests that often overlapped with the magazine's renewed focus on networking, community and environmental issues.

The last category of identitary references in *Mainmise*, described here as "exotic," is perhaps the most ambiguous, since it is based on identities borrowed from diverse and sometimes newly invented identitary groups. The counter-cultural appropriation of "Eastern" or "oriental" culture is well-known. The American hippies recounted their travels to India or Tibet, learned yoga and meditation, and adopted (or became) gurus. These sources and practices were also embraced by the Mainmisiens. Early issues include quotations from the I Ching, a translated chapter of *Be Here Now, Remember* (1971) by Baba Ram Dass, a.k.a. American author Richard Alpert, who popularized Eastern spirituality in the United States, and translated excerpts from Carlos Castaneda's *The Teachings of Don Juan* (1968). Though the latter was based on the alleged Yaqui Indigenous culture from northern Mexico, part of its appeal in the counter-culture movement was its focus on alternative spiritual practices, such as shamanism and the use of psychoactive drugs.

The "cosmic" or "freak" references in *Mainmise* tend to fall into two main categories, based on either universal, even intergalactic, imaginaries, or on a specifically Québécois mutant identity. In a 1973 article titled "Les manuels pratiques du nouveau Noé ou comment bâtir son arche en paix et chez soi" [the new Noah's practical manuals or how to build your ark in peace at home], Georges Khal presents a list of readings for an identitary makeover, including books by Robert Graves, Erich Neumann, Wilhelm Reich, Friedrich Nietzsche and others. Khal espouses a redrawing of the planetary and cosmic map:

> We have to re-open the history of all the religious, scientific, political, social, mythological and psychic dogmas, search the content of everything that has been systematically suppressed [...], operate the great Universal Synthesis, MUTATE, become, literally, MUTANTS. (1973a: 30)

Khal continues this line of thought, describing the magazine *Mainmise* itself as an "operating manual" (Buckminster Fuller) for constructing a new cosmic, mutant identity:

> We have to understand, once and for all, the tremendous importance of the years to come: it is no longer a question of righting wrongs or technological progress. There is now but one single cause: TRANSFORMATION, MUTATION. (1973b: 9)

Issue 28 is "dedicated to mutants" ("Avant-propos" 1973: 1). Charles Gosselin elaborates here on Khal's ideas, but centred, instead, on how to build "Kébek" (Gosselin 1973). This shift in

focus or, rather, tension between a universal freak identity and a “Kébécois mutant” one, becomes a recurring theme of *Mainmise* in its quest “to constitute a mutant race of Homo Quebecquensis or Homo Psychedelensis” (Bourque 1970: 29). The mutant-kébécois identity is sometimes tied to the notion of Quebec playing a special role in the making of the counter-culture, due to its unique geographical situation and, especially, its minority French-language status in North America, which already set it apart. According to the Mainmisiens, Quebec was more than one alternative among others, it was *the* alternative (Pénélope 1970: 64). As Jean Basile writes:

> Compared to Europe, compared to the United States, Quebec is an ALTERNATIVE. Because it is part of the great American counter-culture movement without the dung heap that pollutes the United States. For us, Quebec is not just one ALTERNATIVE among others. Quebec is the ALTERNATIVE. Quebec is the UTOPIC ALTERNATIVE. (ibid. 63–64)

Retemporalization

Over its publication history, *Mainmise* looked not only to other identities but also to other time periods to construct a new collective memory that would run counter to that of the current, mainstream society. The most recurring temporal references draw on three main sources: ancient and medieval history, the French Canadian past, and utopic visions of the future. In the pages of *Mainmise*, these time periods sometimes overlap, combining, for example, biblical or millenarian predictions of catastrophe (that would herald in a future utopia), or linking French Canadian *survivance* to the survival of humanity and the planet as a whole (in the face of ecological disaster, fascism, technocracy, etc.). This mixing of time periods entailed translating different experiences across time. The Mainmisiens, for example, describe their movement as being part of a “paleocybernetic era”:

> We are, in other words, the cavemen of the flamboyant technology of our electronic future. Everything is happening so quickly that we are already, perhaps, in the Middle Ages of the cybernetic era. (Pénélope 1971b: 9)

Biblical and medieval references are particularly prevalent over the second period of *Mainmise*. As we have seen in the previous section, Georges Khal’s advice for creating a vehicle of cosmic transformation is linked to the biblical story of Noah’s Ark. By extension, the children of the counter-culture are said to be the “new Adams and Eves” and “first universal humans in History”

(Khal 1973: 30). A 1974 article by Michel Bélair titled "Kessé la Kabbale" is dedicated to an exploration of the Jewish mystical tradition, complete with charts, diagrams and decodings of the Hebrew alphabet (citing Carlos Suarès and Gershom Scholem). Bélair's interest in the subject is based on what he sees as a filiation of thought across the ages, from "names as different as YHWH, Adam and Timothy Leary, to techniques as distant as the I-Ching, the Tarot and [Leary's] *NeuroLogic*" (Bélair 1974a: 31). Another article by Bélair from this period includes an interview with a present-day stonemason named Fred, who is described as the "prophet-mason of Old Quebec" (Bélair 1974b: 38). Fred seems to inhabit different time periods, emits an atmosphere of "temporal odours":

> He's a sort of alchemist […] as though contact with the rock he shapes into arches and vaults using techniques rooted in the art of the Middle Ages, constituted his laboratory of transformation. Fred has something of a biblical prophet about him […] As though in handling the objects from another age, a pocket of space-time could be suddenly transplanted into the present. (ibid. 39)

In a similar vein, Jean Basile describes the counter-cultural "gothic cathedral" as being built not with stone or physical material but with airwaves, radiowaves and, eventually, brainwaves. "Everything we create," he writes, "is literally a minute detail of this dazzling cybernetic cathedral":

> [We are] like our direct ancestor, the sculptor-mason of the Middle Ages [...], who with a simple hammer and chisel carved out the lips of a smiling angel at Reims, without ever seeing, or even dreaming of seeing, the last cornerstone on the last bell tower [...] We will better understand the type of Society we are building, and the place we occupy in it, if we refer to the structures of the Middle Ages while adding our own dimension to it. (Pénélope 1971b: 10)

Similar examples include references to Hieronymus Bosch's 15th-century painting *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, which is compared to Stanley Kubrick's film *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), and Robert Charlebois' then-forthcoming album *Solidaritude* (1973), which is said to include songs "reminiscent of the Middle Ages but presented in a modern way" (Pénélope 1970; "De la viande" 1973).

Though Quebec's counter-cultural movement, like the Quiet Revolution before it, sought to break with the immediate past, French Canadian history is, somewhat paradoxically, abundantly revisited and re-interpreted in *Mainmise.* The advent of modern Quebec saw French Canadians rebaptized Québécois and coincided with what Gérard Bouchard has referred to as a

"memorial displacement" arising from both a rejection of myths associated with the defeatist paradigm of *survivance*, and a sense of shame with respect to the presumed backwardness of the Duplessis era and the *Grande Noirceur* (2003: 36). This displacement led to the "great divide" hypothesis, to the construction, that is, of a radical *before* and *after* divide, and an exaggeration of the period's negative traits that served to "darken the Great Darkness" (ibid. 37).[155] As Jean-Philippe Warren has observed:

> Seen in this light, contemporary Quebec would have condensed the stages of a Western society's normal evolution into the space of barely a few years, going from the most opaque medieval obscurantism to the technocratic age of the post-industrial society, from the stagnation of the era of *survivance* to the ferment of the participatory society, in short, from tradition to modernity. (2003a: 109)

From this point of view, the French Canadian paradigm of *survivance*, with its focus on the preservation of the French language, culture and traditions, would also be rejected as a defeatist and retrograde worldview. The Mainmisiens, however, gave *survivance* a new meaning by looking to lessons from the past while also expanding the concept of survival to encompass a more eclectic, universal worldview. *Really* surviving meant adapting, as quickly as possible, "to the great changes taking place" and "weaving the web of the planetary nervous system" ("Le Vaisseau" 1972: 136). This is what poet Paul Chamberland, in his regular *Mainmise* column, called "extreme survival" in a series of poems, some of which were included in a later publication of the same name: *Extrême survivance, extrême poésie* (1978).

Beyond these rather abstract re-interpretations of *survivance*, the Mainmisiens were also preoccupied with survival, in the more practical, literal sense of the term. Drawing once again on French Canadian history, two issues of *Mainmise* (22 and 23) devote considerable space to a reprinting of *Le Livre du Colon*: *Recueil de renseignements utiles*, originally published by the Ministère de la Colonisation de la Province du Québec in 1902, and serving as a practical guide for newly established settlers in Quebec at the turn of the 20th century.[156] This detailed guide was considered a useful resource for *Mainmise*'s readers and contributors at a time when many of them were experimenting with rural

[155] Bouchard also adds here that characteristics of French Canadian society prior to the Quiet Revolution have a number of parallels with what he calls "new collectivities," in which Quebec could easily be regarded as "normal," but for different reasons than those put forward by the modernist historians (2003: 38).
[156] The colonization campaign in Quebec coincided with Canada-wide efforts to colonize and displace Indigenous Peoples in western Canada and the expansion of the forestry, agricultural and railway industries.

communes and self-sufficient, back-to-nature lifestyles. The text details how to clear a plot of land, build a house, plant and harvest crops, attend to livestock, and other useful information:

> Spring arrives and, with it, the urge to get back to the countryside. But it's not so easy. The best way, perhaps, is to go back a few decades. This "Livre du colon" was specially written, at the turn of the century, for those arriving in Canada and wanting to settle on a plot of land. It contains virtually all the basic elements for a rural installation. The freaks' situation is hardly different than that of the first settlers: lots of good will, a touch of naiveté... and very little money. ("Le Livre du colon" 1973: 26)

This connection or reconnection to the land, itself a central theme of French Canadian *survivance*, often finds its place in the pages of *Mainmise*, for example in the "Québécologie" book review section, or in the *MainMiseMatane* (Terre che-nous [sic.]) insert, with dispatches from Michel Bélair and other freaks who, "driven by a certain longing for the countryside" (Warren 2012b: 107), had left the city to set up communes across rural Quebec.

While some contributors to *Mainmise* were looking to the past, seeking a return to so-called simple rural living, others were more focused on the future, through their interest in new technologies and new communication theories, like McLuhan's "media ecology," Bateson's "cybernetics," and Stevens' "electronic social transformation." Space travel, extraterrestrials and science fiction are recurring themes. Kubrick's *2001*: *A Space Odyssey* is omnipresent, as is the persistent emphasis on mutation and transformation. The third most prevalent temporal reference in *Mainmise* is indeed futuristic and utopic but, more often than not, couched in terms of an end-times apocalyptic scenario, followed by a rebirth or transition into a newly evolved cosmic consciousness. The utopia that emerges is, in other words, a typically millenarian one. In the first issue, Basile (Pénélope) plainly states that the goal of *Mainmise* is utopia, which, as noted above, is also said to depend on translation:

> In Quebec, U.T.O.P.I.A takes on a particular aspect. [...] For us, the Québécois identity is quite naturally inscribed in the great movement of utopic liberation that is steering us toward the year 2001. [...] While we are INFORMERS, we must also be TRANSLATORS. (1970: 63–64)

The impending doom that would herald in this utopia is announced soon after: "We know the paranoia," writes Pénélope, "of the end of the world: the speed freaks, the year 2000, the earthquakes in Frisco, the great Cycle, the repression" (1971a: 14). The fifth issue of *Mainmise* is divided, accordingly, into 2 parts, with a part 1 focusing on the *end*, and a part 2, on the

beginning—reversing the normal, temporal order (ibid.). Likewise, in a series of articles spread over 4 issues, Charles Gosselin develops the Noah's Ark theme, with an emphasis on end times and utopic transformation:

> If you do not feel with your entire body and the entire force of your intuition that the planet is on the verge of a gigantic ecological, psychic and political catastrophe, read no further […] All of man's physical and psychic rot, accumulated over thousands of years on this poor Earth, is going to one day hit us in the face. (1973a: 38)

Efforts to reverse this collision course with history would be met with an "intense wave of cosmic delirium" (Gosselin 1973b: 64), and it was up to the free spirits of the time to effect the transformation, to undertake the mutant construction of the future utopia ("Avant-propos" 1973: 1).

These themes are echoed in Paul Chamberland's regular contribution to *Mainmise*, in which he outlines the nine phases of the great transformation:

> 1) The vision of utopia, 2) the denial of reality, 3) the guerilla war of happiness, 4) the paranoid impasse, 5) schizophrenic rapture, 6) hermetic filiation, 7) the dark night, 8) the return to Normal, and 9) the redeployment of practices. (1975: 6)

Utopia, for Chamberland, could not be dissociated from the apocalyptic, eschatological countdown, the "multimillenarian Eon of the present humanity" and the "Advent of the new Eon." The vision of the utopia-eschatology was, for Chamberland, the "anticipation of the New Jerusalem" (ibid. 8).

The darker mood that prevails in these issues of *Mainmise*, most notably over the second period (1973–1975), may correspond to a sense of disillusionment with a counter-culture already in decline, especially in the United States. Richard Nixon has just been re-elected in a landslide victory. Bob Dylan is a millionaire who invests in the arms industry. There has always been a love-hate relationship between the Left and the counter-culture movement. There has always been a love-hate relationship between Canada (and by extension, Quebec) and the United States. Tom Forcade, the president of the UPS, has declared what everyone in the movement is afraid to say out loud: that the heroes of the counter-culture are dead. In a 1973 article titled "Yin/Yang: Un entretien cyclique avec Georges Khal et Jean Basile sur la catastrophe qui attend le monde," *Mainmise*'s two co-founders reflect on the state of the counter-culture movement, as well as on Québécois identity, which, for them, was never about *Kamouraska*, the Automatists, a political

party, or even language. Basile argues that "when the heroes are worn out, the counter-culture is dead, or at least moribund." Georges Khal disagrees:

> The counter-culture is extremely flexible. Flexibility is one of its postulates. When the heroes are spent, the man in the street steps in. This makes for fewer headlines, but it's just as effective. It's not a question of death, on the contrary. The real feeling one has looking at the American scene, is that the pendulum continues its eternal swing. (Basile and Khal 1973: 27)

Conclusion

TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY can entail resisting from within but also borrowing from without or voyaging beyond. It can thus be conceived as a particular, subversive form or sub-category of transcultural or transnational memory. It encompasses translation across languages, cultures and media—concrete forms of cultural transfer—but also more ephemeral borders and concepts of time and space. It gives rise to alternative *lieux de mémoire*, multidirectional (anachronistic) configurations and otherworldly contact zones. As we have seen in this chapter, the editors of and contributors to the counter-culture magazine *Mainmise* experimented with different cultural identities and memories. Through borrowing, re-identification and retemporalization, they sought to build a new repertoire of cultural references—a counter-memory—for a new, alternative imagined community. But their project also often served, somewhat paradoxically, to affirm a distinct, francophone Québécois identity. As we have seen at the outset of the chapter, this identitary ambivalence is often regarded as a feature of Quebec's *américanité*. Felicity Taylor observes that while *Mainmise* created "counter-publics" through a social imaginary that was both grounded in Quebec and oriented towards North American and European ancestry, languages, and territorial geographies, it also encouraged readers to imaginatively situate Quebec within "alternative planetary geographies" (2018: 6):

> *Mainmise* offers up a mythology of Québec as one of multiple localities within an imagined planetary geography that has yet to come into existence. [...] In this way, *Mainmise* shaped an imagined community through its address to multiple counterpublics attracted to media coverage of psychedelic countercultures, lesbian and gay liberation, and Black Power, among other cultural and social movements that understood local actions to take place as part of a global context. (Taylor 2018: 22)

As Taylor notes, this imaginary geography arose from utopian desires that reflected the lived experience of *Maimmise*'s contributors, but it may also point to "to an outward-looking specificity of Québécois countercultures" (ibid. 19–20).

Mainmise was clearly the hub of the counter-culture movement in Quebec. Over the course of eight years, the Mainmisiens immersed themselves in a broad range of cultural references spanning languages, sub-cultures and continents. A large part of the magazine's content consisted of translations. This chapter has examined the dynamics of this translation activity through the lenses of cultural transfer and counter-memory. Based on the quantity of translations alone, the role that translation played as a vehicle of cultural transfer seems self-evident. As we have seen, linguistic translation often goes hand-in-hand with other forms of transfer. The example of *Mainmise* demonstrates the extent to which translation goes beyond the mere transfer of the meaning of words to become an important form of cultural translation. This enlarged view of translation (Tymoczko 2007) can shed light on how different forms of cultural expression—the original American-style rock songs that Charlebois composed in French, for example—become "translations," even where no linguistic transfer as such is taking place. That said, interlingual translation continues to play an essential role in many contexts where it is still often overlooked. The American counter-culture certainly left its linguistic traces in Quebec. Terms like "underground," "cool" and "freak" were incorporated into French-language use, even if they are less popular now than at the height of the movement. Writing in 1973, Jean Basile made a statement that reads today like an oxymoron: "Some facetious journalists have taken to calling me a guru. I'm not a guru and don't want to be one. I'm just an ordinary freak hoping to find my bit of peace and illumination, like everyone else" (1973: 8).

The geographies of remembrance that emerge from the *Mainmise* adventure expand, redraw and transgress borders. As we will see in the next chapter, the connections between language, memory and territory are even more pronounced in the works and trajectories of Indigenous artists and writers. The boundaries imposed by European colonialism not only contradict and efface Indigenous Peoples' cultural memories and ways of navigating the world, they also constitute a profound rupture that can only be overcome through entirely unique forms of survivance (survival plus resistance) and reclamation.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION

Translation as Reclamation

TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION encompasses many aspects of both TRANSLATION AS REWRITING and TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY. In some cases, it may constitute a particular variety of or fusion of these two processes. But as reclamation implies renewal following dispossession, it also partakes of a "post" dynamic that emphasizes—even more than other modes of translation—the concept of *survivance*, the "vital connection" to sources (Benjamin 1996: 258) and "redemptive modes" of translation that ensure survival and continuity (Brodzki 2007: 1), particularly in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism (Pratt 1991: 34). That said, the prefix "post" can signify both endings, referring to something as being over, but it can also have a positive connotation of opening to a new phase "out of which comes new life and growth" (Bassnett 2017: viii). In speaking to processes of reparation following rupture, TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION foregrounds, like Altounian's (2009) concept of *survivance*, the transmission and overcoming of trauma, as well as Gerald Vizenor's insistence, with respect to Indigenous Peoples, on "a continuing sense of presence" and "a shift from 'survival' to 'survivance' and from 'resistance' to 'renewal'" (Baker 2005: 117).[157] At the same time, since colonized peoples are often misrepresented in the dominant discourse, TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION can also be a means of retrieving and restoring cultural memory, while shedding light on the particular linguistic, historical and cultural "pre-translation" conditions that give rise to translations, as well as their post-translation effects and repercussions (Gentzler 2017: 2).

As in the case of rewriting and counter-memory, reclamation can involve reclaiming one's own history, language and traditions or entail a borrowing from without or, more precisely, a "taking back" from the (colonizing) other, a re-appropriation or manipulation of ethnographic or other dominant sources. As Anderson observes, citing Vizenor, Indigenous Peoples repeatedly take "the surveillance and literature of dominance" and "simulations of survivance" (Vizenor 1994: 5) and redefine them. Through this "retaking and redefining," they "counter the colonizing image and speak back to the simulation created by the colonizers" (Anderson 2005: 9).

[157] On translation as reparation, see also Bandia 2008.

Reclamation is thus constituted, in part, through particular forms of rewriting that recall the postcolonial "writing back" strategies described by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin:

> In *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Postcolonial Literatures* (1989), the three authors prescribe the re-appropriation of discourse and history through the rewriting of canonical texts of English literature to the concept of "writing back." They regard it as a field that is ironic, satirical, subversive and crucially concerned with undercutting, revising, or envisioning alternatives to reductive representations in the colonial mode. (Bartels et al. 2019: 189).

While Michel Garneau's retranslation of *Macbeth* into "Québécois" and the Mainmisiens' appropriation of biblical sources, for example, both engage in the rewriting of canonical texts, they are also both target-oriented translations destined for a receiving culture that may be vulnerable but whose (re)construction is understood as "a recourse, a re-source, a circular return to the source" (Derrida 1992: 12), and where the status of the language and culture is "simultaneously presupposed and created through translation" (Venuti 2005: 178). TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION, on the other hand, implies repossessing what has been lost or stolen and reconnecting to authentic sources that have been misappropriated and "refracted" through the colonial lens (Chacaby 2015: 7), which is characterized by "a drive to see, to traverse, to know, to translate (to make equivalent), to own, and to exploit" (Garneau 2012: 32).

Mary Louise Pratt provides a striking example of "writing back" involving a 1613 Incan manuscript originating in Cuzco, Peru after the fall of the Incan Empire. It concerns a chronicle written in a mixture of Quechua and Spanish and signed by Indigenous Andean author Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, who addressed it to the King of Spain and usurped the official Spanish genre for his ends:

> Guaman Poma begins by rewriting the Christian history of the world from Adam and Eve (fig. 1), incorporating the Amerindians into it as offspring of one of the sons of Noah. He identifies five ages of Christian history that he links in parallel with the five ages of canonical Andean history [...] In a couple of hundred pages, Guaman Poma constructs a veritable encyclopedia of Inca and pre-Inca history, customs, laws, social forms, public offices, and dynastic leaders. The depictions resemble European manners and customs [...] but also reproduce the meticulous detail with which knowledge in Inca society was stored on quipus and in the oral memories of elders. (1991: 34–35) [158]

[158] Quipus, formed by knotted cords, were the main system employed by the Incas to record information: "The knotted cords were used to record countable information. The colors, knots and the distances between the knots enabled those who used the quipus to identify the type of object or the characteristics of the population being recorded [...] It was possible to distinguish between information dealing with population, men and women, type of work and production. Some very large quipus seem to have been used to record information about communities over a period of time, like a calendar" ("Inca Quipus": par. 1–3).

Pratt describes this type of intervention in the colonial text as a form of autoethnography "in which peoples undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them" (ibid. 35). These are not Indigenous self-representations like the Andean quipus, but selective collaborations that are "merged or infiltrated to varying degrees with indigenous idioms to create self-representations" (ibid. 35). She goes on to describe the potentials and perils of these reclaiming strategies:

> Autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression—these are some of the literate arts of the contact zone. Miscomprehension, incomprehension, dead letters, unread masterpieces, absolute heterogeneity of meaning—these are some of the perils of writing in the contact zone. (ibid. 37)

In a similar vein, both Malea Powell (2002) and Joyce Rain Anderson (2005) describe Indigenous interventions in colonial discourse in terms of a "rhetoric of survivance." Powell introduces a "paracolonial tale," in which she "listens closely" to 19th-century American Indigenous intellectuals Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Charles Alexander Eastman in order to understand how they use the discourses about "Indian-ness" circulating at that time (2002: 396). Building on Scott Richard Lyons' (2000) concept of rhetorical sovereignty, the question she poses, with Lyons, is "what do American Indians want from writing?" but also, how do Indigenous peoples *use writing* to "reimagine and literally refigure 'the Indian'"? (Powell 2002: 400). As Lyons argues, rhetorical sovereignty is the inherent right of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desires and reclaiming this requires recognition on the part of both self and other: "It is not something 'new' or, worse, something 'given' by dominant groups" (2000: 449, 458). Returning to the question "what do Indians want from writing?", Lyons concludes:

> So far, I hope to have identified a few things Indians generally do not want from writing: stereotypes, cultural appropriation, exclusion, ignorance, irrelevance, rhetorical imperialism. The people want sovereignty, and in the context of the colonized scene of writing, rhetorical sovereignty. As the inherent right and ability of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desires in the pursuit of self-determination, rhetorical sovereignty requires above all the presence of an Indian voice, speaking or writing in an ongoing context of colonization and setting at least some of the terms of debate. (ibid. 462)

Looking to her Wampanoag ancestry, Anderson is struck by the interventions of Indigenous Peoples writing in their languages in 1600s and 1700s New England. She notes that legal documents such as wills and deeds often embedded "subtle messages regarding the upheavals taking place in their world," and petitions often took on the colonizers' language as rhetorical strategies (2005: 34). Writing in Massachusett-Algonquin, the Wampanoag marked the pages of their bibles, creating documents that can be read transculturally:

> We can witness the "perpetual transition" of Metis spaces in their uses of writing. Moreover, these are examples of resistant texts constructed in acts of survival; that is, these texts enact survivance rhetoric using strategies which simultaneously resist dominant impositions while continually finding ways to survive imperialism and colonialism. (ibid.)

