



Kolocotroni, V. (2019) The 'Perpetual Immunity' of the word: Joyce and World Peace. In: Pollentier, C. and Wilson, S. (eds.) *Modernist Communities Across Cultures and Media*. University Press of Florida: Gainesville, pp. 141-158. ISBN 9780813056128.

There may be differences between this version and the published version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/123799/>

Deposited on: 19 September 2019

Enlighten – Research publications by members of the University of Glasgow  
<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk>

## The “Perpetual Immunity” of the Word: Joyce and World Peace

Vassiliki Kolocotroni

Now, as I hear, a great movement is being prepared against the publication [of *Ulysses*], initiated by Puritans, English Imperialists, Irish Republicans, Catholics—what an alliance! Gosh, I ought to be given the Nobel prize for peace!

—James Joyce, Letter to Carlo Linati, Paris, 21 September 1920 (*Letters* 147)

If it is true that, as Jean-Michel Rabaté argues, Joyce “attempted to create not only a new language but also a new reader” (*Politics of Egoism* 2-3), that reader is not merely a “pupil” of sorts, as suggested by Hugh Kenner’s analogy for the reader of *Ulysses*: “a Berlitz classroom between covers: a book from which we are systematically taught the skills we require to read it” (198); or in Katie Wales’s terms the “polyglot” who can “appreciate fully the references made possible by the foreign elements” in the *Wake*, (135); or indeed the super-computing encyclopedically programmed scholarly community that Jacques Derrida hailed with mock-humility (281), but a member of a community of “ideal reader[s],” “linked,” as Rabaté puts it, “to the strategic location of a world capital in which all the languages of humanity can be spoken. After all, Babel was a city, and Babylon one of the world’s first capitals” (*Politics of Egoism* 152). In a less inclusive vein, we should not forget the other received critical metaphor when it comes to Joyce, the one-man crusade against the English language and its literary audiences and establishment, instigated by Joyce himself in many memorable comments, such as to Mlle Guillermet of the *Journal de Genève* in 1918: “Writing in English is the most ingenious torture ever devised for sins committed in previous lives. The English reading public explains the reason why” (*Letters* 120); or to Harriet Shaw

Weaver in 1925: “What the language will look like when I have finished I don’t know. But having declared war I shall go on *jusqu’au bout*” (176). The famous declaration “*je suis au bout de l’anglais*” [I am at the end of English] (quoted in Milesi “Introduction” 21) has marshaled many a reading of Joyce as post- or semicolonial writer—hardly news to the readers of this volume but still terra incognita for the writers of London’s *Daily Telegraph* who haplessly included Joyce’s *Ulysses* in a list of the “20 best British novels of all time” (16 April 2014), to immediate outcry and hasty correction.<sup>1</sup> The gaffe is funny but also telling, not least because the assumption that novels have a nationality is very much a moot point in Joyce’s universe (and to an extent still a tug of war among critics). As Joyce put it in 1907, in Italian, in a public lecture at Trieste’s Università Popolare:

Our civilization is a vast fabric, in which the most diverse elements are mingled . . . . In such a fabric, it is useless to look for a thread that may have remained pure and virgin