Anderson sees these writings, like those of other marginalized peoples, as being intentionally multivalent, ambivalence itself becoming a strategy of survivance (ibid. 18).

A poignant example of TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION in the Canadian context is Nadia Myre's "Indian Act" (2000–2002), an artwork that appropriates the original text of the 1876 Indian Act and replaces it with a beaded text, a "translation" foregrounding Indigenous cultural memory and traditions.[159] The work has been widely exhibited since its inception and now forms part of the permanent collections of the Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec and the National Gallery of Canada. An early exhibition program describes it as follows:

> With "Indian Act," the horizontal line is used as a method of erasing and abstracting parts of Canada's federal legislation pertaining to its "Indians." Monumental in scale, it consists of sewing over each of the 56 pages of the annotated Indian Act with red and white glass trade beads. The white beads replace the words and the red beads, the space between them. The overall effect of the beaded page resembles a visual and tactile language, something akin to Morse code or Braille. However, beading the Act also speaks of a sociopolitical activity; each page is pierced by a needle and like a scar bears the stitch, a reminder of its path across the page, and generations of conditioned and controlled Indian lives. ("Indian Act" 2002: par. 1)

In her artist statement accompanying the 2002 exhibition, Myre writes:

> I am a visual artist of Algonkin descent, (Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg) born in Montreal, Quebec. As hybrid as my own identity, my current work is a re-inscription and a reclamation of a lost past, long buried. I am interested in the horizontal line, both as a formal motif and as a symbol of the divisions which separate and bind us: the border

[159] Beaded through the collaborative efforts of more 230 participants, "Indian Act" both "pays homage to collective struggle and enacts a collective process of reinscription and redefinition" (Flaherty 2015: 335). In exhibition, the names of all participants are inscribed on the wall, paying testament to their contribution.

> crossing from one territory to another, the written text which manifests law, and the barricade which defies it. (ibid. par. 2)

The above examples demonstrate how Indigenous writers and artists subvert colonizing discourses and paradigms while also reclaiming Indigenous cultural memories and identities. Other forms of reclamation may entirely circumvent the colonizer's language and representations, privileging earlier and alternative forms of expression grounded in Indigenous traditions. But even when not directly confronting the colonizer's discourse, TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION is inherently subversive in that it challenges the centrality of the dominant narrative, while also placing the focus on the cultural memories and identities being reclaimed. The different literary "vantage points" outlined by King reflect these diverse practices in Indigenous literatures (1990: 41), as do the growing fields of research and creation that make decolonization a paradigm of resistance (Chacaby 2015; Ross-Tremblay 2019; Giroux 2020; Chagnon 2022).[160]

Tracing the history of these developments, this chapter focuses on Indigenous TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION in the Quebec context, highlighting, in particular, the trajectories and works of Cree-Algonquin writer, actor and producer Bernard Assiniwi, and Innu poet, translator and filmmaker Joséphine Bacon, two artists whose works are deeply informed by Indigenous collective histories and memories but also by remarkable individual journeys over decades of societal transformation and across multiple forms of cultural expression. After first providing a brief overview of ethnography, translation and Indigenous resistance in the Canadian and Quebec contexts, this chapter will focus on how these two pioneering authors, working both with and against ethnographic representation and colonialist paradigms, reclaim cultural memory and identity through different forms of linguistic and cultural translation.

Ethnographic Representation and Translation

In studying and representing foreign "others," anthropologists and ethnographers have always relied on linguistic and cultural translation, often working with more-or-less anonymous native

[160] For King, tribal literature refers to literature that exists primarily within a tribe or a community, is shared almost exclusively by members of that community, and is presented and retained in a Native language. Polemical refers to literature either in an Indigenous or colonial language that concerns itself with the clash of Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures. Interfusional describes the blending of oral and written literatures. Associational literature avoids centring the story on the non-Indigenous community or conflict between the two cultures, concentrating instead on the daily activities and intricacies of Native life (King 1990: 41–43).

informants to translate languages but also to provide access to their worlds. But just as translation is an essential ingredient of ethnography, the latter can also shed light on translation as a mediating linguistic-cultural process shaped by often asymmetrical power relations. From an ethnographic perspective, the translated text "no longer appears as the reflection of a society's norms or of a translator's subjectivity, but rather as the expression of the relations between the various intermediaries that have participated in its production" (Buzelin 2007: 39). At the same time, translation and ethnography have often been conflated, sometimes to the detriment of studies on the actual linguistic translation involved.[161] Considered a form of translation in itself, ethnographic writing came to be regarded as an attempt to "understand other cultures as far as possible in their own terms but in our language, a task which also ultimately entails the mapping of the ideas and practices onto Western categories of understanding" (Tambiah 1990: 30). As Bachmann-Medick likewise observes, a major problem for translation in cultural anthropology is "the way the languages and, even more importantly, the ways of thinking of other cultures [...] have to be 'translated' into the languages, the categories and the conceptual world of a Western audience" (2006: 35).

In North America, the ethnographic tradition began with Franz Boas, who started recording and translating traditional Indigenous narratives in the late 19th century. It has been argued that, for Boas and his followers, not knowing the language of their informants was seen as an opportunity, because it allowed them to study the language and culture at one and the same time (Cardinal 2009: 39). However, the effect of these research methods may not have been quite as objective as first appeared (ibid.). As Tejaswini Niranjana writes,

> Implicitly or explicitly, ethnography always conceived of its project as one of translation. [...] The transformation of ethnology into a scientific discipline also endowed the field-worker with the professional "tools" that would enable her/him to construct entire cosmologies on the basis of a one- or two-year acquaintance with a tribe and its language. It was often emphasized that the anthropologist need not be absolutely fluent in the language. One could always depend on native interpreters. The idea of translation in such a context is a metonymy for the desire to achieve transparent knowledge and provide for a Western audience immediacy of access to "primitive thought" (1992: 68–70).

[161] Anthropologists have been criticized for regarding translation in a purely metaphorical sense and showing little or no interest in interlingual translation (Buzelin 2007: 56).

While the concept of cultural translation goes back to Talal Asad's 1986 essay on the evolution of the "translation of cultures" in (British) anthropology from the 1950s on (Sturge 2007: 5), the problematic role played by (linguistic) translation in the representation of other cultures has also been the subject of longstanding debate, from Malinowski's 1935 notion of "context of situation" to the ideas crystallized in the work of Clifford and Marcus (1986) (Flynn 2010: 116). In the introduction to *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, James Clifford argues that ethnography has literary and rhetorical dimensions that "affect the ways cultural phenomena are registered, from the first jotted 'observations,' to the completed book, to the ways these configurations 'make sense' in determined acts of reading" (1986: 4). Ethnography, in this view, is not only a science but also an art that gives rise to serious but "true fictions" (ibid. 7). Though based on facts reported by informants and observed by ethnographers in the field, ethnographies are fictions because, like "cinematic montage, they are constructed out of selected bits and pieces of information that have been spliced together to form a directed ethnographically-slanted narrative" (Cardinal 2009: 27–28). Anthropologists have tended to "repackage unconnected examples of ritual practice using methodologies familiar to their academic readers but which no native informants used themselves" (Maitland 2017: 11). This practice has sometimes "made disparate modes of living appear coherent and concealed the real-life differences between tribal peoples and the dominant Western philosophies of the cultural anthropologists charged with studying them" (ibid.).

Ethnography as cultural translation is thus not simply a matter of cultural understanding. Viewed as a specific cultural practice bound up with colonialism and orientalism (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 35), it almost always entails linguistic translation, which is, in itself, embedded in cultural translation. All translation indeed implies an element of cultural translation (Cardinal 2009: 26). Translators translate words, "but what are words if not culturally specific? And are not words themselves encoded records of culture? Are they not stand-ins for the culture that created them?" (ibid. 26–27). Meanwhile, there can be "no clear-cut distinction between cultural translation and the ordinary kind," because "even the linguistic categories used to define translation are more than linguistic" (Simon cited in Buden et al.: 2009: 210). As part of the linguistic and rhetorical turn in ethnology and the "writing culture" debate, translation took on "the value of a medium through which specific representational conventions and a specific authority in cultural mediation [established] themselves" (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 36).

Translation has thus been part of the ethnographic exercise from the outset, both as a practice and a metaphor (Sturge 2007; Flynn 2010). In the Canadian and Quebec contexts, the relationship between ethnography and translation has evolved over four hundred years, from the arrival of the first French explorers to the ongoing debates surrounding colonial representations of Indigenous Peoples and the cultural appropriation of their histories, traditions, artforms and literatures.

Ethnography and Translation in Canada and Quebec

Though Indigenous Peoples held multilingual gatherings and worked with interpreters and cultural intermediaries long before colonizers arrived in North America, the history of translation in Canada and Quebec is often traced to the start of the colonial period and said to have begun with a "kidnapping" (Woodsworth 2022: 4).[162] In 1534, the French explorer Jacques Cartier took two sons of the Iroquois Chief Donnacona, Domagaya and Taignoagny, and brought them to France, where they were taught French and later made to serve as interpreters on Cartier's subsequent voyages. Samuel de Champlain, who established the first French settlement in what was to become Quebec City in 1608, later made use of "resident interpreters," young French men who were sent to live among Indigenous Peoples and learn their languages and customs (ibid. 5).[163] These early translation efforts were not primarily motivated by an altruistic desire to understand the Indigenous Peoples encountered but, rather, by the imperialist goals of colonization, commerce and evangelization (ibid. 5). Over different periods, the exploitation of Indigenous territories and resources was accompanied by ongoing attempts to "civilize" and assimilate Indigenous Peoples.

Christian missionaries played an important role in this from the outset. They began learning Indigenous languages early on, recording Indigenous narratives published alongside detailed contextual descriptions and, in the other direction, translating prayers, hymns, written

[162] In an article published in 1977, Jean Delisle writes, "l'histoire de l'interprétation au Canada s'ouvre par un kidnapping" (1977: 5) [the history of translation in Canada "began with a kidnapping" (Delisle 1998: 365)].

[163] The immersion of the interpreters orchestrated by Champlain helped the French improve their understanding of the cultures and allowed the interpreters to acquire and master the languages faster: "During their immersion, the interpreters learned the Native languages as purely oral languages. Therefore, they did not face the same difficulties as the missionaries who, some years after, would try to codify these spoken languages in order to create a writing system" (Hillinger 2019: 10–11). Étienne Brûlé, the son of peasants, was the first to participate in the resident-interpreter program developed by Samuel de Champlain. He lived with the Hurons, learned their language and contributed to the writing of the Huron language dictionary created by Brother Sagard, though his name is not credited (ibid. 11–16).

sermons, the Bible and different religious texts (Boudreau 1993: 88). Franciscan Recollet and Jesuit priests spent winters in the bush with Indigenous families, beginning a tradition that characterized missionary work for much of the 17th century (Bishop and Brousseau 2011: 295). Franciscans were the first to record Indigenous vocabularies from 1615 through the late 1620s (ibid. 294).[164] The lexicographic tradition began in earnest with Paul Le Jeune and his colleagues, whose translations of Indigenous narratives were published in the Jesuits' *Relations* starting in 1632. According to Bishop and Brousseau, failing in their attempts to sedentarize Indigenous Peoples in the 1630s and 1640s, missionaries had little choice but to follow Le Jeune's example:

> In the years following Le Jeune's departure in 1649, those Jesuits noted for their linguistic abilities would generally be men who spent a great deal of time on the land in Nêhiraw communities. [...] Far from being an abstract pursuit, 17th-century Jesuit language study was always accompanied by intimate contact and communication with native people in their own social environments. (ibid. 296)[165]

They note that, like many early-modern dictionaries, the Jesuit dictionaries were initially produced with utilitarian goals, which was to facilitate the learning of the native languages in question and serve as a reference while in the field (ibid.). Some of these dictionaries appear to have been for personal use, while others adopted an explicitly pedagogical tone (ibid. 297). The vocabulary in the dictionaries also covered a broad range of topics "which would have been of little use when translating Christian theology, but of great use while living and participating in daily life among Nêhiraw people," including information on local ecologies, material culture, and mundane practices, which are all treated in detail. (ibid. 297).[166] The colonial representation and translation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Quebec thus began with these early missionary writings, which may be regarded as the first "ethnographic" accounts.

Despite this close contact, the missionaries' pedagogical purpose was clearly motivated by their evangelizing mission, which is why, in addition to studying the peoples and their languages, they also set out to increase literacy among them. Unlike in Europe, where literacy

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[164] Marc Lescarbot recorded fragments of the Souriquois (Mi'kmaq) narratives as early as 1606 (Cardinal 2014: 272).

[165] Some linguists, including Bishop and Brousseau, use the term "Nêhirawêwin" to refer to the various dialects translated by the 17th- and 18th-century French as "Montagnais." The term "Nêhiraw," according to them, includes people living in Quebec today who identify as Cree, Innu, Naskapi or Atikamekw (Bishop and Brousseau 2011: 293).

[166] "The extant dictionaries range from 9 by 11.7 cm to 20.3 by 16.5 cm—all small enough to have easily been carried into the field. Water damage on the manuscripts suggests that they did indeed accompany the missionaries on their travels" (Bishop and Brousseau 2011: 297).

was promoted more by Protestants than by Catholics to foster personal assimilation of the Bible's message, in the Americas, Catholic missionaries encouraged reading in order to accelerate and reinforce the conversion process (Delâge and Warren 2017: 127). Jean de Brébeuf, for example, translated a catechism into Huron (1629) that included prayers and teachings on the Trinity, the role of the Virgin, the cardinal virtues and the sacraments (ibid.). Missionaries also invented writing systems and prepared glossaries, grammars, maps and lists of geographical names (Boudreau 1993: 86). The priest Pierre Maillard, following Chretien Le Clercq, created a complete writing system in 1738 based on original pictograms to transcribe religious texts into Mi'kmaq. The Jesuit Pierre-Michel Laure produced a dictionary and grammar in Montagnais (Innu) and several maps, including the *Carte du domaine du roy en Canada* (1731). Jean-Baptiste La Brosse later published dictionaries and prayer books in Innu and established a school in Sept-Îles to teach reading, writing and catechism. By the end of the 18th century, half of the families on the Lower North Shore had one or several members who could read, and many who also wrote and sent letters to each other (Boudreau 1993: 86; Delâge and Warren 2017: 127).

In the 19th century, some Indigenous scholars produced written translations of religious books and dictionaries. In 1830, the Abenaki priest Pierre-Paul Masta (Peter Paul Wzokhilain) published a book of Abenaki stories titled *Wobanaki Kimzowi Awighigan* that included a vocabulary in Abenaki and English (Boudreau 1993: 89).[167] Abenaki Chief Joseph Laurent published *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues* in 1884 (Huberman 2019: 17). The first Huron priest, Prosper Vincent, compiled numerous documents on Indigenous languages and customs but worked primarily on writing an extensive Huron dictionary. Masta and Vincent, both converts and evangelizers, no doubt symbolized success in the eyes of the missionaries, but it is likely that they were also respected within their nations for their works and translations (Boudreau 1993: ibid.)

[167] Henry Lorne Masta, the nephew of Pierre-Paul Masta, published *Abenaki Legends, Grammar, and Place Names* in 1932. "Laurent's and [Henry] Masta's language books were also successful in translating Wabanaki cosmology, demonstrating the continuance of names and stories associated with particular places in communal memory, even for those families who lived in northern villages like Odanak, outside the original home territory. For example, Joseph Laurent's section on place-names in *New Familiar Abenaki* [sic] *and English Dialogues* subtly echoes the journey journals of writers like Aupaumut and Occom and resembles the linguistic maps used by innumerable Wabanaki people as they traveled in their home country. Rather than a random listing of place-names, it reads like a journey map through Wabanaki space" (Brooks 2008: 249).

Nonetheless, efforts to increase literacy varied (Boudreau 1993: 86). The main goal was to teach Indigenous Peoples to read so they could learn the prayers and participate in the mass. As Delâge and Warren note, though hybrid forms of writing like the ideograms proposed by Le Clercq facilitated the adaptation of European writing to a culture founded on the memorization of shared knowledge, invented scripts may also have been preferred over the Roman alphabet to limit access to other (profane) reading material (2017: 128). Since the main focus was on conversion to Christianity, the missionaries sought to maintain control over the use of languages and knowledge, which sometimes made them privileged spokespersons and mediators between Indigenous Peoples and the colonial powers (Boudreau 1993: 86):

> Indispensable to translating and exposing them to the realities and concepts of Christianity, the mastery of these languages was also a condition for accessing the Indians' religious universe and thus the opportunity for the missionaries' demystifying words to have their effect. Given the power of speech in Indigenous societies, in-depth knowledge of languages could also help establish missionary authority. (Beaulieu 1990: 63)

Commerce, the fur trade in particular, was also of paramount importance. Indigenous languages had to be learned or translated through interpreters to facilitate trade. To this end, the missionary writings and translations sent back to France sometimes served as a kind of propaganda (Clements 1996: 60). In order to obtain the French kings' approval for their ventures, the early settlers, from Champlain to Maisonneuve and Cadillac, had to demonstrate their efforts to actively promote the evangelization of the "sauvages" (Cardinal 2009: 34). Wherever the French fur traders travelled, missionaries were never far behind:

> It is relatively easy to understand why the Jesuits deemed it so important to translate and write about Aboriginals' speeches and stories. As William Clements argues, they needed the funding of rich European patrons to finance their evangelical enterprise, and it was therefore essential that the Aboriginals they sought to evangelise be portrayed as intelligent and eager enough to be worthwhile subjects of evangelisation, but at the same time [...] made to appear sufficiently docile to actually be evangelised. (ibid. 35)

While learning to speak, read and write the colonizers' languages was not without its advantages, there is no doubt that these often-imposed forms of language contact and translation contributed to undermining Indigenous social structures and cultural values. Though Indigenous oral traditions had long been complemented by different material sign systems (birchbark scrolls, petroglyphs, wampum), the introduction of European writing had contradictory and destabilizing effects, creating previously non-existent hierarchies and divisions within and between nations

(Delâge and Warren 2017: 128–129).[168] Likewise, Western worldviews, power structures and economic models ran counter to the more participatory and egalitarian philosophies prevalent in Indigenous societies. As with religion, these differences had to be "translated" by Indigenous Peoples to make sense within their own forms of social organization, which were based more on a gift- and counter-gift logic (ibid. 97). In Indigenous societies, commerce was not based on income, but on debt conceived as a mode of mediation through which social, rather than economic, relations were continually renewed (ibid. 116). These profound differences formed the backdrop against which "mistranslation" likely shaped many settler-Indigenous relations from the start.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763), which saw Indigenous Peoples allied against each other with the French or English, and the British Conquest of New France in 1760, also had a significant impact on these power dynamics. While the Royal Proclamation of 1763 guaranteed certain land rights to Indigenous Peoples, British imperial authorities, as noted, soon reneged on the promise and began authorizing settlement on Indigenous lands, establishing treaties and reserves across what is now Ontario and the Prairies. For a variety of reasons, this played out differently in Quebec (Lower Canada). The Quebec Act of 1774 once again divided the North American territory. The Province of Quebec, no longer limited to the Saint Lawrence River valley, was greatly enlarged to include Labrador, Anticosti Island, the Magdalen Islands and a large area to the west of the Thirteen Colonies that included what was called the "Land of the Indians," which had been designated Indigenous reserves (Dagenais, McIntosh and Cooper 2020: par. 9). As Lower Canada's boundaries were enlarged, no treaties were made with First Nations. Instead, their territories were reduced or usurped and their economic systems and social organizations, disrupted (Di Gangi 2021: par. 9).

With the decline of the fur trade, Indigenous Peoples gradually lost their position as strategic allies. But while they were no longer needed for war or commerce, their lands remained

[168] As Delâge and Warren observe: "We sometimes forget the extent to which writing, whose power became pervasive with the European invention of the printing press in 1453, constitutes one of the most effective technologies in the hierarchization of political relations. In the 17th and 18th centuries, it divided the population between the vast majority of illiterate subjects and a tiny elite who knew how to read (who were already divided between unilinguals and those who mastered non-vernacular languages like Latin or, among Indigenous populations, French). Writing expanded the intellectual field, made communication possible across time and space, freed memory and fostered the critical activity of rational discourse, all of which would seem to place it, from today's perspective, alongside openness and democratization. At the same time, it created a class of scribes who were above the masses and had acquired an immense power over the rest of the population" (2017: 124–125).

indispensable, and an "extensive assimilation plan was developed" (Lepage 2019a: 28). As noted by anthropologists Savard and Proulx, starting in the 1840s, government authorities sought to

> acquire the powers necessary to accelerate Indian territorial dispossession and to decrease the number of Indians by way of assimilation into the white man's way of life. Such objectives required that the government claim the right to determine who was an Indian and, especially, at what time this status would expire. (1982: 86–87)

The ethnographic tradition established by missionaries in Quebec thus gave way to other interests in studying, representing and assimilating Indigenous Peoples, along with a shift in attitudes. French Canadian intellectuals, in particular, began downplaying any cultural proximity to Indigenous Peoples, not only by excluding them from the (national) history of French Canada, but also by insisting on the differences between the two populations and the latter's superiority (Gélinas 2013: 181). Denys Delâge has described this as a "fear of passing for savages":

> After the Conquest and cession of 1763, francophones suppressed the Indigenous part of their identity [and history of métissage] to claim the rights of a civilized people. Beyond a long-shared history and profound mutual influence, they also now shared the analogous status of conquered "child-nations." Placed in the ambiguous position of colonized colonizers, they defined themselves solely through their French heritage, justifying their proximity to Indigenous Peoples through their civilizing mission [...] The fear of passing for Savages became a source of shame. (Delâge 2011: abstract)

This gave rise to ethnographic portrayals of Indigenous Peoples that positioned them culturally in complete opposition to French Canadians, the former being presented as barbarians and the latter, a civilized people (Gélinas 2013: 181). Indigenous Peoples were represented as incapable of surviving by themselves—despite being the ones who taught the early French settlers how to survive—and likely doomed to extinction (Gélinas 2007). This foreshadowed the emergence of what has been termed "salvage ethnography" in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Nurse 2006: 53), and the particular form this took in Canada and Quebec. Quebec anthropologist Marius Barbeau (1883–1969) was a pioneer of the field, focusing on the study of Northwest Coast and Eastern Canadian Indigenous Peoples (Tsimshian and Huron-Wendat, among others) (Gélinas 2000: 190; Darnell and Harrison 2006: 4). One of Barbeau's main informants was the above-mentioned Huron priest Prosper Vincent, who occupied a central place in Barbeau's reconstruction of his original Huron-Wendat fieldwork. Barbeau later came to see Vincent as the sole surviving remnant of a dying race (Nurse 1997: 242). His views echoed the prevalent "vanishing race" theory of the time, which infused the study of Indigenous Peoples throughout

North America. The aim of much of this work was to preserve the vanishing cultural remnants of supposedly moribund Indigenous Peoples (Nurse 2006: 52). Barbeau applied himself to this, extending his research outside of First Nations cultures to include the traditional folk culture of rural French Canada (ibid.). Barbeau thought the role of the anthropologist was to correct popular and scholarly misconceptions about Indigenous cultures and preserve important cultural records and artifacts that would otherwise be lost to time (ibid. 53). He periodically called his research a "race against time" and came to view time itself a resource:

> Animated by the ideology of salvage ethnography, Barbeau's field research proceeded from the assumption that Aboriginal cultures, and to a large extent traditional folk culture in Quebec, were either vanishing or compromised. His methodology was designed to penetrate beyond the cultural surface to find the authentic culture that must once have existed. His interest in his informants lay on this ground. (Nurse 2006: 59)

While Barbeau felt that traditional French Canadian folk culture might survive into the modern age, he was less optimistic about Aboriginal cultures. In his view, most Indigenous cultures in Canada were already dead, contrary the views of Indigenous Peoples themselves. Barbeau still held this view well into the 1960s (ibid. 54).

Besides Barbeau's work and that of a handful of other francophone scholars, prior to the 20th century and even up until the 1960s, Indigenous cultures in Quebec and Labrador were primarily studied by English Canadian and American anthropologists (Gélinas 2000: 191).[169] According to Claude Gélinas, since most research was published in English, French Quebecers had a minimal and biased knowledge of Indigenous Peoples, whose presence and contribution to history was often erased or accorded a negative role (ibid.).[170] They disappeared from maps

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[169] These included Lucien Turner, Frank Speck, Alanson Skinner, William Duncan Strong, John Cooper, Daniel Davidson, Alfred Bailey, Regina Flannery and Eleanor Leacock, among others. The second half of the 19th century saw the founding of the Societe d'Archeologie et de Numismatique de Montreal (1866) and the Red path Museum at McGill (1882), which conserved archeological materials collected on the Iroquoian site of Dawson. The creation of a branch of the American Folklore Society in 1888 sparked interest in Indigenous folklore. John William Dawson (1820-1899), director of McGill, published in both French and English, on archeological finds and interpretations on the origins and prehistoric trajectory of the Iroquois of Hochelaga. Francophone figures who studied and wrote on Indigenous history included Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne (1876–1950), Leo Paul Desrosiers (1896-1967), Léon Gérin (1863–1951) and Jean-Charles Falardeau (1914–1989) (Gélinas 2000: 191).

[170] However, Sylvie Vincent and Bernard Arcand's 1979 study of the representation of Indigenous Peoples in Quebec textbooks contradicts this claim to ignorance. They state that, far from being erased, the Indigenous image is very present, but constructed in a biased way: "It would be futile to claim that the image of Amerindians is the result of ignorance and that the textbooks' authors, while they occasionally mention the names of Marius Barbeau and Jacques Rousseau, were unaware of the hundreds of ethnological works already available at the time of writing. It was not by ignorance but by design [...] The authors already knew another truth but chose instead to fabricate their own. [...] It is clear that their conception of history was based on a particular vision of modern Quebec and its

(Boudreau 1993: 216–217), and campaigns were undertaken to substitute Indigenous toponyms with French place names (Bédard 1914–1915: 270; Masse 1935: 179–191).

In the 1950s and 1960s, anthropological research in Quebec began to diverge from the earlier approaches, starting with the work of ethnologist and botanist Jacques Rousseau. The 1960s saw the creation of university programs, research centres and journals. Anthropology departments were created at the Université de Montréal (1961), McGill University (1969) and later Université Laval (1972).[171] With the founding of the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne (1970) and the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Quebec* (1971) in Montreal, a new form of anthropology was emerging in Quebec, one that attempted to reject the assimilationist and folklorizing approaches of the past. The journal was created with three main objectives: to provide a forum for francophone scholarship, to contribute to knowledge about Indigenous cultures and societies in Quebec, and to open discussion to "all researchers, including Indigenous contributors, directly or indirectly working on subjects of interest or concern to Amerindian and Inuit Peoples" (Vincent and Mailhot 1997: 25–26).

These developments coincided with the emergence of Indigenous activism across North America, which in Canada came to a head, as noted above, with unanimous rejection of the federal government's 1969 White Paper. In Quebec, these movements took shape in the ferment of the Quiet Revolution, alongside the anticolonial, socialist, Marxist-Leninist, feminist, Black Power, civil rights and counter-culture movements that spawned and emerged from it, as outlined in previous chapters. Indigenous resistance and reclamation over this period were thus fueled by broader pan-American and Canadian Indigenous activism but also by changes taking place in Quebec, including, notably, the expansion of provincial powers and resistance to the James Bay project in northern Quebec. In the wake of these events, a more self-reflexive, activist-oriented scholarship also emerged, which led to a number of collaborations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, activists and artists. Yet even in this context, the translation and reclamation of cultural memory was never without its tensions and contradictions, which endure to this day. In the face of centuries of attempted assimilation and

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distinct identity. Their references to Amerindians serve to construct this identity, which is why they speak of them a lot but say nothing about them" (380).

[171] Research groups included the Centre d'études nordiques (1961) and Groupe Inuksiutiit (1965) at the Université Laval, the Groupe de recherches nordiques at the Université de Montréal (1966), the Études amérindiennes à l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi and the Société d'archéologie préhistorique du Québec (1966).

misrepresentation, Indigenous Peoples have demanded and continue to demand recognition and collaboration on their own terms. The following section will provide a brief overview of Indigenous resistance and reclamation in Quebec as expressed through writing and translation over the past several decades.

Indigenous Resistance and Reclamation

As mentioned previously, Indigenous writing in Quebec in the 18th and 19th centuries often took the form of petitions, letters and requests. Mi'kmaq (1749) and Abenaki Chiefs (1764) wrote letters to their local governors to protest the usurpation of their lands. Huron Chiefs issued several petitions, reclaiming in 1791, for example, the seigneury of Sillery and, later (1825), sending a delegation to London to address their demands directly to King George IV.[172] In 1848, Montagnais (Innu) Chiefs sent a petition to Lord Elgin, who they, likewise, later met with to plead their case in person. These are just a few examples of hundreds of letters written and speeches given by Indigenous leaders and others to defend their sovereignty and their lands. According to Diane Boudreau, many of these petitions, though grounded in legal terms and firm in their demands, often made use of emotive language and references in order to convince and appeal to compassion. In their abundant use of images and metaphors, and often accompanied by oral in-person hearings, they already embodied a tradition of Indigenous political discourse (1993: 80).

Over this period, the Algonquin, Atikamekw, Mi'kmaq and Innu often "benefited" from the aid of missionaries and others in writing their letters and petitions. These were sometimes translated from Indigenous languages, but, more often than not, written in English or French (and sometimes translated between the two). There was also, however, resistance to translation, to the use of intermediaries to present or plead their demands. In the 19th century, for example, Innu leaders sought to abolish "the chain of intermediaries that bound them to the state" (Bédard 1988: 113). In 1883, they rejected the priest Charles Arnaud's designated Chief, electing, instead Moïse Bacon. The latter went to Ottawa with a delegation of seven other Innu from Betsiamites

[172] "Sillery was the first reserve created by Europeans for Aboriginal peoples in what is now Canada. It was established in 1637 near Québec City. It was funded by a French nobleman, Noël Brûlart de Sillery, in response to an advertisement placed by Father Paul Le Jeune in the Jesuit Relations. Le Jeune was looking for a suitable place to attempt to convert Aboriginal people to Catholicism. His aim was to instill an agricultural lifestyle in the semi-nomadic Algonquin and Innu people of the area in order to more easily evangelize them" (Miquelon and Parrott 2015: n.p.).

(Pessamit) to denounce the interference of the missionaries and the conduct of the agent, writing, "We positively want no more of Father Arnaud's creatures; they may suit him, but not us" (ibid. 115). In their writing and actions, the Innu were already making a clear demand for political autonomy:

> Moïse Bacon and other Montagnais wrote a number of letters, probably translated [into English] by a merchant, but they were also using the power of language in meeting the Superintendent. Their demands, expressed both orally and in writing, signified, above all their refusal to be dominated. In his first letter, Moïse Bacon described the suffering of his people, his sadness in seeing them die, but the survival of the Montagnais (as a people) remained a priority. (Boudreau 1993: 84–85)[173]

Despite the adoption of European languages and writing, either directly or through translation, Indigenous oral traditions never disappeared, and traces of these are evident in the different forms of writing that Indigenous Peoples adopted and adapted to their needs, both as new forms of expression and to serve their political demands. Many First Nations (the Innu, Atikamekw and Algonquin) resisted assimilation into the colonizers' languages, despite the evangelical zeal of missionaries, while others (the Huron and Abenaki) saw their languages disappear. But the myths, legends and many other elements of their traditional cultures have nonetheless lived on through perseverance and more recent efforts to revive them (ibid. 92).

Starting in the 1970s, Indigenous Peoples began turning once again to writing to reclaim their voices and resist assimilation through autobiographical, political and historical essays and new forms of literature, which, like the earlier political petitions, mixed elements of orality and writing (ibid. 93, 100). In addition to the activist movements born in the wake of the White Paper, other factors—industrialization, increased exploitation of Indigenous resources and lands, the forced separation and education of Indigenous children in the residential school system, and harsh living conditions on reserves—undoubtedly all contributed to shaping a new generation of Indigenous writers (ibid. 99). New Indigenous associations created their own journals with articles and other information often written in Indigenous languages and translated into French (ibid. 106). The Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM) launched the periodical *Tepatshimuwin* in 1976, which included articles written in French, Innu and Atikamekw.[174] *Atikamekw Sipi*, a

[173] The delegation met with the deputy minister of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet, a close associate of the first prime minister of Canada, John A. Macdonald. He was instrumental in establishing the residential school system across Canada.
[174] Non-Indigenous anthropologists also contributed articles or presented research on, for example, the repercussions of certain government policies (Boudreau 1993: 115).

similar monthly publication, was created in 1984. In 1988, Communications autochtones published a monthly francophone journal called *Sans réserve*, which was addressed primarily to a Québécois readership in an effort to raise awareness about Indigenous communities (ibid. 107). Towards the end of the 1970s, a number of associations also published declarations tracing the history of Indigenous dispossession and outlining their demands. For example, in 1978, CAM presented a declaration to the Premier of Quebec, René Lévesque, addressing Québécois nationalists, in particular:

> When you as French Quebecers, a minority in Canada, stand up to the abuses and obstacles you feel you've been subjected to by anglophones towards your own culture and autonomy, have you also respected or are ready to respect those of the Indian? (Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais 1979: 178)

The following year, the same organization submitted a document to the Minster of Indian Affairs, in which the authors remind the Canadian government of their history of domination, noting that the territories of the Innu and Atikamekw Nations had never been ceded by treaty. The text outlines the principles on which Indigenous autonomy would be based. For the Innu and Atikamekw, it was not only a question of cultural survival but also of recognition as members of nations (ibid.).[175]

Indigenous authors in Quebec also published autobiographical works over this period. According to Boudreau, while these Indigenous autobiographies may share similarities with their Western counterparts, they did not always closely adhere to the genre, nor did they have a clear precedent in Indigenous oral literatures. Though certain types of traditional oral stories sometimes include autobiographical elements, these do not constitute the main themes. Also, while in traditional storytelling, the narrator addresses members of his or her community, the autobiographies discussed by Boudreau tend, rather, to address a non-Indigenous readership by focusing on the colonizers' exploitation of lands and the ravages of dispossession (ibid. 122). Other distinctive features include the absence of clear chronological references. Expressions like "autrefois," "jadis," "à l'époque où nous vivions dans le bois" and "il y a longtemps" allude rather broadly to life before the arrival of the colonizers. The stories also favour juxtaposition rather than linear chronology, highlighting important events that have marked the community,

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[175] A number of declarations and manifestos were also published in English, for example, by the Inuit of Povungnituk and Sugluc and the Naskapi-Montagnais Nation (Boudreau 1993: 110).

thus emphasizing the importance of the collective over the individual or, at least, their intrinsic interconnection (ibid.).

As we have seen in the case of letters and petitions, Indigenous autobiographies and other writings have sometimes been produced in collaboration with intermediaries. These forms of co-authorship have been commented on at length, particularly with respect to "told-to" narratives created by Indigenous authors recounting stories to non-Indigenous writers or scholars who then produce the written text. As Hartmut Lutz notes, prior to the 1970s, these texts were "collected, translated, and often heavily edited by non-Native missionaries, anthropologists, and hobbyists [who] tended to represent Native 'tales' from the igloo, the smokehouse, or the campfire as 'quaint' or 'exotic,' fit for ethnological inquiry perhaps, but not for serious literary studying" (1991: 2). Sophie McCall, on the other hand, argues that though the "vast majority of told-to narratives recorded over the past five hundred years are closer to appropriations than translations" (2011: 27), collaborative work can also be resistant to this ethnographic othering, insofar as "told-to narratives do not fit the criteria that govern European concepts of genre," and "the collaborative process challenges the author-function and notions of the literary by foregrounding process over product, context over text, and audience over author" (ibid. 4–5). She adds that, as "a meeting ground for multiple voices, told-to narratives offer productive sites for analysing the shifting dynamic of cross-cultural interaction" (ibid. 5).[176] These issues will be further explored in my discussion of Joséphine Bacon's collaborations with Sylvie Vincent and other anthropologists in the 1970s.

An early example of an "indirect" Indigenous autobiography is Max Gros-Louis' *Le "premier" des Hurons* (1971), the first of its kind to be published by an Indigenous author in Quebec. It was produced in collaboration with Marcel Bellier, described as an "Orleanian" who had travelled across Canada and knew Indigenous Peoples well (Boudreau 1993: 123). Over the course of several interviews, Bellier collected the stories of Oné-Onti, Gros-Louis' name in Huron, and turned them into a book. This autobiography foregrounds Indigenous values but also highlights the accomplishments of an individual (rather atypically) whose life is marked by a

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[176] A groundbreaking collection of told-to narratives using collaboration as its methodology is *Life Lived Like a Story* (1990), by Julie Cruikshank and three Athapaskan storytellers, Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned. *Life Lived Like a Story* "brought about something of a sea change in approaches to textualizing oral narratives, with many more recent collections naming Aboriginal storytellers as authors on the title page, listing other community members as translators, editors, and compilers" (McCall 2011: 37).

several political events. Both dissenting and provocative, it appears to be a response to the post-White Paper political climate of the time (ibid. 124). The book is based on a more-or-less linear narrative structure. As Boudreau notes, it is possible that Gros-Louis' storytelling adhered more closely to the forms of oral tradition but that Bellier chose to compose the story using a more linear structure (ibid.).

In 1975, An Antane Kapesh published what is often considered the first Indigenous text on dispossession in Quebec, "Ces terres dont nous avions nommé chaque ruisseau," in the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (ibid. 105). Kapesh is a pioneering figure of Innu and Indigenous literature in Quebec. Her 1976 bilingual memoir *Eukuan nin matshi-manitu innushkueu. Je suis une maudite sauvagesse*, the first work published by an Indigenous woman in Quebec, is an early example of a "direct" autobiography, written in her native Innu language and translated into French by the anthropologist José Mailhot in collaboration with Anne-Marie André and André Mailhot.[177] Kapesh recounts her life story without separating it from that of her nation, reinserting "the stories from her father and other elders as correctives to the narratives produced by the priests and politicians" (Henzi 2020: 290) and denouncing the arrival and exploitation of the white colonizers, their abuses and mistreatment of her people, and the erasure of her culture:

> You will not find this story anywhere in a book because before the White man taught us his culture, we, the Innu, never lived in such a way as to have to write to relate things from the past. Now that the White man has taught us his way of life and destroyed ours, we miss our culture. It is for this reason that we have been thinking, we too, the Innu, to write like the White man does. And I think, now that we are starting to write, we are the ones who have the most to tell because we, we are today the witnesses of the two cultures. (Kapesh 2020: 29)

Kapesh's testimony is an act of resistance that serves not only to name her oppressors but also to take back space, bearing witness to a history of dispossession while also reclaiming her Indigeneity through shared knowledge of her language and culture (Dagenais 2019: 189).

[177] In 2020, Sarah Henzi produced an English translation (from the French) of this work and Kapesh's 1979 *Tanite nene etutamin nitassi? Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays ?*" Henzi writes: "The English translations presented here stem primarily from the 1976 and 1979 French versions of Kapesh's works. Her recently [2020a] republished first book […] saw several crucial revisions made to both the Innu version and the French version. First, the Innu text was entirely revised and the spelling corrected in accordance with the publishing policy of Tshakapesh Institute. This important update, which both reflects contemporary usage and will serve Innu language education, was undertaken by Jérémie Ambroise, Innu language advisor at Tshakapesh Institute, and José Mailhot, Innu linguist and translator of the original French version, with the help of an advisory committee made up of Innu speakers Anne-Marie André, Judith Mestokosho, Céline Bellefleur, and Philomène Grégoire" (Henzi 2020: 275).

She uses the written word to provide an alternate history of Indigenous identity that contests the colonizers' distorted stories and representations and "reclaims discursive territory and the space of memory" through "a construction of Indigenous space and collective identity in the shadow of colonial contact" (ibid.).

In 1984, another Innu author, Mathieu André, published an autobiography titled *Moi* "*Mestenapeu*." Like Kapesh's work, it foregrounds the survival of culture and valorization of Indigeneity. This work presents a before-and-after picture of colonization, recounting episodes in the life of the author, stories of his nomadic hunting life, his role as a father, miner, storyteller, and affiliations with Innu and non-Indigenous communities (Boudreau 1993: 127). The author also describes the drastic changes that his community saw during the 1940's after mining came to Schefferville: "sedentary lifestyle, pollution, changes in metabolism, destruction of their ancestral territories, disrespect of the caribou's life-cycle and of the Innu people's traditional knowledge" ("*Moi,* '*Mestenapeu*'" 2018: n.p.).[178] According to Boudreau, André's text, like Kapesh's, incorporates elements of oral tradition: "the book is constructed on the basis of the knowledge he wants to transmit and the events that are of interest to him. The texts and stories all converge toward the same outcome, but the order in which they appear is not immutable" (ibid. 128).

As Boudreau notes, the boundaries between "indirect" and "direct" autobiography are not always clear, as in the case of Max Gros-Louis' text, in which his collaborator/co-author is clearly credited. With respect to the texts of An Antane Kapesh and Mathieu André, the relationship between different contributors is less evident. It appears that André's son worked with him on the writing of *Moi,* "*Mestenapeu*" and that the anthropologist José Mailhot advised and supported Kapesh during the writing of *Je suis une maudite Sauvagesse* (1993: 130). That said, recourse to the aid of an assistant or co-author may be a fairly common, if not essential practice, even when the works are written by the authors themselves (ibid.). As for the mixing of orality and writing, Boudreau maintains that these Indigenous autobiographies depart, in some

[178] This description is taken from The Text and the People website (http://thepeopleandthetext.ca/about), an online resource and research initiative led by Cree-Métis scholar Deanna Reder that includes: "1) a collaborative literary history of Indigenous texts; 2) a manual on Indigenous research methods and protocols for literary scholars; 3) a sustainable open-access bibliography of Indigenous texts and related secondary materials including a curated blog and the on-line publication of texts, where legally and ethically permissible; 4) regular forums including training as part of the annual meetings of ILSA to promote work on the growing bibliography and to investigate models for working responsibly with community."

ways, from the norms of both Western and Indigenous traditions but introduce new elements through the "appropriation of a genre recognized by authors who present their own perception of history and the relations between the individual and group to which they belong" (ibid.).

A number of historical and ethnological works were also published by Indigenous authors in Quebec over this period (1970s and 1980s), and, like the autobiographies, they contain elements of oral tradition. The spiritual beliefs, material cultures, songs and myths intrinsic to their cultures are often integrated into Indigenous historians' accounts, as are the relations with the colonizers and the latter's impact on their cultures (ibid.). Contact with the colonizer has sometimes been integrated into oral tradition itself, for example, in the following excerpt describing the expropriation of Innu lands and how the agreements were perceived by the Innu, as recounted by Matthtieu Menekapu and recorded by Sylvie Vincent:

> The French Chief came and asked the Montagnais to give him Uepishtikuiau [the Innu name for Quebec City]. But they did not give it to him. It's when he asked a second time that they gave it to him. After asking the first time, the French planted some wheat, and it is after some wheat was grown that they asked again. "Later there will be a lot of wheat, and, if the Montagnais are poor, if they have nothing to live on, it is thanks to this that they can be nourished at all times," he said to them […]. It is said that this is what he told them. [Today] the government gets rich off this and makes money, even with the forest. They must provide for the Montagnais to eat. (cited in Warren and Delâge 2017: 115)

In some versions, the wheatfield is replaced by the general store, highlighting the usurpation and monopolization of resources by the colonizer that are, from the Innu perspective, earned through hard work and, by nature, collective. Not only was the agreement not honoured, but it was based on a premise that undermined the traditional Innu worldview and way of life (ibid. 115–116).

Indigenous historians also recount history from the point of view of their nations, while integrating elements of the dominant historical discourse, which may include excerpts from the missionaries' writings, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Indian Act, or other colonial references (Boudreau 1993: 131). As with the autobiographies, these historical accounts may or may not adhere to Western chronological order, and Indigenous histories sometimes incorporate ways of storytelling that are interwoven, as above, with oral tradition (Boudreau 1993: 131). In 1972, Albert Connolly published a history of the Innu of Pointe-Bleue, *Oti-il-no. Kaepe. Les Indiens Montagnais du Québec.* The work describes Innu society, customs and religion, and the changes brought with the arrival of the colonizers:

> The Indian, by nature, is attached to his forests, lakes and rivers: this is what matters to him most in the world; to take this from him is not only to break his heart, but to make him destitute! They have shattered his life, by every means imaginable. In turn, they abandon him, do not respect his rights and privileges, make him pay taxes, prevent him from hunting, betray him before tribunals […]. (Connolly 1972: 107)

To make his case, Connolly references a number of historical documents, including the 1763 Royal Proclamation, the 1774 Quebec Act, the 1791 Constitution and the 1840 Act of Union.

Following Connolly's and Assiniwi's historical accounts in the 1970s, the 1980s also saw several works on Indigenous history published by Indigenous authors. With the exception of Bernard Assiniwi, most Indigenous historians have focused on their particular nations: Albert Connolly (1972), Daniel Vachon (1985) and Pierre Gill (1987) focus on Innu history, Marguerite Vincent (1984) and Georges E. Sioui (1989) on Huron-Wendat history, and Yvon H. Couture (1983) on Algonquin history (Janssen 2018: 159). Georges E. Sioui introduced the concept of Indigenous "autohistory" (1989), combining analysis of the colonizers' discourse on Indigenous Peoples with interpretation of facts based on Indigenous perspectives.[179] I will return to the concept of autohistory, which is analogous to what some Indigenous scholars have termed "researching back" (Smith 1999: 7), in my discussion of Bernard Assiniwi's historical accounts.

In his 1983 book *Les Algonquins*, Yvon H. Couture writes that his "aim is not to analyze but to inform" (Couture 1983: 9). He presents three Algonquin Chiefs (Tecumseh, Pontiac and Metacomet), and describes the territory, worldview, mythology and hunting rituals before the arrival of the Europeans, followed by a description of the culture shock, the arrival of missionaries and merchants, the creation of reserves and sedentarization. The final chapter addresses the then-current situation, highlighting the participation of an Algonquin delegation at the Russell Tribunal in the Netherlands (Boudreau 1993: 133). Marguerite Vincent's 1984 *La nation huronne. Son Histoire, sa culture, son esprit* (in collaboration with Pierre H. Savignac) covers the history of the Huron Nation from pre-historic times to the 1980s, ethnographic essays on intertribal relations, clans, commerce, ancestral lands and historical documents from the 18th century, as well as descriptions of hunting methods, recipes, ceremonies, music, dance, and language. Daniel Vachon, born Tamien Pashau, practised subsistence hunting until

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[179] Georges E. Sioui, the son of Éléonore Sioui, began studies in languages and translation at the Université Laval (1970-72). He became director and editor of the journal *Kanatha* (1973–1977) then *Tawow* (1977–1980). His 1989 book *Pour une autothistoire amérindienne. Essai sur les fondements d'une morale sociale* has been translated into English, Spanish, German, Japanese and Mandarin (Gatti 2004: 232).

industrialization forced him into a sedentary lifestyle. He became Chief of the Sept-Îles-Maliotenam community in 1964 and later founded the company Traduction montagnaise Sept-Îles in 1976 with the goal of preserving Innu culture (Boudreau 1991: 62). His *L'histoire montagnaise de Sept-Îles* (1985) recounts the history of the Innu of Sept-Îles, a city founded by colonizers on ancestral land. Vachon describes events and figures that marked the history of the city, including certain missionaries, politicians and industrialists, highlighting the discrimination, dishonesty and exploitation, his experience as the nation's Chief, and the establishment of the Gouvernement de la nation indienne de l'Amérique du Nord in 1945.[180] According to Boudreau, Vachon's account is based more on memory than on historical documents, unlike some of the other histories of the period that made use of Western ethnographic and historical studies and missionary writings, often, though, with the purpose of countering the dominant narrative and recentring an Indigenous perspective (ibid. 133).

Apart from Assiniwi's *Le Bras coupé* (1976) and Kapesh's *Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays? Tanite nene etutamin nitass?* (1979), few fictional works were published by Indigenous authors over this period.[181] The narrative of Kapesh's work, according to Sarah Henzi, is constructed around the child protagonist gradually losing his voice, in addition to his language, culture and land: "the number of direct speech quotations by the boy become fewer and fewer, while those of the Polichinelles [the colonizers] increase, until the narrative is mostly theirs" (2020: 289). But the protagonist eventually takes over the narrative again in the final section (ibid.). In her preface to the new French-Innu edition, Innu author Naomi Fontaine describes Kapesh acting as an interpreter:

> She explains the world as it was before colonization. Then how, one gesture at a time, the colonizers transformed the Innu way of life. She becomes the interpreter of the forest and of those who were subjected to colonial history in their flesh and their dignity. *Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays ?* is the promise of that which has been lost also being refound. (Fontaine 2020: 6–7).

[180] In the early 1940s, Jules Sioui, a Huron from Lorette, founded the Comité de protection des droits indiens and invited all of the First Nations' Chiefs in Canada to participate at a convention in Ottawa. The Gouvernement de la nation indienne de l'Amérique du Nord adopted a proclamation that included an explicit reference to the founding Charter of the United Nations. The establishment of the latter in 1947 raised new hopes among First Nations, because it recognized the rights of all nations, large and small, to equality and liberty. An article published at the time was titled "Grand évènement dans notre histoire : Les Indiens du Canada possèdent aujourd'hui leur propre parlement" (*Le petit journal*, 8 July 1945). (Lepage 2019b: par 25–28).

[181] In the first French-Innu bilingual edition (1979), the French translation was done by Kateri Lescop, Daniel Vachon, Georges-Henri Michel, Philomène Grégoire-Jourdain (Traductions montagnaises, Sept-Îles inc.) and José Mailhot. The tale was also adapted for the stage by José Mailhot and presented at the Salle Fred-Barry in Montreal from 12 November to 8 December 1981 (Boudreau 1993: 170).

Other authors re-appropriated, translated and adapted oral stories, sometimes drawing on the records and publications of non-Indigenous anthropologists. Assiniwi's *Anish-nah-be : Contes adultes du pays algonkin* (1971) and *Sagana : Contes fantastiques du pays algonkin* (1972) are written adaptations of Algonquin tales drawn from oral tradition. Francine Vincent and Georges E. Sioui translated (from English into French) oral stories drawn from the work of Marius Barbeau, which were published as *Les enfants de la Grande Île* in 1986.[182] The stories recount the origin of the world, the origin of Indigenous medicine and the adventures of certain heroic figures, such as the trickster figure, among others (ibid. 145–146).

Over the 1980s and 1990s, Indigenous fiction, poetry and theatre came to the fore, with works of poetry published by Wendat poet and scholar Éléonore Sioui (*Andatha*, 1985) and Atikamekw poet Charles Coocoo (*Broderies sur mocassins*, 1988), both of whom reclaim, in different ways, their respective Indigenous spiritual traditions (Boudreau 1993: 149–150).[183] In his work *Aki* (1986), Algonquin poet Richard Kistabish denounces Indigenous dispossession and uses different forms of writing to get his message across: poetry, historical chronology and realistic descriptions of the land (ibid. 153). Following Bernard Assiniwi and Georges E. Sioui, Wendat author, director and actor Yves Sioui Durand has been a pioneering figure of Indigenous theatre in Quebec. Sioui Durand's pieces call upon collective memory by incorporating different Indigenous perspectives in a mythical-theatrical discourse that juxtaposes Algonquin and Iroquois cultural references and languages (ibid. 166). According to Maurizio Gatti, the mixing of writing and orality is often prevalent in tales, poetry and theatre, genres that are already more inclined to orality (2006: 88). Innu author André Dudemaine, for example, integrates the adventures of Tshakapesh, a founding figure of Innu legend, into contemporary settings in "Tshakapesh au café *Chez Jacques*" (1995a) and "Tshakapesh affronte Maître Oui et Maître Non" (1995b). In these works, Dudemaine re-actualizes oral tradition in written literature, allowing Tshakapesh to maintain, even in writing, part of the role he has played for millennia. Dudemaine's written text is created by combining two forms of orality: current spoken language and oral tradition. This transposition is not a simple transfer from one medium to another but

[182] The stories were collected and transcribed phonetically in Wendat by Barbeau in the years 1911–12 (including stories from Prosper Vincent and Mary McKee). The forty stories in the collection, along with others collected only in English, were published in English as *Huron and Wyandotte Mythology* in 1915. The work appeared in a French translation *Mythologie huronne et wyandotte* in 1994.
[183] Éléonore Sioui's 1992 *Corps à cœur éperdu* was published in a trilingual French-English-Spanish edition.

functions, rather, as "a mark of validity, an authentication or legitimation of writing through the orality that it conveys" (Gatti 2006: 90).

More recently, a new generation of Indigenous authors in Quebec is carving out a space of empowerment and agency, "writing back" with texts that "revitalise communal knowledge by 'writing home'; an act which affirms, rather than merely restores, a sense of collective memory" (Henzi 2009: 118). Recent years have seen an artistic and literary surge, a veritable renaissance, and Indigenous women have been at the forefront, maintaining storytelling traditions while providing the necessary "update" to engage in dialogue with the contemporary world (Henzi 2015: 87). After decades of work as a translator, filmmaker and teacher, Joséphine Bacon published her first collection of poems *Bâtons à message. Tshissinuashitakana* in 2009. A younger generation of published Innu writers and poets has followed in her footsteps: Mélina Vassiliou, Naomi Fontaine, Natasha Kanapé Fontaine, Marie-Andrée Gill, Alyssa Jérome, Manon Nolin, J.D. Kurtness and Maya Cousineau-Mollen, to name a few.[184] Innu novelist and journalist Michel Jean edited the collective volume *Amun* published in French in 2016 and translated into English as *Amun: A Gathering of Indigenous Stories* in 2020, including stories by the above Innu authors alongside Métis-Cree author Virginia Pésémapéo Bordeleau and Wendat writers Jean Sioui and Louis-Karl Picard-Sioui. Michel Jean's new edited collection *Wapke* (2021), meaning "tomorrow" in Atikamekw, includes many Innu and Wendat authors alongside texts by Inuk writer Elisapie Isaac, Atikamekw author Janis Ottawa, and Anicinape-Atikamekw author Cyndy Wildé. Michel Jean's own novels have received wide acclaim. His most recent, *Kukum* (2019), won the Prix littéraire France-Québec and has been translated into Spanish and German (2022), with a forthcoming (2023) English translation. The novel is based on the history of his great grandmother, a Québécois orphan who adopted and fully assimilated into the Innu language and culture. It recounts the history of the Innu People's forced sedentarization and territorial dispossession through the fictional and more intimate lens of his own family's history.

[184] The first of these works by younger Innu authors include: Mélina Vassiliou's *Fou, floue, fléau* (2008), Naomi Fontaine's *Kuessipan* (2011), Natasha Kanapé Fontaine's *N'entre pas dans mon âme avec tes chaussures* (2012), Marie-Andrée Gill's *Béante* (2012), Alyssa Jérôme's *Le rêve éveillé de Salma* (2014), Manon Nolin's *Ma peau aime le Nord* (2016), J.D. Kurtness' *De vengeance* (2017), and Maya Cousineau-Mollen's *Bréviaire du matricule 082* (2019), among others. Myriam St-Gelais recently published the first history of Innu literature *Une histoire de la littérature innue* (2022). For an analysis of Bacon's influence on other Indigenous writers see Bradette (2020).

The interest in Indigenous literatures, demand for translation and readership is ever-growing. The anthology *Nous sommes des histoires : réflexions sur la littérature autochtone* (Jeannotte, Lamy and St-Amand 2018) is a collection of foundational texts written between 1990 and 2014 by English-language Indigenous authors translated into French.[185] Many of the francophone Indigenous authors mentioned above are also increasingly translated into English and other languages.[186] The translation of Indigenous writing between colonial languages raises a number of issues, but it also makes these important works more accessible. As Liane Moyes notes, "writers and scholars increasingly conceive of the field of Indigenous literature in terms that traverse linguistic and national boundaries" (2018: 66). Wendat scholar Guy Sioui Durand maintains that to be an Indigenous writer in Quebec is to be interested in Indigenous writing, whatever the language, and Indigenous writers working in French are not seeking to be a part of Quebec letters but belong to a broader category of Indigenous literatures beyond the Eurocentric framework (ibid.). As French-Maliseet scholar Michèle Lacombe writes, "while French-English language barriers are difficult to overcome at gatherings, the work of translation cannot help but facilitate dialogue between Indigenous poets in Canada" (2014: 161).

While some Indigenous authors consider abandoning colonial languages altogether—the Institut Tshakapesh in Uashat-Maliotenam (Sept-Îles), for example, publishes a number of works uniquely in Innu-aimun every year—many Indigenous authors write in English or French, or produce bilingual (or sometimes trilingual) publications juxtaposing Indigenous and colonial languages (Henzi 2010a: 79). Gerald Vizenor and Cree-Canadian author Tomson Highway, for example, write in English, while Joséphine Bacon and poet Rita Mestokosho write in both Innu and French, using bilingual writing and self-translation. Indigenous authors sometimes integrate partial translations or translational effects into their works through the interjection of Indigenous words and expressions (which may or may not be translated), or through the use of footnotes and glossaries. The latter is used by Tomson Highway in his 1998 *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (translated into French as *Champion et Ooneemeetoo* in 2004), which includes a complete glossary of Cree

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[185] It includes texts by Jeannette Armstrong, Thomas King, Lee Maracle, Gerald Vizenor, Drew Hayden Taylor, Sherman Alexie, Neal McLeod, Daniel Heath Justice, Renate Eigenbrod, Sam McKegney, Tomson Highway, Jo-Ann Episkenew, Emma LaRocque, Keavy Martin and Warren Carriou.

[186] English translations include Rita Mestokosho's *How I See Life Grandmother. Eshi uapata- man Nukum* (2011); Joséphine Bacon's *Message Sticks – Tshissinuatshitakana* (2013) and *A Tea in the Tundra – Nipishapui Nete Mushuat* (2017); Naomi Fontaine's *Kuessipan* (2013); Natasha Kanapé Fontaine's *Do Not Enter My Soul in Your Shoes* (2015), *Assi Manifesto* (2016), and *Blueberries and Apricots* (2018).

terms and expressions.[187] In her celebrated first novel *Kuessipan* (2011), which was adapted into a feature-length film in 2019, Naomi Fontaine integrates the Innu language into the body of the French-language text by means of a list, writing the Innu term first in italics followed by its French translation:

> *Neka*, ma mère. *Mashkuss*, petit ours. *Nikuss*, mon fils. *Mikun*, plume. *Anushkan*, framboise. *Auetiss*, bébé castor. *Ishkuess*, fille. *Nitanish*, ma fille. *Tshiuetin*, vent du nord. *Mishtapeu*, le grand homme. *Menutan*, averse. *Shukapesh*, l'homme qui est robuste. *Kanataushiht*, les chasseurs. *Pishu*, lynx. *Kakuss*, petit du porc-épic. *Kupaniesh*, un homme qui est employé. *Tshishteshinu*, notre grand frère. *Tshukuminu*, notre grand-mère. *Nuta*, mon père. (Fontaine 2011: 26)

Some Indigenous scholars question whether the use of glossaries or glossing risks "over-explaining" and dulling the political edge of code-switching: "Some writers believe that to gloss Aboriginal words is to remove the power of this naming act and to give the translation the higher status" (Bidwell 2010a: 30).[188] However, Fontaine's use of the Innu terms accords them a privileged place by simply inserting them in the text, without explanation or justification, while subtly pointing to the historical precedence of the Innu over the French language.

Like the history of colonialism itself, the reclamation of Indigenous cultural memory in Quebec has evolved alongside a parallel history of language contact and translation. Bernard Assiniwi is an early key figure in the history of Indigenous writing in Quebec. Sometimes adopting the name Chagnan (the *malhabile*, clumsy or awkward), he has also been described as the "auteur malcommode" ("inconvenient author") and one of the first thinkers of decolonization in Quebec (Jeannotte 2019: 15). He was among the first to reclaim Indigenous languages and naming, often characterizing the etymological colonial derivations of Indigenous-language terms as deformations. He also revisited and contested colonial representations both through the presencing of Indigenous languages and the rewriting of Indigenous histories in Canada and Quebec. As we will see in the following section, Assiniwi's multifaceted and multimedia work both participated in and pushed back against the worldviews, systems and epistemologies that shaped ethnographic representations of Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Quebec over

[187] See Frank Miroux's analysis of hybridity and survivance in Robert Dickson's French translation of Highway's novel. It assesses the "mechanisms allowing Dickson to render the cultural hybridity of a narrative whose main concern is the conciliation of non-indigenous and indigenous cultures" and "Dickson's use of translation to undermine the hegemony of English language and culture in Canada" (2021: 69).

[188] Thomas King describes glossaries as "ethnographic" in that they "try to 'explain' Aboriginal cultures, seeking to cover over any incomprehension. Thus, despite pressures from his publisher, King refused to gloss the Cherokee words in *Green Grass, Running Water*" (Bidwell 2010a: 30).

centuries. Faced with this history of colonial misrepresentation, Assiniwi reclaims memory and identity through his translation activities and stance regarding his Indigenous heritage and role as a writer, which, we argue here, partakes of a "rhetoric of survivance," as defined and developed in the works of other Indigenous writers and scholars.

Bernard Assiniwi: A Rhetoric of Survivance

Bernard Assiniwi (1935–2000) was born in Montreal to a French-Canadian-Algonquin mother and a Cree-Algonquin father. Over the span of his prolific career, he worked in theatre, radio, television, film and politics, and as a writer, journalist, historian, actor, producer and museum curator, among other vocations. He held positions in provincial and federal government institutions, including the National Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History), in areas ranging from the arts and communication to public administration and biology (Macfarlane and Ruffo 2016). With over 30 books, including works on Indigenous history, languages and traditions (glossaries, forest survival guides and recipe books, among others), and several works of fiction, including tales, novels, children's literature and plays, as well as hundreds of articles and essays, he was the first franco-Indigenous author to be widely published in Quebec. His first collection of oral stories adapted to writing *Anish-Nah-Bé : Contes adultes du pays algonkin* was published in 1971, the same year that he officially adopted his father's Indigenous name, Assiniwi. Throughout the 1960s, Assiniwi began gradually embracing his Indigenous identity, signing his pieces with either his birthname Bernard Lapierre or Bernard Lapierre-Assiniwi (Jeannotte 2019: 173). In 1965, he announced to his father that he was "assuming [his] true name, Assiniwi, so that never again would [he] be called by the horrible translation of something [he] was not" (Assiniwi 2016: 84). The legal adoption of his Indigenous name in 1971, coinciding with his debut as a published author, illustrates the importance he placed on self-determination and also the crucial link between his reclaimed Indigenous identity and vocation as a writer (Jeannotte 2019: 211). As Marie-Hélène Jeannotte shows in her in-depth study of Assiniwi, it is primarily through writing and the construction of the figure of the Indigenous author that Assiniwi reclaims his belonging to Indigenous culture.

My analysis here will focus on Assiniwi's three-volume *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas-Canada* published between 1973 and 1974. It will explore how Assiniwi translates Indigenous cultural memory through the autohistorical re-appropriation of history and reclaiming

of oral tradition and Indigenous languages. Assiniwi's writing highlights his intentionally subjective stance, his reliance on a variety of sources, and his foregrounding of linguistic choices, language contact and translation. The boundaries between different genres are often blurred in his work, with his historical writing integrating personal reflection, and his oral stories and novels interweaving history, legend and fiction. At the same time, Assiniwi's sources sometimes remain ambiguous, raising questions about origins and reliability and also drawing attention to the different modes of translation and adaptation involved. Assiniwi's mixing of written history and oral tradition recalls the fluid forms of translation straddling orality and writing that have often prevailed in pre-modern and non-Western contexts. Translation has not always been regarded as a one-to-one relation between original (written) source and target texts. Medieval translations, for example, were often hybrid compilations (*compilatio*) drawing on many sources and languages, both written and oral, as opposed to being direct interlingual transfers or even "free" interpretations of single texts (Bose 2007: 1296; Damian-Grint 1999: 354). The concept of an original text is indeed itself a relatively modern invention, and Assiniwi's mixing of genres and sources reflects this longer and broader history of translation, albeit from a distinctly Indigenous perspective.[189]

My approach will focus on how Assiniwi *uses* writing in particular ways, which is interpreted here as a rhetorical stance. While his work could be and sometimes has been criticized for its lack of rigour, whether with respect to Indigenous or non-Indigenous sources, we argue that his different uses of writing intentionally subvert official methods and norms.[190] In assuming the role of authorship, Assiniwi reserves the right to take liberties and foreground his own position and identity. That is to say, his approach intentionally flouts convention and authority, which we interpret here through the lens of a rhetoric of survivance. As Malea Powell notes, Indigenous Peoples have sometimes used the very policies and beliefs meant to "remove, reserve, assimilate, acculturate, abrogate, and un-see us as the primary tools through which to

[189] "As with most examples of hand-written texts, medieval or modern, constant revisions by the author and copyists disrupt the concept of an 'original' text, an artificial concept that has been produced largely by print culture" (Fulton 2009: 49). Translators "worked from multiple sources, sometimes in both Latin and vernaculars, so that 'the original' of their text may be the result of *compilatio*" (Bose 2007: 1298). Some of the other terms used to describe translation in the medieval period included *adaptatio*, *enarratio*, *remaniement*, *redaction* and *recasting* (ibid. 1296).
[190] Marcel Trudel remarks that in his *Lexique des noms indiens en Amérique* (1973), Assiniwi has not made an effort to reassure the reader of the credibility of the translations or names' origins. There is no bibliography indicating what the lexicon is based on, whether it be previous works that are closer to the original sources or oral tradition (1975: 97).

reconceive our history, to re-imagine Indian-ness in our own varying and multiplicitous images" (2002: 428). This means taking a critical stance but also having "a language, a system of participation, a rhetoric, with which to articulate that critique" (ibid.). In her discussion of Santee Sioux writer Charles Alexander Eastman, Powell sees a rhetoric of survivance reflected in the author's willing participation in multiple discourses, awareness of how these discourses work, and surfacing of imposed belief systems through simple commentary and observation:

> This participation becomes *use* when he injects a doubleness of narrative awareness into his retellings and then engages in a tactics of linkage and textual and symbolic affiliation combined with experiential tellings that reveal his familiarity with Indian and white culture and that also deploy irony and simple questioning as ways to break open even the most familiar stories. (ibid. 427)

Bernard Assiniwi likewise participates in multiple discourses to expose biased representations and "break open" established narratives. In the context of Indigenous rhetorics, survivance entails invoking Indigenous communities' rhetorical practices, using Euro-American rhetorics, and all the possible variations and nuances in between (King, Gubele and Anderson 2015: 7).[191]

As noted above, Assiniwi's reclamation of Indigeneity is intimately bound up with his identity as an author, which also forms part of his rhetorical stance. In a 1977 interview with Léo Beaudoin, Assiniwi states that a person does not find an identity but decides one day to assume it: "I didn't 'find' my identity at the end of a long journey, I simply found a way to affirm it, and, from that day on, I no longer accepted it being doubted […] It was the same thing for my vocation as a writer" (cited in Beaudoin 1977: par 4–5). He would later write in a 1993 article titled "Je suis ce que je dis que je suis" (I am what I say I am):

> I was 12 when I decided that my word would be my whole life. That my word would be, from that point on, my identity, and that never again would I allow anyone to question it. I decided that everything I did in my life would be connected to who I was. To my identity. To our identity that the dominant culture has attempted to erase through the soft and gentle process of assimilation. So that later we would no longer be able to say "my ancestors were Indigenous." (Assiniwi 2016: 83–84)

Despite this clear self-affirmation, Assiniwi's identity has been called into question, creating a tension or double effect of marginalization that some see reflected in his work.[192] René-Pierre

[191] See also Ernest Stromberg's definitions of these terms in his introduction to *American Indian Rhetorics of Survivance. Word Medicine, Word Magic* (2006).
[192] Assiniwi's contested Indigenous identity, which he continually defended, raises contentious issues surrounding Indigenous self-identification. Darryl Leroux (2019) is among a number of vocal critics of Métis self-identification, which he regards as a fraudulent and opportunistic usurpation of Indigenous identity. Other scholars contest this

Carrier (2021: 26), for example, interprets Assiniwi's identitary ambivalence through the concept of "paratopia" (Maingueneau 2004), which "designates the writer's paradoxical location, their oscillation between belonging and not belonging to the literary field and to society" (Őri 2015: 84). Jeannotte also notes this tension in Assiniwi's image and writing, which may account for his monumental body of work being sometimes overlooked (2019: 13).[193] Though Assiniwi recognized the diversity of his origins and could have fully embraced a hybrid identity, he often seems to have been compelled to choose between his Québécois and Indigenous origins (ibid. 211). On the one the hand, like the character he plays in Guy Bénard's film *Akki* (1991), he feels torn between his two sides, between the images of his paternal language and the words of his maternal language. On the other, he describes himself as the "link between two shores" (Jeannotte 2019: 212). In a 1972 radio interview, Assiniwi reflects on his mixed origins and the translational dynamics this gave rise to:

> I had the privilege—or disadvantage—of being born into a family where the mother was French and the father was Indian. This led to two cultures meeting, mixing and sometimes clashing a bit with each other. In my case, this allowed me to put things in perspective and see humanity from both sides. I know the French language and I also know Cree and other Algonquian languages, because I speak several dialects. This meant transferring the same idea or the same image from one language to the other. (cited in Jeannotte 2019: 212–213)

As Jeannotte remarks, Assiniwi presents his métissage as a source of discord with his entourage but also as a unique force conferring upon him the "noble role of interpreter between the Québécois and Indigenous cultures" (ibid. 213). In the end, though, he still insists on foregrounding and reclaiming his Indigenous identity:

> I am half Indigenous and half francophone Quebecois. […] Thanks to or because of my appearance, I could easily claim to be one or the other. Yet in both cases, I belong to a minority. The first in the midst of the second, which is a minority in relation to the anglophone tide in North America. […] Although mixed blood, I am not Métis. Contrary to the Métis of the Canadian West (who have a distinct language consisting of Cree,

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critique as reductivist and limited to problematic examples (Malette 2017) or overlooking the harmful effects on self-identifying families and individuals (Fast 2016). A distinction is often made between "real" Métis with tangible links to the Red River Métis Nation, on the one hand, and those of mixed ancestry with no discernible ties to this Nation, on the other (Fast 2016). Eastern Métis groups in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, some with thousands of registered members, are not legally recognized as Métis. The 2003 Supreme Court of Canada Powley decision resulted in "the Powley Test" which set the criteria for defining Métis identity and rights.

[193] As Jeannotte observes (2019: 13), in *Place aux littératures autochtones*, for example, Simon Harel (2017) presents An Antane Kapesh's 1976 work as the point of departure of First Nations literature. This may have to do with the questioned credibility of some of Assiniwi's sources and/or the more popular aspect of some of his work (recipe books, survival guides, etc.).

> French, and English), those of the Canadian East identify themselves either with the dominant cultures or with Indigenous minorities. Even as mixed bloods, we identify with what our cultures have made of us: Algonquin, Cree, Atikamekw, Innu, Abenaki, Huron-Wendat, etc. To be Indigenous is above all to belong to a culture, to have a different way of life, a different belief system, a different language—and enough strength of character to proclaim it for all to hear. (Assiniwi 2016: 84–85)

As mentioned above, Assiniwi sometimes signed his works with the pseudonym "Chagnan," his Cree name designating "a clumsy young man who will learn with time" (Jeannotte 2019: 19). The Chagnan character is the main protagonist in one of Assiniwi's adapted oral legends in *Sagana : Contes fantastiques du pays algonkin* (1972). As Jeannotte notes, the parallels between Assiniwi and the Chagnan figure are revealing of his own self-perception and the image he sometimes projected, insofar as the hero of the story is a young Cree who is different from the others, barely "tolerated within the clan," and subjected to rejection and mockery until he discovers the power of the spirit (ibid.). That said, Assiniwi's trajectory does not so much reflect an inability to master the rules as it does a refusal to submit to them. In Jeannotte's analysis, the *auteur malhabile* becomes the *auteur malcommode*, going from being awkward and out of place (paratopic) to being willfully "inconvenient" (ibid 20). Like Thomas King's *Inconvenient Indian* (2012), Assiniwi positions himself as a disruptive figure who refuses to follow the rules and norms, reclaiming Indigenous memory by revisiting and rewriting history from his own perspective and on his own terms.

Reclaiming History

Writing in 1972, the authors of the *Manifeste des Amérindiens* stated that the history of Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Quebec had never been written:

> Though some writings about them exist, [their history] has only been recounted through the lens of the "White" man, who could not understand it from the point of view of the Indian: an impossible task, because these are two different mentalities that do not perceive the same values with the same concepts, that do not believe in the same fundamental values, that belong to two different worlds. (cited in Dezutter, Fontaine and Létourneau 2017: 121)

Early in his career, Assiniwi set out to write the history of different Indigenous Nations in Canada and Quebec from an Indigenous perspective. While seeking to make his voice heard across a range of literary and artistic genres, including music and theatre, he decided to return to the notes he had been accumulating over many years. "Setting out to research my own culture at

12 years old, I wasn't able to fully grasp it," he writes. "How could I? Over 400 years of acculturation some things were lost, which doesn't help the normal evolution of a people's culture" (cited in Beaudoin 1977: par. 6):

> The history books, the ones I read in my childhood, never allowed me to take pride in the fact of being INDIAN. They told me that my ancestor was pagan, barbaric, bloodthirsty, a torturer of missionaries and a scalper. [...] This ancestor who I respect now that I know him better, I admit I was ashamed of him. And I am not the only one to have been ashamed of being an INDIAN, because there are still INDIANS who are being told the same lies. (Assiniwi 1973a: 44)

Despite being subjected to this traumatic and alienating misrepresentation of his ancestors' history, Assiniwi became determined to tell the other side, his own side of the story. His research, based on notes collected over 10 years, culminated in his three-volume *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas Canada*, published between 1973 and 1974, alongside two glossaries (*Lexique des noms indiens en amérique*, 1973), one documenting the Indigenous roots of toponyms and, the other, focusing on Indigenous historical figures.[194] Taken together, this body of work describes the customs and mores of the diverse Algonquin and Iroquois Peoples, their tribal alliances and relations with the European colonizers, and the process of dispossession. The work also integrates detailed ethnographic information specific to each of the different First Nations.

The first volume, *Moeurs et coutumes des Algonkins et des Iroquois*, is divided into two parts, the first focusing on the Algonquin Peoples and the second on the Iroquois, the two larger cultural-linguistic groups. Assiniwi begins with an overview of the different nations and their geographical situations, including illustrations, photographs and maps indicating their different territories. He presents their histories, cultures and societies, sometimes separately, sometimes comparing them and explaining their relations. His descriptions are attentive to languages and dialects, often providing several orthographic alternatives, with specific Indigenous terms printed in uppercase (turning the written history itself into a kind of searchable glossary). He addresses a broad range of topics such as, in no particular order and without any clear hierarchy: customs, mores and beliefs, languages and cultures, means of subsistence, marriage and love, dwellings,

[194] In an updated (1996b) edition Assiniwi states that he may have made some linguistic errors, but that, contrary to many other authors writing on Indigenous languages, he knew the foundation of Algonquian languages. He was thus able to translate the toponyms originating in this language family. He sometimes proposes "more personal interpretations" of certain words, but only when these have been deformed by non-Indigenous usage (Jeannotte 2019: 341).

political organization, foods and recipes, religion, artisanal practices, modes of transport, commerce, arms and tools, family, divorce, family tasks, tribal organization, hospitality, aging, illness, natural medicine, sorcerers, torture, observation, concentration, uses of the animals (food, clothing, covers, rugs, mittens, moccasins, tent coverings, etc.). In addition to these detailed descriptions, Assiniwi often incorporates more literary or poetic descriptions and personal observations and anecdotes, as reflected in the citation above regarding his first exposure to history books as a child. Describing the lands that came to be known as Upper and Lower Canada (roughly corresponding to parts of present-day Ontario and Quebec), he notes that the territories inhabited by Indigenous Peoples were not defined by these borders; nor were they "discovered." He goes on to describe the rivers, lakes and other features that shaped this world:

> A world where daily life allowed for no error of judgement or decision. A world where game was so freely available to the hunter that the latter felt obliged to a apologize with each new capture. A world where one had to be aware of each step, and where, to fill his lungs with fresh air, he had only to deeply inhale. A world where the beauty of the landscape ceded only to the harshness of the climate. A world made for the strong, the resistant, the perseverant. A world of man. Our world. My own Land ANISH-NAH-BE. (1973a: 19–20).

From this passage, it is already clear that Assiniwi is not adhering to the idea of providing an objective, fact-based history. He is expressing, in poetic terms, his love for and appreciation of the land and its interconnection with life and survival, while also very explicitly reclaiming it as his Land.

In a later section focusing on social and political organization, Assiniwi writes that, among the Algonquins of north of the Saint Lawrence, political organization always seemed undefined in the eyes of the modern historians and was incomprehensible to the first explorers and missionaries who tried to describe it. Yet this social organization, he argues, was very present in everyday life. Since the tasks were generally defined by heredity, they were accomplished "sans bruits et sans éclats inutiles" (without unnecessary fanfare) (ibid. 43). "Personally," writes Assiniwi,

> I believe that the ALGONQUIN Peoples had created a political system entirely adapted to their environment and needs, and that any other system would have been impossible to implement within the nomadic and semi-sedentary communities of the centre region. (ibid. 44)

Regarding the question of Algonquin spiritual beliefs, Assiniwi counters some of the early missionary interpretations. "The Père Le Jeune, in his *Relation* of 1637, summarized the religious situation of my ancestors as follows":

> THE MONTAGNAIS SAVAGES GIVE THE NAME MANITOU TO ALL NATURE SUPERIOR TO MAN, GOOD OR BAD. THAT IS WHY WHEN WE SPEAK OF GOD, THEY SOMETIMES NAME HIM THE "GOOD MANITOU," AND WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE DEVIL, THEY CALL HIM THE "BAD MANITOU." (Le Jeune, cited in Assiniwi 1973a: 45).

Assiniwi contrasts this simplification with Quebec ethnobotanist Jacques Rousseau's later description: "For the ALGONQUIN and the MONTAGNAIS, spirits, which reside in things or in men's minds, inhabit men, waters, rocks, plants, animals, the wind, the stars and even sounds. These are all MANITOS, but with unequal power" (1959: 11, cited in Assiniwi ibid.). Assiniwi explains that "these beliefs did not exclude belief in a Supreme Being, called KIJE-MANITO or KITCHE-MANITO, which, translated into French does not mean GOD, but rather, 'THE SPIRIT OF MY SPIRIT' or 'THE GREATEST OF SPIRITS'" (ibid. 46). Here, as elsewhere, Assiniwi weaves oral legend into his historical account without always directly naming his sources. He also recounts the story of the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy, the league of nations that long preceded, he notes, the models on which the United Nations and American governments would later be based: "Though historian LIONEL GROULX claimed that the foundation of the IROQUOIS government was RUDIMENTARY, this democratic government was nonetheless 400 years ahead of the EUROPEAN monarchical and feudal governments" (ibid. 121).

The second volume of Assiniwi's history, *Deux siècles de civilisation blanche, 1497–1685*, shifts the focus onto the colonizers: the history of the Beothuk[195] and interactions with Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain and other early explorers. In his chapter "An Explorer Named Jacques Cartier," Assiniwi begins by stating:

> Also, my interpretation of the descriptions and judgements rendered by the first explorers will be a little different than those of our popular historians. I believe this will be the first time an Amerindian explains the descriptions forgotten by the others who have recounted

[195] In his novel *La Saga de Béothuks* (1996a), Assiniwi traces the history of the Indigenous Beothuk of Newfoundland and their exchanges with foreigners, from the first contact with the Vikings to the British colonization of the island and the extinction of the last of the Beothuk, Shanawdithit (Huberman 2019: 119). The novel is narrated through a series of "memoires vivantes" (living memories) of the members of the Nation designated to transmit the history of their people. As bearers, carriers of the Beothuk history, the living memories are perceived as authorities and guardians of the culture (ibid. 125–126).

> the history [...] Forgive me if I lack objectivity, or if my views seem strange to you. I am an Amerindian. (1974a: 29)

Drawing on oral history, written history (a bibliography for all three volumes is included in volume three) and a number of lengthy citations from Jacques Cartier's original writings, Assiniwi describes the Wendat People's first encounters with the European explorers, including a detailed account of the infamous "kidnapping" incident said to have marked the beginning of colonial translation history in Canada. Structuring the narrative almost as a dialogue, Assiniwi alternates between his Indigenous perspective and Cartier's citations, which are here now printed in uppercase to set them off from Assiniwi's telling. The two versions sometimes converge, sometimes not:

> One day, the Wendat saw Cartier and a few men planting a cross in the ground. The chief of the fishing expedition, accompanied by three other Indians, went to meet Cartier to explain to him that this cross strangely resembled the emblem they had seen many times on the decorations of clothing worn by other nations of the Wendat confederation, as well as on the clothing of the OJIBWAYS of the North. He also wanted to tell Cartier that he had seen a similar sign erected by other people and that they made the sign of the cross with "two fingers" (the Celts, Basques and probably other explorers). [...] Cartier no doubt thought that the chief was against his erecting the cross. [...] Cartier gave the order to return to the ship bringing the four Wendat men with him, having made it understood that he wanted to exchange axes for the bearskin worn by the chief. Two of the men named TAYAGNOAGNY and DOMAGAYA, unsuspecting, climbed abord the ship while the third Indian and the chief stayed on shore. The naivety of the first two was fatal, because the moment they were aboard, the crew took them prisoner. In his memoires, Cartier states that he made the chief understand that he would return his two friends and they would be well-treated […] Yet, no one understood the Wendat language... and the Wendat did not understand the French. (ibid. 37)

This passage highlights, in addition to the deceitful act of aggression, a general situation of misunderstanding and mistranslation. In Assiniwi's telling, the Wendat do not appear to understand what the cross represents. Meanwhile, Assiniwi speculates on how both the Wendat and Cartier may have misunderstood the encounter but also notes how the latter was confident in making his position known, despite the fact that neither spoke each other's languages. Cartier's account is again contradicted in another passage where Assiniwi writes "In his memoires, Cartier recounts that it was at the request of Donnakoh-Nah that he gave the order, because 'Donnacona wanted to hear the sound of the canons.' And yet, oral tradition says that two Wendat were killed by these cannonballs" (ibid. 47, both spellings are used).

Chapter four also describes early encounters between Indigenous Peoples and famous French explorers, in this case, Samuel de Champlain:

> This Champlain returned in 1604, but on the coast of what is now New England. On September 6, 1604, he met BESSABES, Chief of the ALMOUCHIQUOIS (PENOBSCOT) at the PENTAGOET River. Bessabes sent an invitation to Chief CABAHIS, and on September 16, hundreds arrived to see what these Christians looked like. It is over the course of this first gathering that Champlain made known his desire to settle there and teach them to cultivate the land in the French way "so they no longer have to live this miserable life" (in the eyes of the French). Champlain just decided that the life of these Indians did not conform to the criteria of Western European civilization. Just as Cartier had found them easy to subdue, and Corte-Real useful as slaves, Champlain decided that happiness only existed in Christian, European civilization. (ibid. 87)

In this passage, Assiniwi clearly distinguishes between the outsiders' imposed point of view ("in the eyes of the French," "Champlain just decided") and that of the Indigenous Nation, for whom the newcomers appear foreign, unknown and even somewhat exotic ("this Champlain", "these Christians"). As in the above encounter between the Wendat and Cartier, it is the Europeans, with their strange cross and two-fingered gestures, who are the object of curiosity.

The way Assiniwi uses writing here to not only provide a different perspective but also to reverse the roles recalls a more recent example that is well known to Canadian translation scholars. In 1998, Rudy Wiebe's novel *The Temptations of Big Bear* (1974) was turned into a CBC television miniseries, with a script by Wiebe and director Gil Cardinal. As Ray Ellenwood observes, the most remarkable aspect of this production was the decision made by Wiebe and Cardinal to "turn the linguistic tables on their television audience" (2014: 28):

> Here, as in the novel, the Cree speak English, but the English, acting oddly and strangely attired, speak an invented language. The first appearance of these strange, yet familiar-looking creatures speaking gobbledygook, jolts the viewer and radically repositions her in relation to English, which is now the language of the Cree. […] True, Cree is still—necessarily—spoken "in English" but necessity is turned into strategy: English, still the norm, is now the language of the Other for mainstream Canadian viewers. (Söderlind 2009: 99)[196]

[196] Plains Cree Chief Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) is best known for his refusal to sign Treaty 6 in 1876 and for his band's involvement in conflicts associated with the 1885 North-West Resistance (Pannekoek and Filice 2016: par. 1). The novel itself also foregrounds the role of translation in the context of the North-West Resistance: "Early in book, Wiebe depicts a scene in which Peter Erasmus and James McKay square off in their interpretations of words exchanged between Governor Morris and Big Bear. The difficulty of cultural and verbal translation is central to this passage, and before long Wiebe established Kitty McLean as a major character in the novel whose function is to mediate, culturally and linguistically, between Big Bear and her father, the Factor of Fort Pitt" (Ellenwood 2008: 53–54).

The audience is placed in the position of a Cree-speaker of 1885, "trying to make sense not only of a confusing political situation, but also of streams of incomprehensible words desperately needing translation" (Ellenwood 2014: 28). Assiniwi's rhetorical reframing of historical events has a similar effect. His narrative style and commentary draw attention to the different positions and perspectives in a way that makes these palpable for non-Indigenous readers, who are encouraged to put themselves in the other's shoes and see the European explorers as the outsiders.

Volume three of Assiniwi's *Histoire* covers the period from 1685 to the present, which is marked by a number of conflicts. Towards the end of this volume, Assiniwi reflects on Indigenous Peoples' astonishing ability to survive the centuries-long attempt to assimilate and erase them:

> There is no people in the world who are not influenced by the massive arrival of new things and culturally disturbed by such a state of affairs. But there is no people in the world who has resisted cultural and physical assimilation for as long as the Amerindians of Upper and Lower Canada. Despite this massive influence […] Amerindians still exist in culture and in heart.

In revisiting and re-interpreting these colonial versions of history, Assiniwi's approach corresponds both to what Georges E. Sioui (1989) terms "autohistory" and to the rhetorics of survivance employed by other Indigenous scholars to challenge established narratives through juxtaposition, questioning and commentary (Powell 2002). In his book *Pour une autohistoire amérindienne* (1989), Sioui attempts to establish guidelines governing the study of Indigenous history and correspondences between Amerindian and non-Amerindian sources (1992: xxii). He maintains that Indigenous Peoples do not see history as a meaning that humans confer on life: "history as imposed on Amerindians represents the outsider's refusal to let them fulfill their vision. Trying to understand life's teachings means following its movements; caring only for recording the 'facts' in order to remember them means choosing stagnation over movement" (ibid. 23). Autohistory, as a technique, assumes that historical science cannot ignore the ideas and feelings of the people who make up the societies being studied. It is also an attempt to create strategies for intercultural action that would give societies the power "to use the enormous wealth represented by a knowledge of Amerindian history and philosophy" (ibid. 37). If "no fair or satisfactory historical evaluation seems to have come from the outside (heterohistory), the only remaining source is autovision or autohistory" (ibid.). As Jeannotte observes, Assiniwi's reclamation

of history from an Indigenous perspective was indeed a precursor to this approach, particularly in the Quebec context (2019: 278). Destrempes likewise notes that it is fascinating to see, already in Assiniwi's work, "the emergence of a counter- or para-doxa whose *raison d'être* is the refutation of the dominant discourse" but one that is advanced "without failing to describe the Indigenous history and traditions, in order to avoid simply creating a cultural vacuum" (2007: 127).

Assiniwi's rhetorical stance is particularly evident in the different ways he foregrounds his identity, as well as in the strategies he uses to directly address his readers. The paratext, which according to Western norms usually refers to material surrounding the main published text, is here often integrated into the main narrative, through brief asides, interjections, poetic descriptions and so on. But Assiniwi also makes use of epigraphs and other framing devices to address the reader. Volume one of the *Histoire des Indiens du Haut et du Bas Canada* opens with a *seuil du texte* (a "textual threshold") as Hélène Destrempes describes it, borrowing Gérard Genette's expression. As Destrempes remarks, Assiniwi's opening lines serve both as an invitation and a warning (2007: 127):

> To those of you reading this book,
> If you are an Indian like me by blood or
> by choice, the book that follows directly
> concerns you, because it is important that you know
> who you are!
>
> And if you are of European descent, this also
> directly concerns you, because it is high time
> that you to know who I am!

In the introduction to this first volume, Assiniwi goes on to clearly outline his approach to revisiting this history, which, again, begins with an affirmation of his Indigenous identity:

> To take on history for an INDIAN seems rather pretentious, especially after having said so much about the lack of certain historians' knowledge about INDIAN culture. And especially after having criticized their lack of objectivity when speaking about us. So, it was with the firm intention of not going to the other extreme that I set out to work. (Assiniwi 1973a: 11)

Assiniwi nonetheless sees his "desire for objectivity fading little by little" (ibid.) until he decides to defend a subjective stance and incorporate all of the sources at his disposal:

> And it is with a total and intentional lack of objectivity that I made the decision to write what historians forgot or intentionally failed to say. To do so, I reread the entire bibliography of our historians and the conclusions they drew from it. To do so, I called upon oral tradition (still existent, whether you like it or not) and my personal

> understanding of events based on experience accumulated over many years of research. Like other historians, in writing this book, I have the *pretention* of knowing the people I describe as much as I do about their social, economic, political and religious structures, so poorly or not explained by the explorers, adventurers and missionaries who arrived over 400 years ago. I also have the pretention of being able to understand the philosophy of my ancestors and the humanity animating it that the Europeans were unable to grasp. (ibid., italics in original)

Assiniwi concludes the introduction to his ambitious history, born of a childhood instinct to question the official narrative and pieced together over many years, by once again speaking directly to his non-Indigenous readers:

> If you are a descendent of this man who intentionally forgot me in this immense country, which has become too small for me to still feel comfortable, drowning as I am in this pond that will soon be without water and that you call "RESERVE," listen closely to what I have wanted to tell you for so long. Listen closely to the "SAVAGE" that I am tell you what I was before you arrived on my land. […] Then, and only then, will I allow you to judge me… if you have understood. (ibid. 12–13)

Assiniwi's Indigenous reclamation of history parallels that of other Indigenous writers and scholars who challenge Western paradigms of historical progress and sometimes regard the theory of evolution as signaling the human being's authority over time (Sioui 1992: 23). The preservation of culture, in this view, does not mean returning to the past, it means returning to sources of preservation that foster acceptance of the evolution of the needs, desires and aspirations of Indigenous Peoples (Assiniwi 1974b: 154). In reclaiming rhetorical sovereignty, Assiniwi develops a rhetorical stance that better reflects his own way of translating cultural memory, and this often entails rejecting clearcut distinctions between theory and story, and between oral and written literature.[197] His rhetoric of survivance is evident in his reclaiming of history, as well as in the specific ways he *uses* writing by integrating and combining different languages and foregrounding their presence through typography, in-text definitions and translations, footnotes, glossaries and so on. Commenting on the arrival of the newcomers in the first volume of *Histoire* (1973), he juxtaposes Indigenous terms with in-text glossing and footnotes to, again, subtly reverse the roles. "This discoverer," the European brought with him a

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[197] As Karim Chagnon notes, the translation of certain Indigenous concepts sometimes gives rise to neologisms, for example, Sto:lo scholar Lee Maracle's concept of "oratory," which highlights the interconnectedness between fictional literature and theory (Chagnon 2022: 163). "To demonstrate Indigenous-based methodologies, Maracle methodically deconstructs western notions of theory to demonstrate that these notions mean very little when placed outside of human interaction" (Macfarlane and Ruffo 2016: 61).

new civilization, "'HIS' civilization, which he called 'THE' civilization" (Assiniwi 1973a: 12). But it was the European who learned from his ancestors:

> This newcomer soon learned from my ancestor, who he called SAUVAGE, to walk on the snow with my AGIMS,[1] to glide across the water in my WIGWASS-TCHIMAN,[2] to smoke my KINIKINIK,[3] and to wear my MIDASS,[4] so as not to injure his leg in my forest.
>
> 1. AGIMS = snowshoes
> 2. WIGWASS-TCHIMAN = birchbark canoe
> 3. KINIKINIK = tobacco
> 4. MIDASS = animal-hide leggings that Europeans called "Mitasses." (ibid.)

With these textual interventions, which infuse all three volumes of the *Histoire*, Assiniwi's work both reclaims the rhetorical strategies highlighted by Pratt (1991) (Guaman Poma's rewriting of Christian history) and Anderson (2005) (the Wampanoag marking the pages of their bibles), while also anticipating more recent discursive and literary innovations arising from the convergence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives. As Anishinaabe scholar and poet Kimberly Blaeser remarked in a 1993 article,

> Several of the intriguing experiments in Native critical discourse […] take as their mode of operation dialogue or mediation between these two critical and cultural centers. Gerald Vizenor's "trickster discourse," Keith Basso's "code-switching" and bicultural "linguistic play," Arnold Krupat's "ethnocritiques" or "ethnocriticism," and Louis Owen's "mixed-blood metaphors" all proceed from an awareness of the border quality of native speech, writing and criticism. (58)

In different ways, Indigenous scholars draw on their multicultural experience to "explore the wavering and delicate balance" between tradition and innovation and "untangle the braided cultural context" of mediational discourse (ibid.).

Finally, Assiniwi's rhetoric of survivance comes through in the extremely eclectic range of discourses that he participated in. There are few writing genres, artforms or media that he did not engage with, which inevitably calls to mind, like King's inconvenient Indian, the trickster figure (Jeannotte 2019: 20). Though reference to the trickster has been criticized for collapsing a range of distinct Indigenous figures into a single folkloric image, many Indigenous writers and scholars have used and continue to use the term:[198]

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[198] Deanna Reder writes: "The term "tricksters" is attributed to nineteenth-century anthropologist Daniel Brinton, who first used the word to describe the category of characters found within Indigenous mythic traditions" (2010: viii).

> No Indigenous person in North America called themselves "Indian" before the arrival of Columbus, in much the same way no Indigenous community had "tricksters" […]. Instead, the Anishinaabeg told stories about Nanabush, the Cree told stories about Wesakecak, the Blackfoot told stories about Naapi, the Stó:lo told stories about Coyote, and all these stories continue to be told and retold to this day. That being said […], many storytellers talk and write about tricksters, drawing not only on traditions in which they may or may not have been raised but also on their imaginations and the work of other Native authors. (Reder 2010: vii)

Vizenor describes the trickster as representing "reason and mediation in stories" and "the original translator of tribal encounters" (1994: 15). Cree poet and scholar Neal McLeod compares Vizenor's trickster hermeneutics to Homi Bhabha's notion of a "space of translation," which celebrates the "ability of [colonized peoples] to recreate themselves in the face of new circumstances" (McLeod 2016: 174). In Canada, the most famous spokesperson for the trickster figure is Tomson Highway, who has asserted that Christ is to Western culture as the trickster is to Native culture (Bidwell 2010b: 4): "One mythology says that we're here to suffer; the other states that we're here for a good time" (Highway cited in Hannon 1991: 41).

In his *Histoire* and many other works, Assiniwi references and borrows from diverse Indigenous traditions. His own Cree-Algonquin ancestry is part of the larger cultural-linguistic Algonquian family, which he credits as the source for his literary adaptations (co-authored with Isabelle Myre) of oral legends in *Anish-Nah-Bé : Contes adultes du pays algonkin* (1971) and *Sagana : Contes fantastiques du pays algokin* (1972).[199] The tales refer to Wésukéchack (there are many variant spellings) as the trickster figure of Cree-Algonquin legend, who Assiniwi describes as "Celui-qui-prend-des-formes-diverses" (he who takes various forms). If Assiniwi can be described as *malhabile* and *malcommode*, the different roles he assumes also evoke Wésukéchack, a shapeshifting figure who is creative and disruptive, an intermediary, but also a protector and bearer of Indigenous memory. Assiniwi's rhetoric of survivance works to demystify the dominant discourse, what Sarah Henzi calls the political "rhetoric of apology," by

[199] Bernard Assiniwi was responsible for the "Amerindian" aspect of the tales, while Isabelle Myre concentrated on the French language. "I wrote and she helped me. My syntax and French were very bad. She helped me a lot with that" (cited in Jeannotte 2019: 364). There is no reference in these publications to specific sources or the circumstances of their transmission. Assiniwi credits his father for passing on some of these stories: "[When I was young], my father recounted some of these legends to me. They had an enormous, enduring meaning for me. One that I never found in any of the works published after that" (cited in Jeannotte 2019: 246). He also sometimes emphasizes their ancient origins: "The one that my father told me is very, very old" (ibid.). William Commanda (Chief of the Kitigan Zibi Anishnabeg Nation from 1951 to 1970), his wife Mary and her father Alonzo are mentioned elsewhere as important sources for his knowledge of oral tradition (ibid. 178).

stepping outside of a reactive mode and adopting a strategic stance in which belonging to antagonistic cultural realms need not be a source of conflict, but one of creative power (2010b: 91). As we will see in the following section, Innu poet Joséphine Bacon's way of reclaiming Indigenous cultural memory is born of a different experience, one that entails a rediscovery of and re-immersion in Innu oral tradition through collaborative research, translation, and the poetic re-interpretation of her Innu culture and role as memory bearer. Comparing the two is illuminating, insofar as both authors reclaim cultural memory in very different ways. While Assiniwi explicitly appropriates and subverts official history, Bacon is able to restore her connection through a collaboration that goes straight to the source of her own traditions, rather than being a reaction to, or against, dominant versions of history. Her stance, unlike Assiniwi's, is not primarily disruptive. Through her collaborative translation work, Bacon carved out her own path.

Joséphine Bacon: A Life in Translation

Joséphine Bacon was born in Pessamit in 1947 and spent her first years immersed in the semi-nomadic lifestyle of her Innu people.[200] At the age of 5, she was sent to a residential school in Maliotenam, where she remained for the next 14 years. After moving to Montreal in 1968, she worked as a research assistant, interpreter and translator for scholars affiliated with the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne. She taught Innu language courses at the Université de Montréal from 1974 to 1985 and continued her work as a translator and language consultant, collaborating with filmmakers Maurice Bulbulian, Gilles Carle and Arthur Lamothe at the National Film Board of Canada. In 1997, she directed her first documentary *Tshishe Mishtikuashisht. Le petit grand Européen : Johan Beetz*, followed by a number of short films, documentaries and television series, and in the 2000s, she wrote song lyrics in Innu for Chloé Ste-Marie. It wasn't until 2009 that she turned to poetry. She was 62 when her first bilingual collection of poems *Bâtons à message. Tshissinuatshitakana* was published in Innu and French, later translated into English as *Message Sticks*. *Tshissinuatshitakana* (2013). She went on to publish two other poetry collections *Un thé dans la toundra*. *Nipishapui nete mushuat* (2013),

[200] "During the first half of the 20th century, the Innu still valued mobility. Having travelled, hunted, and lived over the widest possible area, having seen numerous trading posts and known people from different regions, were accomplishments that earned respect and prestige. Today, the consideration with which elders are treated is still based on the experience and knowledge they have accumulated about the ancestral land" (Mailhot 1997: 134).

and *Uiesh. Quelque Part* (2018a), the first translated into English in 2017 as *A Tea in the Tundra*. *Nipishapui nete mushuat* and the second with an English translation forthcoming (2023). She also published a collaborative poetry collection with José Acquelin *Nous sommes tous des sauvages* (2011), contributed to numerous edited volumes and co-edited an anthology of children's poems with Laure Morali, *Nin auass. Moi l'enfant* (2021), "sown and collected" among Innu students across Quebec (Tardif 2021: par. 3).[201] Bacon has recently been awarded honorary PhDs in anthropology at Université Laval in 2016 at the Université du Québec à Montréal in 2021. For the past 50 years, she has been a translator-interpreter and teacher of Innu-aimun, the Innu language, and often gives writing workshops and talks at universities, Cegeps and in different Indigenous communities in Quebec. Her poetry has reached an international audience, and she is widely regarded as a role-model, mentor and ambassador of the Innu language and culture.

Bacon's incredible trajectory traverses different epochs, from the then still-existing nomadic world of her Innu people and long traumatic period of residential schools, to the political ferment of the 1970s and her more recent reclaiming of Innu language and oral tradition through a poetry that, coming full circle, takes her back to the land. In all of her work, Bacon translates cultural memory in order to reclaim it for herself but also to transmit it to the next generations. In reconnecting to the words of elders, she becomes an elder herself:

Nipishapui nete mushuat	**Un thé dans la toundra**	**A Tea in the Tundra**
Kashikat nitshishenniu-aitapin	Ma viellesse me parle	My old age speaks to me
Nishkata nitapashtan e natuapataman assi	Mes jambes avancent vers la terre	My legs move earthwards
Apu atshikateshinian	Je ne trébuche pas	I do not stumble
Kukamess nitshitapamik^{u}	Lentement je fais le tour du lac	Slowly I circle the lake
Tshissenitamu eshineian eshi-tshissenitaman	Une truite grise me dévisage	A grey trout stares me down
Kuessipan nikukuminashiun	Elle sait que mon apprentissage	It knows my apprenticeship
Tshitashuapamitin tshetshi takushinin	Émeut mon âme	Stirs my soul
Tshika tipatshimushatin tipatshimun	À mon tour, je deviens une aînée	In my turn, I become an elder
Apu nita tshikaut uni-tshissitutakan	J'attends ta visite pour te raconter	I await your visit to tell you
	Une histoire qui demeure	A story that endures
	Dans les mémoires	In memory

[201] At the invitation of Yvette Mollen, the Institut Tshakpesh in Uashat (Sept-Îles), Joséphine Bacon and Laure Morali travelled to schools in six Innu communities in 2016 and 2017 to conduct poetry writing workshops, resulting in this 300-page collection of poems (Tardif 2021: par. 2).

Related to the larger Algonquian family, the Innu have been present on the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula for millennia. They were the first Indigenous Peoples to establish commerce and cultural ties with European explorers and missionaries and today form a Nation of about 18,000 people grouped into 11 communities.[202] The first residential school in post-war Quebec (1952) was located near Sept-Îles on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River. Also known as the Maliotenam school, this is where Joséphine Bacon spent 14 years of her life. As is now well documented in the reports of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, generations of Indigenous children were separated from their families and communities across Canada. For most children, life in these schools was lonely and alien. Indigenous languages and cultures were denigrated and suppressed, child neglect was institutionalized, and students were prey to sexual and physical abuse (TRC 2015: 3–4).

Despite the harsh conditions that prevailed in the schools, Bacon has often described her own experience with mixed feelings, aware of having been cut off from her own history and culture, but also retaining fond memories. Innu students arrived at the Maliotenam school from different communities along the North Shore, so she was able to meet Innu girls from different backgrounds: "Everything was new, it was all rather fascinating for us young girls" (cited in Durand 2019: 104). "I always have the image," she says, "of the girls from Natashquan, Mingan, La Romaine, who were still nomads or almost. They had their parents send them tobacco to fill their beautiful wooden pipes. I made lifelong friendships in all of the communities of the North Shore" (ibid.). In class, they were taught to read and write in French, and Innu was prohibited. They lost access to the elders' stories, but still spoke Innu amongst themselves:

> The elders did not recount *atanukan* or myths during the summer, because they were leaving the spirit of the *atanukan* in peace. So, with us, the people of my generation, when we went to the residential school from September to the end of June, we lost all that. At the school that I went to, it was only in class that we were not allowed to speak Innu-aimun, but in the dormitory, canteen, games room or anywhere else, we could speak our language. (Bacon 2018b: 2)

Aware that her personal experience differs from that of many other survivors of the residential school system, Bacon simply states: "It is because of the residential school that I became who I

[202] These include nine in the boreal part of Quebec—Mashteuiastsh (Pointe-Bleue), Essipit (Les Escoumins), Pessamit (Betsiamites), Uashat mak Mani-utenam (Sept-Îles and Maliotenam), Ekuanitshit (Mingan), Nutashquan (Natashquan), Unaman-shipu (La Romaine), Paktu-shipu (Saint-Augustin), Matimekush (Schefferville); and two in Newfoundland and Labrador, Sheshatshiu (Northwest River) and Natuashish (Davis Inlet) (Bouchard 2021: n.p.).

am. That is my truth" (Durand 2019: 104). In 1966, Bacon completed a secretarial course in Quebec City, followed by an internship at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Ottawa in 1967. She worked in a number of other areas, before meeting three anthropologists from the Université of Montréal who she would go on to collaborate with over many years—José Mailhot, Rémi Savard and Sylvie Vincent. They had begun doing fieldwork in the Innu communities of the North Shore, which included interviews and recordings of oral tradition. Bacon began working with them as a transcriber-translator, interpreter and research assistant. The anthropologists were interested in learning the Innu language and documenting the history and founding myths of Innu culture, which Bacon was not familiar with when she began working with them. Discovering this heritage was a kind of revelation for her (ibid. 105). "Rémi was interested in myths, Sylvie was interested in history, and with José, it was language" (cited in Montpetit 2021: par. 9). Bacon recounts how Mailhot taught her to transcribe phonetically, while Savard introduced her to the myths, "which I didn't know because of all of those years at the residential school" (cited in Yvon 2019: par. 12). Then she began doing fieldwork with Sylvie Vincent, travelling with her to interview elders in Natashquan (Nutashkuan).[203] "This is how I was able to recuperate everything," writes Bacon, "to ask all the questions that I needed to ask" (ibid.). Bacon's translation work was the beginning of a journey. As we will see in the following sections, her collaborations with anthropologists contributed to their research projects while also becoming a direct line for her own reclamation of Innu tradition and knowledge. In other words, her role as a translator was not one of being "in between" languages and cultures but, rather, one of having her feet "in both or all the camps involved" (Fuchs 2009: 27), across different vocations, worldviews and time periods, from the meticulous work of language transcription to the vast expanses of the Tundra.

Translating Oral History and Oral Tradition

Like the journal *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* (1971), the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne (1970) brought together a group of scholars affiliated with the Université de

[203] For an oral history account of the creation of the Innu reserve of Natashquan (Nutashkuan) in the 1950s, see Maltais-Landry (2014): "This thesis focuses on the creation of the Indian reserve of Nutashkuan, situated on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River. Based primarily on a series of oral history interview conducted by the author in 2013, it explores factors that led to the sedentarization of the Innu at the mouth of the Natashquan River, a site they long frequented without staying there all year. Their stories help understand how the Innu experienced the arrival of Indian Affairs in their lives in the 20th century, and how they recount these events today" (iii).

Montréal though functioned independently of it. The core group included Rémi Savard, Sylvie Vincent, José Mailhot, Madeleine Lefebvre and Claude Lachapelle (Delanoë 2020: 236). A student of Claude Lévis-Strauss, Savard began doing fieldwork in the late 1960s in the Innu communities of Unamen-Shipu, Pakua-Shipi and Saint-Augustin, where he recorded stories about the first encounters between different Indigenous groups and Europeans and documented the "transition from tents to houses" (ibid. 237–238). Over many years, much of his research focused on oral tradition and stories about central figures of Innu legend like Carcajou and Tshakapesh, which he collected, transcribed and translated with the help of many collaborators, including Joséphine Bacon. His publications, often including variations on the same story by different storytellers, also drew attention to methodology and the challenges of translating oral stories into writing.[204] Savard also published on the injustices faced by Indigenous Peoples in Quebec, colonial history and Indigenous political movements (see Savard 1979, 1996, 2008; Savard and Proulx 1982, among others).

José Mailhot began doing fieldwork in the 1960s in Labrador and Quebec's North Shore and published important works on the Innu of Shetshatshiu (Mailhot 1993). One of her main contributions was the study and protection of the Innu language, which she began learning early on. She translated An Antane Kapesh's writings and often worked in close collaboration with Joséphine Bacon and others, translating her own and her colleagues' recordings (Savard 1977).[205] In the 1970s, she spent several summers among the Schefferville Innu learning their language and trying to understand the particular view of the universe inscribed within it (ibid. viii). Starting in 1973, she began introducing apprentice teachers from different Innu communities across Quebec and Labrador to the analysis, writing and teaching of Innu-aimun (ibid. ix). Over

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[204] The stories were published in *Carcajou et le sens du monde* (1971), *Le rire précolombien dans le Québec d'aujourd'hui* (1977) and *La voix des autres* (1985), among others. Twenty years later, Savard republished some of these stories in *La forêt vive. Récits fondateurs du peuple innu* (2004). Jeannotte notes that the later work, which seems to downplay potential alterations arising from the complex recording, transcribing and translating process, targets a different audience (2016: 7). She suggests that by excluding information on methodology and contributors, the new version borders on cultural appropriation (ibid. 6).

[205] Reflecting on her early days doing fieldwork, Mailhot writes: "In hindsight I count myself privileged above all for having lived in Sheshatshit in the 1960s. During this first visit I found it most frustrating to have to communicate with the Innu through young interpreters—teenagers were then practically the only people who spoke English. […] My choice [to learn Innu] was definitely confirmed when a research team led by Rémi Savard, of the University of Montreal, undertook a vast project on Innu mythology—at Sheshatshit. […] I spent a month there during the summer of 1967 in the company of Madeleine Lefebvre and Robert Lanari, students whom I was to introduce to the community while instructing them about collecting oral literature. In a few months they would manage to tape more than a hundred tales, some of which were subsequently published (Lefevbre 1971; Savard 1971). I began study of the Innu language the following year" (Mailhot 1997: vii–viii).

many years she developed an Innu phonology and orthography and later co-directed, with Marguerite Mackenzie, the first standardized pan-Innu dictionary.[206]

A colleague of both Savard and Mailhot, Sylvie Vincent had a similar but also very different career. Though she had a master's degree in anthropology, she never pursued an academic university career and preferred to work as an independent researcher. She nonetheless taught, published numerous books and articles, did fieldwork, and participated in conferences and debates (Delanoë 2020: 240). From 1970 to 2008, she did fieldwork in Innu communities on an annual or biannual basis. She focused primarily on oral tradition in Innu communities, first in Schefferville in 1970, then in Natashquan (Nutashkuan) where she stayed on several occasions (ibid. 243–245). Often with the help of Joséphine Bacon, she collected, documented, reconstituted and analyzed oral traditions, histories, life stories, myths, rituals, rock paintings and toponymies, resulting in numerous publications, many co-edited with Bacon (1976, 1978, 1979, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1997, 2000a, 2000b, 2003).

The methodologies adopted by the researchers affiliated with the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amérindienne, and the related challenges of the research, are well summarized in the introduction to Madeleine Lefebvre's 1971 publication *Tshakapesh. Récits Montagnais-Naskapi.* The collection includes seven different versions of the myth of Tshakapesh recounted by seven different Innu storytellers from different regions. Short biographies of six narrators (Joe Rich of Davis Inlet, Edward Rich, Sébastien Nuna and Daniel Pone of North West River, John Peastitute of Schefferville, and François Bellefleur of La Romaine) are included, the seventh, whose version was collected "under precarious conditions," remaining anonymous (Lefebvre 1971: 12). The stories, collected by Madeleine Lefebvre, José Mailhot, Rémi Savard, Robert Lanari, Serge Mélançon and Benoît-Noël de Tilly, were recorded in Montagais-Naskapi (Innu), "freely" translated into English by Joseph Peastitute, Matthew Rich and Judy Pone, (partially) transcribed into Montagnais-Naspaki and translated, line by line, into English by Matthew Rich.

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[206] Starting from George Lemoine's (1901) Innu dictionary and her own system of phonetic transcription, Mailhot developed a "universal" Innu orthography, a project which entailed consulting Innu communities across Quebec (Laflèche 2019: 8–10). In 1977, she published with Kateri Lescop *Lexique montagnais-français du dialecte de Shefferville, Sept-Îles et Meliotenam*. She co-directed the standardized Innu dictionary with Marguerite MacKenzie at Memorial University, between 2004 and 2012, working with several Innu consultants and linguists and incorporating previously established dictionaries (see Lynn Drapeau 1999). The result was a bilingual French-Innu dictionary, published in 2012, followed by an Innu-English volume in 2013, and a trilingual Innu-French-English version in two volumes (Laflèche 2019: 15). Digital and print versions of the dictionaries are available on the trilingual Innu-aimun web site hosted by the Institut Tshakapesh, Carleton University and Memorial University: https://www.innu-aimun.ca/francais/dictionnaires/.

All of the versions were then translated into French by Madeleine Lefebvre. The seven versions, considered all equally "authentic and valid," are accompanied by a commentary at the end, with lexical precisions and diagrams (ibid. 11). Potential problems arising in the transcription of certain Innu terms are noted, as are certain inconsistencies, due, in part, to the transcribers' varied approaches and certain "unresolved phonological issues" (ibid. 14).

Beyond the sheer complexity of the collective recording, transcribing and translating process itself, the transition from oral to written form poses its own unique challenges, as observed by Rémi Savard, who uses a number of images to try to describe the specificity of oral storytelling:

> Transported into the world of writing, an oral tale risks having a more-or-less autonomous status attributed to it, retaining little, in the end, of its context of origin. […] A tale is like a multifaceted prism, with each beam of light diverted from its point of origin and cast into other analogous prisms. And it seems that the beams themselves have created the prism, rather than only being refracted through it. […] This art form evokes another visual image, that of the kaleidoscope, [which the narrator] is free to rotate to a greater or lesser degree. […] To use yet another visual image, one could say that the plot in oral tradition is like the string linking the beads of a necklace. The piece is not read according to the order in which the different coloured beads are thread, but in response to the overall chromatic effect […], which requires taking into consideration the tonality of the beads patiently thread one by one, as well as the arrangement of the whole piece and its placement around the neck of the person wearing it. (Savard 1976: 58–59)[207]

The transcription of the oral tale, he argues, should avoid any attempt to summarize. Its understanding depends on details that researchers might be inclined to ignore or force into linear narrative conventions.[208] When the transcription is accompanied by a translation, one has to be even more prudent:

> The transcribed tale can be situated in the context of the broader narrative, that is, in relation to its more-or less-distant variations. Each of these should be transcribed and translated according to the same criteria and precision. Those who have attempted this type of analysis know that the very limits of a story can be difficult to define. The only stable unit is the concrete oral performance of the storyteller. (ibid. 60)

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[207] The journal *Translation Studies* published a special issue on orality and translation in 2015. As the issue's editor, Paul F. Bandia, writes, "The relationship between orality and translation is intimate and intricate. The very act of speaking, which sets humans apart from other living species, involves the translating of thought into audible words or speech. The survival of such thought is made possible through oral transmission, recording or writing, which are all interfaces that depend on an act of translation across language or various communication media" (2015: 125).

[208] These issues have also been addressed by oral historians, like Alessandro Portelli, who writes: "Expecting the transcript to replace the tape for scientific purposes is equivalent to doing art criticism on reproductions, or literary criticism on translations. The most literal translation is hardly ever the best, and a truly faithful translation always implies a certain amount of invention. The same may be true for transcription of oral sources" (1979: 33–34).

The relationship between oral history and oral tradition is also extremely complex. Insights can be gained from looking at how different Indigenous Peoples engage in storytelling. Reflecting on her work recording stories among Athapaskan and Tlingit elders in Yukon in the 1970s, Julie Cruikshank describes how her questions about the gold rush or the building of the Alaska Highway, for example, were met with long lists of place names, complex genealogies and hundreds of traditional stories and songs (1990: 2), which led her to re-envision her research project: "Under [the tutelage of the elders] my interests have shifted away from an oral history committed to documenting changes in social reality and toward an investigation of narrative forms for talking about remembering, and interpreting everyday life" (ibid. x). She later remarked that "Indigenous people who grow up immersed in oral tradition frequently suggest that their narratives are better understood by absorbing the successive personal messages revealed to listeners in repeated tellings than by trying to analyse and publicly explain their meanings" (Cruikshank 1994: 403). She cautions against trying to fit oral tradition, which can be viewed as "a coherent, open-ended system for constructing and transmitting knowledge," into a Western conception of the past (ibid. 408):

> All societies have characteristic narrative structures that help members construct, remember, and process knowledge. We tend to try to make unfamiliar stories comprehensible by interpreting them with reference to our own narrative structures [i.e. by translating them], however, whenever indigenous narratives seem simple to interpret, we should suspect that we probably do not understand them. (ibid. 416)

Cruikshank notes that the terms "oral history" and "oral tradition" remain ambiguous because their definitions shift in popular usage. Oral tradition may refer to a body of *material* retained from the past or a *process* by which information is transmitted from one generation to the next. The term "oral history" is sometimes applied more specifically to the research methods involved in recording interviews about first-hand experience (ibid. 404). In his 2019 book *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective*, Māori historian Nēpia Mahuika maintains that Indigenous Peoples have their own ways of thinking about, practicing, and defining oral history (2019: 1). He argues that Indigenous Peoples often think about oral tradition as very much overlapping and not separate from oral history at all (ibid. 14). Though they remain distinct, in his view, he proposes that Indigenous oral history has to take into account how distinctions between history and tradition have been shaped by the colonizing experience, which

has often reduced Indigenous knowledge to the realm of "prehistory" thus "removing from native people the power to assert their own oral accounts as legitimate histories" (ibid. 17).

The Quebec scholars mentioned above seem to have been sensitive to these issues in their attempts to understand different forms of Indigenous oral storytelling. In distinguishing between oral history and oral tradition, Sylvie Vincent draws on Jan Vansina's (1961) definition of oral tradition as based on the transmission of messages through speech passed down over generations, that is to say, beyond the lifetime of the storyteller. Vincent defines oral history as "the result of the work of a historian who uses oral testimonies to document events that are not or have not been sufficiently documented by written sources" often involving autobiographical memories (2013: 76). As an example, she cites Joséphine Bacon's 1997 film on Johan Beetz, which was based on stories that Bacon collected from residents of Baie-Johan-Beetz and neighbouring Innu communities, among individuals who had known or encountered him in their childhoods. Vincent maintains that, though these types of testimonies are oral, they are not part of oral tradition, which is a much broader category encompassing different types of "texts," including historical accounts, but also origin stories, tales, proverbs, chants, rhymes, phrases, and so on (ibid. 77). The Innu, for example, still tell the story of the hero Tshakapesh that the Jesuit Le Jeune heard in the 17th century and which he recounted in his *Relation* of 1637 (ibid. 85). While oral tradition also evolves and is transformed in the storytellers' imaginations, in the Innu culture, there are rules ensuring the reliability of the stories. First, storytellers usually provide their sources, indicating who told them the story, and who the latter based their story on. If there is doubt about the origins of a text, people do not hesitate to point this out. Second, historical types of narratives in oral tradition are collective stories, shared by several families and communities. When recounted in the presence of elders, the latter support the storyteller while also verifying whether the version corresponds to the stories as they know them. Third, storytellers must respect the linguistic rules used for reporting the facts. In her examination of the "stylistic and grammatical stategies" at work in the recitation of *tipatshimun*, Drapeau (1984: 24, 35) concludes that it corresponds to a "process of archiving information," which identifies the source of the information as well as the path it takes up to the present speaker (Vincent ibid.).

For Vincent, the distinction between oral history and oral tradition is essential, because the message of oral tradition is not the expression of a personal experience or point of view, but the result of a collective, shared knowledge about the past that is inherited from previous

generations (ibid. 78). This distinction is reflected in the precautions taken among the Innu with whom she worked. When storytellers recount events, they distinguish between those they have witnessed themselves and those recounted to them by their elders. Among the Innu, there are two distinct categories of stories: the *atanukan* and the *tipatshimun*. Rémi Savard, who analyzed several Innu *atanukan*, compared them to canonical texts like the *Epic of Gilgamesh* or the *Old Testament*, which have the purpose of juxtaposing two orders of reality: the rules contributing to the reproduction of society, on the one hand, and the totality of the cosmos, on the other (Savard 2004: 22). In contrast to *atanukan*, which are still considered true, the *tipatshimun* relate events that the Innu people have witnessed themselves. *Tipatshimu* can be translated as "s/he is recounting a true story, s/he is reporting news" (Mailhot and Vincent 1980: 116–118) or "s/he is recounting a lived experience, a fact, news" (Drapeau 1999: 676). According to José Mailhot, the root "tip" indicates that it expresses the idea of coincidence, of correspondence, and the verb form *tipatshimu* can be translated as "s/he tells in conformity with" (Vincent 2013: 79). Vincent concludes by noting that while the *atanukan* and *tipatshimun* have been considered two very distinct genres, many scholars have come to understand them more as a continuum: "While certain stories are clearly *atanukan* and others clearly *tipatshimun*, there are some that are more difficult to categorize. The storytellers themselves sometimes find it difficult to do so" (ibid.).

Sylvie Vincent and Joséphine Bacon elaborate elsewhere on this distinction. *Atanukan* are stories generally considered to be very ancient, though some say it is still possible to create *atanukan* today. Most often they portray heroic characters involved in the creation of the world (Tshakapesh, Kuekuastheu, etc.). *Tipatshimun* can also be subdivided into *tshiashi-tipatshimun*, simple *tipatshimun* and *ussi-tipatshimun*. The *ussi-tipatshimun* derive from oral history (as distinct from oral tradition) in the sense that they report events or phenomena that have been lived or seen by the storytellers themselves (autobiographical aspects or events that took place over the course of the life of the teller, hunting stories, yearly itineraries, women's work in the hinterland, etc.). But they are not considered historical accounts based on oral tradition, either because the events are too recent or because they lack the collective dimension found in the other *tipatshimun* and *atanukan* (Vincent and Bacon 2000a: 5).

It is most often the bearers of oral tradition (usually elders recognized in their communities as storytellers or specialists on a certain subject) who are sought out to collect stories on the past. The stories are recorded in the language of the storyteller and then translated.

While access to recording technologies and the presence of competent translators have facilitated the work of ethnologists, Sylvie Vincent emphasizes that translation requires not only extensive knowledge of the source language and of its ancient forms and specific variations, but also knowledge of the oral tradition as a whole and the cultural elements referred to in each story (2013: 85). It is thus important for publications based on oral tradition to trace the story's trajectory, from the original recitation in the Indigenous language to its rendering in French, English or any other language, including the name of the storyteller, the specific community, the date it was recorded, the name of the translator, the existence or not of a transcript in the original language, and so on.

This brief detour through the complexities of oral history and oral tradition forms the backdrop against which I arrived at the following question: to what extent is the nature of the storytelling experience and its outcome (the transmission of oral history or oral tradition) affected by who is on the receiving end of the story, particularly when the receiver, as in Joséphine Bacon's case, assumes the role of both researcher (documenting history) and inheritor (reclaiming history) of her own cultural memory and traditions? We propose that, in her multiple roles, Bacon's participation in the collection, transcription and translation of oral stories constitutes an act of interlingual and intercultural mediation but also one of self-translation, insofar as, through her reclaiming of these stories, she becomes the memory bearer of her own collective oral tradition.[209]

Collaboration and (Self) Translation

Joséphine Bacon recounts that she started translating after meeting Rémi Savard, José Mailhot and Sylvie Vincent. Rémi was recording elders in Pakut-shipu then in Unaman-shipu, José was

[209] This dual role of researcher/memory bearer, and its impact on the oral interview process, comes to the fore in a number of interviews conducted as part of the Montreal Life Stories project, a collaborative research initiative investigating the life stories of Montrealers displaced by war, genocide and mass violence, led by Steven High at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling at Concordia University. Working in close collaboration with Montreal's Rwandan, Haitian, Cambodian and Jewish communities, the research group included 305 affiliated faculty, student and community members, many of whom were themselves survivors of mass violence. Their children and in some cases grandchildren became actively involved in the research and memory-making process: "Intergenerational dialogue emerged as part of the wider effort at community and family recomposition and regeneration […] Given the project's community-university partnership, it was hardly surprising that so many team members responded in such an intensely personal way to the research. For many, this was about *their* past, present, and future" (High 2014: 126).

working mostly with the Innu from Labrador and Schefferville, and Sylvie was working mostly with the Innu from Nutashkuan:

> When the anthropologists were conducting research, they brought many cassettes back with them to Montreal. They had recorded the Innu, of course, and especially the elders. So, they couldn't understand what they had recorded. I met José Mailhot, who asked me to begin working on the recordings that the three anthropologists had brought back with them to Montreal. That's how I began. (Bacon 2018b: 3)

Bacon recalls that the first myth that she transcribed and translated was "the one about the summer birds," and that she translated it in the specific versions of the different communities: Unamen Shipu, Nutashkuan, Ekuanitshit and Pessamit (Durand 2019: 105).[210] She soon began accompanying Sylvie Vincent collecting interviews in Innu communities of the North Shore. In addition to transcribing and translating, she was thus often present in the early stages of the research, participating and serving as an interpreter during the interviews. Vincent and Bacon's collaborations resulted in several reports and publications. Their 1978 manuscript *Récits de la terre montagnaise* is a collection of stories recounted by Pierre Courtois, Michel Grégoire, Barthélémy Ispatau, Pierre-Zacharie Mestukushu, Pierre Tobie, Christine Uapistan, Joseph Uapistan, edited by Sylvie Vincent, and transcribed and translated by Bacon. The texts in the first chapter mostly focus on Tshistashkamuk, a mythic land recounted in the *atanukan*. Four versions of the myth are included because each contributes information not found in the others. According to Michel Grégoire, they are related to the origin myths of the "shaking tent" (Vincent and Bacon 1978: 13). Vincent writes:

> The Innu territories described in these pages cannot be precisely delineated. It is an immense territory traversed by generations of hunters between the shores and Gulf of the St. Lawrence and the north of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula. I have tried to understand it in the way it is lived in Innu culture, rather than on a map. […] After months of translation of texts and several stays in Natashquan, after hours spent questioning competent people in the community, it is evident that the ideal was not reached, and the number of questions only increased along the way. The texts provided here nonetheless offer a first collection of information. They are complemented by explanations that were provided to me over the course of the recordings. (ibid. 1)

[210] She would later recite this Innu legend *Auass ka nakatakanit* in French as *Les oiseaux d'été* at the first Innuacadie Stories and Legends Festival held in Natashquan-Nutashkuan in 2006. A video of Bacon's recitation of the story "The Summer Birds" (23:05 min.) in French, along with a transcript translated into English, is available on the web site *Nametau Innu: Memory and Knowledge of Nitassinan* (http://www.nametauinnu.ca). Versions of the myth were published by Savard (1973, 2004). Bacon participated in a weekly seminar devoted to discussion of the legend starting in the spring of 1972 (Duchesne and Crépeau 2020: 174).

Most of the stories of the Innu lands, the peoples who inhabited and traversed it, Atshen, Mistapeu and the "shaking tent" were recounted by Michel Gregoire, an elder born in 1895, who spent his life hunting and trapping in Mingan, Northwest River, Saint-Augustin, La Romaine and Natashquan and was known in his community as a storyteller and keeper of oral tradition. The stories were collected over many conversations in 1971, 1972, 1974, 1975 and 1976, with the help of Grégoire's grand-daughter, Marie-Rose Malec, serving as "an interpreter, friend and enthusiastic teacher," Caroline Boudreault in 1971, and Joséphine Bacon in 1975 and 1976 (ibid.).

Atanutshe, nimushum : récits racontés et recueillis par les Montagnais de Natashquan (1979) is a collection of stories that was published in three versions, one in Innu, one in French, and one as a bilingual Innu-French edition. The cover lists Pipin Bacon (Joséphine's Innu name) and Sylvie Vincent as editors. As Vincent describes in her introduction, the Innu population of Natashquan acquired a collection of audio recordings of stories and songs that was submitted to the local school and made accessible to the community in 1976. An initiative of young women of Natashquan who wanted to record their fathers and grandfathers, the project was presented by Bacon and Vincent to the Conseil-Attikamek-Montagnais and received support from the Secrétariat d'État. Four individuals from Natashquan, Nancy (Mare-Rose) Malec, Agnès Uapistan, Christine Uapistan and Jacques Bellefleur worked throughout the summer with elders in the village, asking them what they considered important to pass on to their grandchildren. The stories recount their lives as nomads in the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula, the myths of Carcajou, Tshakapesh and other classics of Innu culture, and events that marked the lives of preceding generations. Some storytellers included all of these elements in their stories, while others sung hunting or church songs, sometimes accompanied by drums (ibid. 9).

The collection includes around 200 hours of recordings, 18 of which were transcribed and translated for the publication. The latter is thus not representative of the whole collection but varied enough to give an idea of what it contains: *atanukan* that portray characters of mythical times when humans and animals were not yet differentiated, *tipatshimun* recounting the life of the elders, and stories recounting more recent events (ibid. 10). Some of these stories were transcribed by the individuals who recorded them, but most were transcribed by Joséphine (Pipin) Bacon who also revised all the other transcriptions. Bacon was aided by the project's participants but also by Marie-Agathe Mestanapeu, who was able to help her with older

expressions, difficult words and the particular Natashquan accent. Bacon then translated them into French, returning, as needed, to verify details with the elders, who "sometimes addressed themselves directly and very personally to the individual recording them, adding their own comments or ensuring that the listener was fully understanding" (ibid. 10).

An article published by Vincent in 1991 examines conceptions between past and present as represented in Innu oral tradition, in this case, *tipatshimun*. The text is based on a series of interviews with 19 people collected in 1988 in the Innu villages of Saint-Augustin and La Romaine, with the help of Bacon acting as research assistant and the presence of two other interpreters: Agnès Mestenapeo and Thérèse-Adélaïde Bellefleur. The recordings obtained (around 65 hours) were translated by Bacon, along with Marie-Jeanne Basile, Adèle Bellefleur, Thérèse-Adélaïde Bellefleur, Caroline Malec and Pierrette Saint-Onge (Vincent 1991: 126). The collection of stories reveals the extent to which Innu discourse on the past is not static:

> It draws from an immense reservoir of oral tradition which gives meaning to the changing present. It is applied to current problems, shedding light on and interpreting them through the lens of the past, as is the case with all historical discourse. As Savard observed for the *atanukan*, the same applies for the *tipatshimun*: Innu stories cannot be reduced to "a simple survivance of epochs preceding colonialism" (1985: 69). Insofar as they contain a condensed form of the experience, knowledge, convictions and values of Innu culture, these stories constitute not only collective *lieux de mémoire*, but also unique Innu tools for reflecting on the present. (ibid. 141)

A 2000 report presented to the cultural heritage minister (Parks Canada), *Les récits de type historique dans la tradition orale des innus de Mingan et de Natashquan*, documents "the way in which the Innu recount their past" and "the content of historical accounts and the historiographical context in which they are inscribed" (Vincent and Bacon 2000a: n.p.). The historical narratives, based entirely on oral tradition, were collected in Natashquan between 1971 and 1976, and in Mingan in 1990 by Vincent and Bacon. The report covers themes, events, important figures and peoples, and privileged sites of Innu history, as well as details on how the Innu related to outsiders, from the Matshinnus, Mi'kmaq and Inuit, to the Uapanatsheus, Cree, Europeans, Acadians and other Canadians (ibid.). The research formed part of a federal Parks Canada mandate focused on commemorating the history of the First Nations and Inuit Peoples. The interviews were conducted with the aim of providing avenues of reflection to relevant organizations (Band councils, cultural institutions, etc.) on Innu history and examining the possibility of commemorating certain elements (ibid. 2). Many of the stories collected from the

1970s on have not been published in any form. The report includes some of the material from recordings done in Natashquan and Mingan in order to provide an overview of the role of historical narratives in oral tradition. Three types of sources were considered. The first includes the above-mentioned audio recordings consisting of around 100 cassettes held by the school and the community radio of Natashquan (ibid. 3). The second includes stories that were not yet translated or analyzed, notably recordings made in Mingan in 1990 within the framework of a project on the concept of history in Innu culture financed by the SSHRC. The third is based on stories collected and translated between 1971 and 1976, some of which were included in reports (Vincent and Bacon 1976, 1978) or in the 1979 Innu, French and bilingual publications mentioned above (ibid. 4). The report focuses on historical *tipatshimun*, stories that recount events that the tellers have not participated in themselves but which they have learned of from Innu of previous generations (ibid. 5–6). These stories are part of oral tradition, as the table below included in the report attempts to clarify:

<table>
<tr><th>Innu Classification</th><th>Western Classification</th></tr>
<tr><td>Atanukan</td><td rowspan="2">Oral Tradition</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Tipatshimun

- Tshiashi-tipatshimun
- Tipatshimun
- Ussi-tipatshimun</td></tr>
<tr><td>Oral History</td></tr>
</table>

Among these, the *tshiashi-tipatshimun* are the oldest, because they recount events that took place in the era of the tellers' great-grandparents or previous generations, while the simple *tipatshimun* recount more recent events (the parents or grandparents of the storyteller), and the *ussi-tipatshimun* correspond more to oral history based on the storytellers' personal accounts of more recent events (ibid.).

Vincent and Bacon's 2003 publication *Le récit de Uepishtikueiau: l'arrivée des Français à Québec selon la tradition orale innue* also falls within the category of historical *tipatshimun*. It recounts the arrival of the first French settlers at the site of Quebec City (*Uepishtikueiau*) according to Innu oral tradition. It was published, in part, to commemorate the 400th anniversary

of Samuel de Champlain's alliance in 1603 with the Innu Chief Anadabijou near Tadoussac. The Innu version of events is different from the official history. For the Innu, this history has been transmitted through oral tradition, which does preclude also making use of established sources. Since the time of the events, they have been passed on by storytellers from generation to generation, careful to trace the lineage of storytellers (Fournier 2005: 102). It is based on interviews conducted between 1971 and 1999, from Pessamit to Pakua-shipit (Vincent and Bacon 2003: ii).[211] Vincent describes the history as follows:

> Given their geographic location, [the Innu] were among the first to enter into contact with the Europeans, who, from the 16th and throughout the 17th centuries explored the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River and made their way upstream to the future site of Quebec City. The arrival of the French on Innu land is recounted in oral tradition in a story that can be described as foundational, given that it explains many aspects of the current situation, in particular, the relations between the Innu and the francophones of Quebec. This is the story presented here. It is not a myth, a tale or a legend, but a historical account. It contains the Innu version of events of a past that is not so long ago, events that have also been related, though in another way, in the Euro-Québécois history based on 17th-century writings. Since the time they were first recounted, from generation to generation among the Innu, each storyteller made sure to adhere to what his or her predecessor recounted. (ibid. iv).[212]

The above examples are not exhaustive but provide a glimpse into some of the work that Vincent and Bacon undertook together over several years. It is worth noting that all of their projects involved many other participants and collaborators, from the elders and storytellers themselves, to their family members and other Innu community members, linguists, interpreters, transcribers and translators, whose contributions and knowledge, particularly of local dialects and variations on oral tradition, were indispensable.

[211] Vincent notes here that while Joséphine Bacon assumed the role of assistant, interpreter and translator of the collected stories and recordings, she was not involved in the selection of passages for this particular publication (Vincent and Bacon 2003: ii).

[212] See also Chrétien, Delâge and Vincent (2009). According to Vincent, "the only stories relating the first encounters between Indigenous Peoples and the French in the region of the current city of Quebec, and which can be traced to the beginning of the 17th century, come from Innu oral tradition. Elements of this tradition were collected in the communities of Pessamit, Mani-Utenam, Nutaskuan and Unaman-shipit. […] After spending the main part of the year in the interior of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula the Innu, it is said, descended the river in the spring, down to the North Shore and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Among the different areas where they gathered was a place named Uepishtikueiau, meaning 'where the river narrows.' This became the site for the city the French would call Quebec" (2009: 52–53).

In a talk given at Concordia University in 2016, Joséphine Bacon reflected on her journey and translation work, and shared stories of her experience as a translator.[213] As noted above, she began translating when she started working with Savard, Mailhot and Vincent. Her first translations were done from audio recordings that the researchers had brought back with them to Montreal. So, at this point, she had not yet returned to the Innu communities and was not familiar with the language variations and details of stories based on oral tradition. The initial linguistic challenges that she faced were not just related to different Innu dialects but also to differences between ancient and more recent forms of Innu-aimun:

> I realized that with the Innu I was translating, I didn't completely understand them, because, since I was at the residential school from 5 to 19 years old, I had not experienced nomadism. So, all of that language, I had not learned it, because I had not lived as a nomad on the land. So I had to relearn everything. I spoke Innu-aimun, of course, but I spoke a sedentary Innu-aimun. (Bacon 2018b: 3–4).

Through the process of translating, she began learning an older, nomadic Innu-aimun by consulting with other Innu speakers familiar with the dialects and older language:

> This is also how I was able to finally recuperate everything: the Innu-aimun of the interior, of the forest. […] When I was translating, I had to make a lot of phone calls to understand what this or that word meant. Gradually, I made notebooks so I wouldn't forget the meaning of a word, so when I saw or heard it again, I would know what it meant. Because there was no talk at all of school, or of knowing to read or write. It spoke of knowing how to use your legs. That's what it spoke of. For the Innu, or at least for the nomads, this was of primary importance: to not lose one's legs, and to always have an elder with you when heading inland. Going with elders, with a grandfather, a grandmother, this was important, because they were our library, they were our teachers, they were the ones who transmitted the *atanukan*, the ancient myths and stories. (ibid. 4)

In collecting oral stories from elders, she was able to learn more about her heritage and situate her knowledge of Innu-aimun in the context of oral tradition, participating directly, on the receiving end, in a process of oral transmission. In a 2019 interview, Bacon says, that while many others had suffered greatly in the school system, she was lucky to get through it in relative peace and quiet. The awareness of who she was and where she came from emerged slowly and came much later: "It took me a long time to understand what I was missing. […] There are many things I didn't know about myself because I was at the residential school. I was not taught what

[213] Organized by the research working group "Traduire les humanités," directed by Karim Chagnon and Pier-Pascale Boulanger, the talk was transcribed by René Lemieux and Simon Labreque into French, with French revision by Kathryn Henderson and Innu-aimun revision by Yvette Mollen. The English translations here are mine.

we should have been taught" (cited in Durand 2019: 106). Of her interviews and recordings of elders, she says: "I lived in the vocabulary of the sedentarized, not in that of the nomads" (ibid.). Through oral transmission, she had the opportunity to ask them to explain words that escaped her about life in the tents, the forest and the tundra, summers and winters, lakeshores, rivers and mountains, walking, paddling, hunting. "I would have had so many other questions to ask them," she says (ibid.)

She elaborates on how the Innu language had been affected by the transition from nomadism to sendentarism, creating a rupture between the elders and younger generations, who don't always understand each other, as though they were speaking two different languages. The vocabulary, she notes, is different from that of today:

> When you live on the territory, you speak the language of lakes, rivers, lichen, moss, mountains. When you are a nomad, it is not the same vocabulary as when you are sedentary, because the environment is not the same […] When you live on the reserve, it is another Innu-aimun. You don't speak of rivers or lakes or mountains anymore; you speak of your fridge that's maybe broken or your washing machine… then, more and more, there's the Internet and television… So the language has changed a lot and we also hear French a lot too, whereas, during nomadic times, this was a language one never heard spoken. (Bacon 2018b: 1)

The language also changed, she says, because the Innu were not settled on the coast. They spent time there only from the end of June to the end of August, to allow the inland spirits time to rest. The elders did not recount *atanukan* or myths during the summer. This is reflected in the different vocabularies:

> When you walked in the tundra […] each verb spoke of the environment and what you were doing, a verb could describe it almost as a story. For example, the verb "to walk," depending on the way you are walking, there are perhaps a dozen words to choose from. It would not be just *pimuteu*, for the verb "to walk." It would depend on whether you were walking with a limp, walking with a cane, walking while portaging. So, the verb "to walk" can be said in many ways. Whereas when you are on a reserve and you are sedentary, you simply walk. (ibid. 2)

She emphasizes, again, how the older language was grounded in the nomadic lifestyle and connection to the land:

> Among us, we are Innu, meaning "human," but to refer to ourselves, we knew ourselves mainly through the rivers that we used to reach our hunting grounds. So, me, I'm a *Pessamiunnu*: in my family, they probably used the Pessamit River to reach the interior. *Nutashkuaniunnu*, is the human of the Nutashkuan River, *Pakut-shipiunnu*, the human of

> the Pakut-shipu River, the Pakut River or the Saint-Augustin River. That's how we differentiated them. (ibid. 4–5)

She goes on to explain how new terms have been adopted within the Innu language that were not used by her ancestors. She refers to use of the term *nitassinan*, which she sees as being more related to politics or a political concept of the land than a direct connection to it, as in the older usage:

> We hear this word often, *nitassinan*. This means "our land." But it means "our land of mine, of theirs, but without you." […] It is a political word, because it became popular when the Innu started protesting and negotiating. Otherwise, we would not say *nitassinan*, except to speak of politics. The possessive form in Innu-aimun is usually about your body—it's my arm, my hand, my heart, my legs… That's how we used the possessive. Our children, my father, my mother, family relations. But it was never "it's my hunt," "it's my river," "it's my lake," "it's my mountain." This type of possesive did not exist, because the land belonged to no one. […] So we didn't have this *nitassinan*. The possessive "our land" was something we never used. (ibid. 5)[214]

In her work as a translator, Bacon was thus able to gradually recuperate older knowledge through the particular forms of language that shaped this knowledge in the words of her elders. Though it may not be possible to literally return to nomadism through language, she says, the Innu-aimun of the interior can nonetheless be understood, because it can be translated: "There is nothing that is untranslatable. All terms are translatable" (ibid. 7):

> For example, there's *nimitinikanishauen*, a very, very ancient word. [It means]: "I place your shoulder blade in the burning embers." It is more poetic to say it like this, but there is a word in French "faire de la scapulomancie" [scapulimancy, a practice of divination using the scapula or shoulder blade]. When I used this word in my poems, I just wanted people see the gesture in *nimitinikanishauen*. […] All of this, *nimitinikanishauen*, is to say "lay the shoulder blade in the burning embers, but don't let it crack," and this is a single word in Innu-aimun. I write it in French so people can understand a bit what I am writing in my own language. It is not a translation for a translation. It is a *feeling,* with words that sound right in French but which translate a little what I am saying in my language. (ibid. 6)

The stories recounted by elders that she interpreted, transcribed and translated have been the main source of inspiration for her poetry. "They [the elders] are the ones who taught me everything," she says. "It was like an oral transmission, in the end. When I arrived in the Tundra, all the hunters' and elders' stories came back to me. This is what made it possible for me to write

[214] In Innu-aimun, the first-person plural can take an inclusive form (which includes the person one is addressing) or an exclusive form (which excludes the person one is addressing).

this kind of poetry" (cited in Blais 2015: par. 8). In her first published poetry collection *Bâtons à message*. *Tshissinuatshitakana* (2009), the Innu language she uses is from the time of nomadism. "When I write Innu-aimun," she says, "I use many words from the interior lands. This is how I started translating with the anthropologists" (Bacon 2018b. 4). "That is why when I write my poems, my inspiration is from the elders I have translated and recorded." […] "That's how I was able to re-appropriate this language, this language of the land" (ibid. 6). A trip to the Tundra near George River was the inspiration for her second poetry collection *Un thé dans la toundra. Nipishapui nete mushuat* (2013). In her prologue, Bacon writes:

> When I saw the tundra for the first time, I was at Schefferville, the guest of a great caribou hunter, Ishkuateu-Shushep, and his wife Maïna. It was the autumn of 1995. The occasion was the first gathering of the elders of all the Innu communities. As soon as I arrived, we went to the campsite. The tents had been set up since the previous day, the hearths installed, the fires lit. That reminded Ishkuateu-Shushep of the great spring gatherings, when the different clans arrived from their hunting grounds, to go down together towards the coast. His eyes shining, Ishkuateu-Shushep was reliving that happy time. It was being reborn. He shook the hands of all the elders. The next day we went off to hunt the caribou. We passed through the green forest. Ishkuateu-Shushep pointed out to me the caribou antlers secured to the tops of the spruce trees. We stopped so I could have a good look. "Do you know why the Innu do that?" "Yes, so the caribou will come back." "Yes, but also to show our respect for the Master of the Caribou, Atiku-napeu, or Papakassik[u]." I was left speechless by this reverence on the part of the old hunters. I was seeing with my own eyes the evidence of this ritual I'd heard so much about in the accounts. It was magical. (2013: 3–4)

Her most recent poetry collection *Uiesh. Quelque part* (2018a) also foregrounds her connection to place, and, as in *Un thé dans la toundra*, oscillates between the city and the Tundra while also evoking more ephemeral spaces "somewhere" else, as the collection's title suggests. In her prologue to this recent work, she writes:

> Today, I am somewhere in my life. I belong to the race of elders. I want to be a poet of oral tradition, to speak like the Ancients, the real nomads. I have not walked Nutshimit, the land. They recounted it too me. I listened to my origins. They baptized me in water, in pure lakes. One by one, they are leaving us, taking with them the words of the tundra, the rivers' currents, the calm of the lakes. I feel like the inheritor of their words, their stories, their nomadism. Like them, I walked the tundra, I honoured the caribou. Somewhere a rock on a big rock signals my presence. (Bacon 2018a: 5)

As Julie Cruikshank observes, while Westerns traditions tend to view place simply as a location, a setting or stage where people do things, Indigenous traditions map events along the mountains, trails, and rivers connecting territories: "oral tradition anchors history to place, but it also

challenges our notion of what place actually is" (1994: 413). She notes that attempts to codify oral tradition, by treating oral accounts as equivalent to written documents, can erase this connection to context and place (ibid. 414). Bacon's re-interpretation of oral tradition through poetry captures the image- and place-based nature of oral storytelling in a way that analysis and explanation cannot. The connection to the land brought to life in her poetry is rendered in a language that evolved in close proximity to this land, is embedded in the Innu-aimun words themselves. Bacon then translates or rewrites this in French in a way that seeks to recreate the movement, the image, "the feeling," as she describes it (in English), rather than producing something like a linguistic equivalent. By transmitting the language of the elders in her poetry, Bacon re-actualizes these concepts in a contemporary form (St-Gelais 2021: 70). In so doing, she inscribes her work in a relation of filiation that makes it possible for subsequent generations to have access to traditional knowledge in their Innu language, revealing to them, in turn, the "language of the land" (ibid.).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION against the backdrop of ethnographic representation and translation in Canada and Quebec. As we have seen, the latter constitutes a long history over 400 years of attempted assimilation and misrepresentation. TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION means taking back the narrative, demanding rhetorical sovereignty and redefining the terms. This does not imply returning to a stagnant past. On the contrary, it entails restoring a living connection between the past and a perpetually unfolding present. Indigenous Peoples in Canada and Quebec have continually resisted the assimilation and erasure of their languages and cultures, and this is powerfully conveyed in their literatures and traditions, both ancient and contemporary, oral and written. Bernard Assiniwi's and Joséphine Bacon's trajectories and works reveal different facets of this creative and conflicted process, as we have attempted to show here. Both authors reclaim Indigenous cultural memory in different ways by re-appropriating oral history and oral tradition and reinscribing these in works that "break open" dominant narratives, providing pathways to Indigenous reclamation for future generations.

The relationships between oral history, oral tradition, writing and translation are complex. As Aude Maltais-Landry observes, oral history calls for rethinking one's relation to sources, because these are created by the historian and the narrator during an encounter that allows the

story to form into a coherent narrative. Historian and narrator both become owners of the story in a relation of "shared authority" (2015: 20).[215] Though oral tradition is distinct from oral history in that it already has a coherence before the researcher comes along to collect the story, there is nonetheless a similar dynamic at work in the relationship between the teller and receiver of the story, especially, as in Joséphine Bacon's case, when the person participating in the research is listening to, transcribing and translating the stories of her own people's tradition. With respect to oral tradition, the concept of shared authority applies more to the shared, collective aspect of stories passed down over generations. Oral tradition has its own authority, regardless of any writings or publications that may be produced in response to it.

With his rhetoric of survivance, Bernard Assiniwi assumes different roles, incorporating oral stories and personal anecdotes into official histories, sometimes reversing roles in a way that positions the non-Indigenous reader as the other. As a translator and inheritor of Innu cultural memory, Joséphine Bacon participates in parallel forms of transmission, one serving the research project as such and the other providing direct access to the authentic sources of her own oral tradition. In translating, she contributes to making certain aspects of Innu history and culture accessible to a broader readership while also reclaiming the words and stories of the elders as her own, in a traditional context of oral storytelling. Like Bernard Assiniwi's rhetorical reframing of history, Joséphine Bacon's translations go beyond mediation between languages and cultures to encompass multifaceted memory processes, where different storylines, origins and endings overlap and co-exist. These juxtapositions can serve to subvert dominant narratives, but they can also inform one another when the work of collaboration is undertaken in good faith. Like the oral stories themselves, Assiniwi's and Bacon's "translations" are like prisms through which different perspectives are refracted. These may converge or diverge depending on the moment in time or angle of observation.

[215] On the concept of "shared authority" in oral history, see Michael Frisch (1990).

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Translating Cultural Memory in Quebec

Focusing on intersections of national, migrant and Indigenous memory in Quebec, this thesis set out to elucidate the role that translation plays in the construction and circulation of cultural memory across languages, cultures and affiliations. Cultural memory emerges at the intersection of subjective experience and objectively shared external forms, *lieux de mémoire* that are constituted through their recreation and re-iteration, form the basis for a group's "structure of knowledge," and allow the group to reproduce its identity over time (Assmann 1995). Meanings and memories enter and circulate within the public arena and become collective through mediation and translation—across languages, cultures, media and time. These contact zones of translation can give rise to translational cultures that are characterized by a saturation of translation from within (Simon 1996). This is nowhere more evident than in Quebec, where memory and identity are both fragilized and valorized, heterolingualism permeates its diverse languages and literatures, and converging and diverging memories collide and transform each other in unique ways. Through the analysis of different facets of memory and translation—TRANSLATION AS REWRITING, TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY, and TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION—this thesis demonstrates how the *survivance* of meanings, memories and identities is often assured by the very act of their transformation.

Though there is considerable overlap between the above three angles of analysis, I have attempted in each chapter to home in on the specific features of each and illustrate these, first with reference to broader historical examples and then by examining, in more detail, key works and sites of cultural production within the Quebec context. Taking Borges' tale of Pierre Menard as a starting point to show how all writing involves rewriting, chapter three focused on TRANSLATION AS REWRITING. This type of translation foregrounds the idea of a return to and renewal of sources, through a kind of autopoietic process, whereby, like Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* and Walter Benjamin's afterlife, the sites of memory and translation are reconstituted through their continual rewritings. Chapter four, TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY, emphasized the "transfer" aspect of cultural memory as well as its travels and transgressions within and across different identitary and temporal categories. Against the backdrop of

ethnographic representation and translation in Canada and Quebec, chapter five, TRANSLATION AS RECLAMATION, examined how Indigenous writers reclaim cultural memory by intervening in official discourses and restoring their connection to oral traditions and sources.

A number of key concepts have shaped my theoretical approach. Drawing primarily on translation studies and memory studies research, this thesis proposes an original way of bringing these two disciplines into dialogue. Cultural memory is shaped both by social (Halbwachs 1925) and medial (Erll and Rigney 2012) frameworks, as well as by material and non-material forms that endure over generations. However, even in these enduring forms, the past is not so much preserved as it is *cast* in symbols, continually "illuminating a changing present" (Assmann 2008: 113). The idea of memory being actively inscribed in symbols is central to Pierre Nora's influential concept of *lieux de mémoire*, which is re-interpreted here through the lens of translation studies. Specifically, a translational view of memory sites focuses on their generative aspect, on an understanding of *lieux de mémoire* as being both constituting and constituted through their re-actualization in an "endless recycling of their meaning and an unprecedented proliferation of their ramifications" (Nora 1989: 19). Just as these source-based concepts of cultural memory are interpreted here as already partaking in translation, recent memory studies research focusing on transcultural and transnational memory also invites translational analysis. Translation studies and memory studies scholars have often used similar terms to describe the dynamics of "travelling" memory, without necessarily making an explicit connection between the two disciplines. By explicitly linking translation and memory, drawing on research contributions in both fields, foregrounding how translation is a memory process in itself, and providing nuanced analysis of key sites of memory-encounter and translation in Quebec, this thesis marks a significant contribution to what is becoming an important field of interdisciplinary research, as exemplified in the recent publication of *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Memory* (Deane-Cox and Spiessens 2022). In reconciling what may have previously been considered conflicting concepts of cultural memory— source-based memory, on the one hand, versus transcultural and transnational memory, on the other—this thesis clearly identifies both types of memory as interrelated phenomena that are informed by if not dependant on translation.

Another important theoretical point of departure for my analysis is the concept of *survivance*. When I first began studying the evolution of *survivance* in the French Canadian context, I was unaware of its much broader and richer implications, both as a mechanism for

understanding the unfolding of memory and identity in more philosophical terms (Benjamin 1996; Derrida 1985), but also as a framework for conceptualizing continuity through transformation in other cultural contexts, particularly with respect to migrant memory and as theorized in Indigenous studies, where its English form—survivance—has proven to be a useful paradigm for exploring different aspects of Indigenous survival and resistance. I have attempted here to elucidate the underlying dynamics of *survivance*, comparing these across different cultural contexts, without, however, claiming any sort of equivalence between the contexts themselves. In doing so, I hope to have introduced new nuance to this concept, which, in the Quebec context, is still often associated with a nostalgic inward- and backward-looking (national) conservatism. My use of the plural *survivances* in the title of this thesis is a subtle but effective way to eschew reductive or prescriptive frameworks and propose a more expansive, if somewhat enigmatic definition of the term, which, as is also true of both memory and translation, requires accepting the paradox of sameness in/as difference. My re-interpretation of *survivance* shows, following Fernand Dumont, that even as a French Canadian concept, it is not reducible to national identity. *Survivance* reveals how identity is always constructed in relation to the other and in translation to oneself. As we have seen in the case of Michèle Lalonde's "Speak White" and the counter-cultural journal *Mainmise*, even memory sites typically associated with Québécois national identity are already infused with transcultural memory.

Of Bridges and Borders

Translation, in addition to being etymologically rooted in metaphor, has often been described through metaphors. It has been likened to following in another's footsteps, performing a musical score, changing clothes, painting a portrait, digestion, cannibalism, reincarnation, purification, alchemy, smuggling, and cross-dressing, among others (St. André 2010). One of the most recurrent metaphors of translation is that of crossing a bridge, which is so common as to have almost become a cliché (Woodsworth 2022: 10). From John Glassco's reference to poetry translation as a "bridge of sorts" to the metaphor's more recent manifestations, bridges have come to permeate language on translation, though with many caveats and critiques (ibid. 11):

> Rainier Grutman [2013], for example, introduces the concept of "asymmetry" or the "unequal distribution of symbolic capital among the world's languages," concluding that it is not so much a question of "bridges" as of "slippery slopes or steep hills (depending on whether they involve travelling downhill or uphill)." (ibid.)

As Judith Woodsworth observes, insofar as a bridge is a large structure that can crumble, disintegrate or obstruct, it can also have negative connotations. Other metaphors, then, like gateways or doorways (Mezei 2008), "may be more appropriate to suggest the fact that some kind of exchange or passage is always possible, no matter how many impediments exist" (Woodsworth 2022: 11–12).

This thesis has made several references to the bridge metaphor, as well as juxtaposing bridges and borders. In chapter three, for example, we have seen how Michèle Lalonde's strategic use of code-switching between French and English in her poem "Speak White" serves to construct borders, not bridges, between two distinct groups: the oppressors who "speak white," on the one hand, and the oppressed peoples of the world who resist them, on the other. By contrast, D. G. Jones' and Ben-Zion Shek's English translations, attempting to work in the opposite direction (bridge-building), fail to reproduce the poem's subversive diglossia but translate, instead, the shared context of the broader civil rights movements and protests of the time. Despite the accusations of plagiarism leveled at Marco Micone, his rewriting of Lalonde's poem as "Speak What" clearly seeks to create a space of shared cultural memory between French Quebecers in their struggle for the survival of the French language and culture and the immigrant's similar experience of loss and translation. As confrontational as it is, Micone's "Speak What" seeks to build bridges rather than borders. Côté-Ostiguy's and Lemieux-Couture's rewritings of Lalonde's poem, "Speak Red" and "Speak rich en tabarnaque," extend Lalonde's and Micone's interplay between the "nous" and the "vous" to more contemporary global contexts to build bridges of solidarity and reconnect their movement to Quebec's Quiet Revolution. Meanwhile, Robert Lepage's solo play *887* blurs the boundaries between individual and collective memory and reveals how "composing" with the past requires bridging temporal, historical and psychological gaps in one's own memory and sometimes across linguistic and cultural divides.

The counter-culture experience in Quebec explored in chapter four shows how TRANSLATION AS COUNTER-MEMORY partakes of both border-making and border-crossing, whether across actual territories, in the case of transnational memory (De Cesari and Rigney 2014: 11), or within worlds already saturated with a logic of translation (Simon 1996: 165). The geographies of remembrance that emerge from the *Mainmise* adventure expand, redraw and transgress borders, crossing languages, cultures and media, while also exploring more ephemeral

borders and concepts of time and space. Chapter five traces the long history of colonialism in Canada and Quebec and the attempted assimilation of Indigenous Peoples, whose own ways of inhabiting and imagining place were rooted in the lands now known as Canada and Quebec long before the arrival of European settlers. The borders imposed by European colonialism not only contradict and efface Indigenous Peoples' cultural memories and ways of navigating the world; they also constitute a profound rupture. In pursuing the forced conversion of Indigenous Peoples to Western "civilization," the colonial powers sought to reduce every aspect of their worlds, to shrink their borders, both geographically and symbolically (Delâge and Warren 2017: 408). Indigenous Peoples in Quebec have nonetheless continually resisted assimilation and reclaimed their own traditions and connections to place, as is evident in the works and trajectories of Bernard Assiniwi and Joséphine Bacon.

While these bridge and border metaphors shed light on the shifting nature and renegotiation of boundaries, other images can also be illuminating, such as the notion of "langues en portage" proposed by Marie-Ève Bradette (2020), which highlights the intergenerational and intercultural connections between different Indigenous women writers, as well the inscription of their writings in literatures that are "deeply embodied, situated, and relational places of knowledge" that intimately connect "body, language, and land" (ibid. iv). This image certainly resonates with Joséphine Bacon's poetic reclamation of a nomadic Innu language shaped by her ancestors' experience of the land. Commenting on her recent English translation of An Antane Kapesh's works, Sarah Henzi describes the difficulties she encountered translating this land-based language, Innu-aimun, from French into English. The different terms she uses to convey expressions like "dans le bois" or "à l'intérieur des terres"

> highlight the difficulties of working between colonial (and very limited) languages, on the one hand, and the impossibility at times of truly reflecting the original meaning, which, in land-based languages like Innu-aimun, may offer up to a dozen translations, depending on the context. Innu poet Joséphine Bacon, for instance, says that we need to conceive of land as "an intransitive verb" and, as noted by Daniel Chartier, "the French word is dull in the face of the grandeur of this concept" (2017: 180). (Henzi 2020: 294)

Henzi regards her act of translation as not just depicting a space or place, but also "narrating the relationship between people belonging and moving on and through that space or place—as well as being prevented from doing so—and the histories that are tied within those movements" (ibid. 295).

The challenge of translation lies not only in the incommensurability of languages and cultures but also in the complex, multifaceted positions and processes that it brings into contact. Rainer Guldin proposes a variation on the bridge metaphor by introducing the notion of time, which, he says, tends to be "absent from the spectrum of metaphors for translation in the West but plays a prominent part in Eastern conceptions of translation" (2016: 66):

> The conceptual weakness of the traditional spatial metaphor of carrying across lies in the fact that the actual process of transference is reduced to a short journey across a shallow ford or simple jump over an intermediary chasm. The related metaphor of the bridge reinforces the idea of steadiness and stability by doing away with the hazardous fluidity of the river. (ibid.)

He proposes, instead, the image of the strait, which, like a threshold, is a zone of transition, a "field of possibilities" (ibid.):

> Straits are above all sites where currents meet and mix. The waters bump back and forth, from shore to shore. The strait is a channel where waters mingle and overlap in a very complex way. Because these waters, continuously exchanging places, are not similar. (2016: 67)

This strait metaphor gets to the heart of the temporal dimension of translation. No aspect of the process is fixed or frozen in time, neither the topography of the facing shores, nor the turbulent waters that separate them, nor the means of transit across. The translation of cultural memory, like any form of translation, is fraught with difficulties and misunderstandings, and since the elements it brings together are in constant motion, our understanding of its intentions and outcomes also changes over time. An artist's transcultural creativity in one instant can be seen as cultural appropriation in the next—the controversies surrounding Robert Lepage's *SLĀV* and *Kanata* (2018) are recent examples of this slippery slope.[216] That said, the conversation around cultural appropriation is often polarized between its denunciation, on the one hand, and a defence of artistic expression, on the other. Artists (and one could add translators and scholars) always risk making mistakes, being ill-informed or insensitive, or simply making poor decisions. The danger of cultural appropriation, which is characterized above all by asymmetrical power

[216] *SLĀV* (2018) was a musical stage play directed by Robert Lepage (Ex Machina) in collaboration with singer Betty Bonifassi. *Kanata* (2018) was a theatre collaboration between Lepage (Ex Machina) and Ariane Mnouchkine's Théâtre du Soleil (Paris). Both works were denounced for cultural appropriation of Black (*SLĀV*) and Indigenous (Kanata) cultures, respectively, and for lack of community input and representation. The plays met with protest, controversy and widespread media coverage, resulting in the cancellation of both productions. For commentary and analysis, see: Boisvert-Magnen (2018), Boos (2020), Craft (2017), Brunette (2021), Germain (2021), Howard (2020), Lefrançois and Éthier (2019) and Vaïs (2019), among others.

relations, is its distortion and erasure of the other's cultural memory, specifically when the latter is simply "used" by those of the dominant culture for their own (usually commercial) ends. Innu poet Natasha Kanapé Fontaine has defined cultural appropriation as "taking a single aspect of a culture to make it one's own, without understanding the culture from which it has been taken" (cited in Matte 2016: 20). Fontaine adds that she opposes "any use of the words or components of Indigenous cultures for commercial purposes and emptied of meaning" (ibid.). We thus come back to questions of understanding and misunderstanding, but also intentionality and outcome. If translation is undertaken in good faith but sometimes gets things wrong, should it be avoided altogether? Should everyone just "stay in their lanes"? Is this even possible? If cultural appropriation, as Cornellier argues (2017), is identification without empathy, what is identification *with* empathy?

Edmund Husserl (1912) conceived intersubjectivity as a possibility of "trading places" or "place exchange" (*Platzwechsel*) and the common (or objective) world as an accomplishment made possible by empathy (*Einfühlung*), understood as "the primordial experience of participating in the actions and feeling of another being without becoming the other" (Duranti 2010: 6–7). Likewise, translation undertaken in empathy makes no claim to literally becoming or replacing the other. It does not attempt to transcend or erase difference, but potentially brings both or all positions into view. Through empathy, the source can be extended along different paths, both independent of and through the translation. At minimum, one could argue that intentions count and that "complete" (perfect) translations are never the outcome, insofar as any translation is one of many manifestations of the potential unfolding of its source. Translation can take many different forms, as this thesis has amply demonstrated. If the enlarged concept of translation or "cultural translation" can sometimes seem vague, the concrete outcomes of interlingual translation, the countless decisions taken across a spectrum of seemingly infinite possibilities, are extremely precise. Indeed, their necessary precision usually comes with some regret because all of the possible options cannot not be included at once. Translators have often been depicted as torn between "free" and "faithful" translation. But it is each and every precise decision—every word choice, every cultural reference, every comma—that constitutes a given translation, which also has to be understood in its particular context. This kind of fine-grained analysis could be fruitfully applied to other forms of cultural transfer and exchange, including those bordering on cultural appropriation.

Correspondances

The term *correspondance* (correspondence), in both French and English, can mean many things: an equivalent "relation of identity" (translation studies and contrastive linguistics), a true connection to or depiction of reality (philosophy), or, more generally, agreement and harmony, connection and interaction, or concurrence and simultaneity.[217] It can also refer to independent events or circumstances happening or existing at the same time. This thesis, focused as it is on translation of cultural memory, has travelled through time, from describing historical events dating back hundreds of years, to interpreting the symbolic forms this takes in writing, poetry, theatre, art, music, oral tradition and translation. My primary case studies converge around the immediate post-Quiet Revolution period, with 1970 being a key date. In the spring of that year, Michèle Lalonde read her famous poem "Speak White" at the L'Église du Gesù on Bleury Street in Montreal. Six months later, at the height of the October Crisis, the inaugural issue of *Mainmise* was launched down the street at the Place des Arts, as the program for The Who's rock opera *Tommy.* That same summer, on June 4, 1970, leaders from the National Indian Brotherhood gathered in Ottawa to present their Red Paper to Parliament and officially reject the Canadian government's White Paper, which was abandoned not long after. Though it may seem unusual to group these events together, they indeed unfolded in close proximity and over a short period of time. Historical accounts necessarily categorize past events in order to document and examine them in all of their detail and complexity. In memory, however, personal and historical events tend not to be separated and classified in this way, as Robert Lepage's *887* so palpably conveys. In lived experience, events, people, places and feelings overlap both in how they are experienced and later remembered. Anyone living in Canada, Quebec and, especially, Montreal at the time undoubtedly has overlapping memories of these different events, some or all of which may have touched them in personal ways, despite the different histories and contexts that gave

[217] Another type of correspondence is of course letter-exchanging and the letters themselves. Literary correspondence forms part of a tradition in Quebec, as outlined in the recent volume *Nouveaux regards sur nos lettres. La correspondance d'écrivain et d'artiste au Québec* (Bernier and Hébert 2020). For a succinct overview, see Rondeau (2021). The collection *Aimititau! Parlons-nous!* (Morali 2008) brought together Indigenous and non-Indigenous writers exchanging letters, stories, poems and tales. Since then, a number of other literary and artistic projects based on dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous have been published, including *Uashtessiu. Lumière d'automne* by Rita Mestokosho and Jean Désy (2010), *Nous sommes tous des sauvage*s by Joséphine Bacon and José Acquelin (2013), and *Kuei, je te salue. Conversation sur le racisme* by Deni Ellis Béchard and Natasha Kanapé Fontaine (2020).

rise to them. As Michael Rothberg writes, "memories are not owned by groups—nor are groups 'owned' by memories. Rather, the borders of memory are jagged" (2009: 5).

I have elsewhere described translation in terms of re-membering, trans-membering and post-membering (Ruschiensky 2022), each of which corresponds, more or less, to the three angles of analysis adopted in this thesis. Building on this approach, I am adding a fourth prefix here: "para," which also evokes correspondence, a state of unfolding alongside. Whether with reference to Vizenor's (1993) and Powell's (2002) paracolonialism or Genette's (1997) definition of parody as "singing beside" or in another voice, the negotiation of difference can give rise to parallel, co-existing trajectories that do not cross or mingle but may nonetheless engage in certain forms of tentative translation. Sherry Simon introduced the concepts of "furthering" and "distancing" to refer to translation practices that favour hybridity and integration, on the one hand, versus those that seek to manage difference without disturbing the categories, on the other (2012). These concepts, which merit further exploration in translation studies, reconfigure the tension between "free" and "faithful" translation in a completely different way. The distinction is not one of correct or accurate translation versus "anything goes," but rather one of nuanced positions arising from particular circumstances, which may lean towards either a preserving or loosening of boundaries:

> Translation can be seen to express two kinds of social interaction: distancing (as the expression of the gulfs which separate languages and cultures) and furthering (as the vehicle of aesthetic interactions and blendings). Distancing is what happens when translations serve to underscore the differences that prevail among cultures and language, when authors are treated as representatives of their origins, of their national or religious traditions—whether the motivations be antagonism, generosity or simply politeness. Furthering, by contrast, involves a loosening of boundaries, through mingling and contamination, through forms of "incomplete" translation. (Simon 2019a: 220)

If the concept of *survivance* implies continuity through transformation—in response to the other, in translation to oneself—the term *correspondance* perhaps better describes distancing forms of translation that foreground difference while also being open to exchange. As distinct from Venuti's (1995) contrast between "foreignizing" and "domesticating" translation, which calls for resistance to assimilating, target-oriented translation, Simon's conceptual framework is more descriptive than prescriptive. Distancing implies a certain (perhaps two-way) resistance to translation but also interlingual and intercultural dialogue. Furthering, on the other hand, can introduce elements of "creative interference" (Simon 2006: 119) that extend and enrich the

source rather than undermining or effacing it. In other words, distancing and furthering translations are neither source- nor target-oriented, but can be compared, metaphorically, to either remaining onshore, crossing the bridge, looking for other routes, or diving into the turbulent waters of the strait. The specific decisions taken and the circumstances that bring them about give rise to different types of translations, different types of conversations. Without seeking perfect translation or equivalence, the will to preserve, translate and reclaim cultural memories and identities takes many different forms, the echoes of which can resonate and be a point of departure for fostering empathy. This thesis has attempted to show, among other things, that translation begins with humility and the desire to learn, as much as possible, of the other's histories, experiences, perspectives and knowledge. "Translation in all its forms is a great teacher" (Simon 2019a: 9).

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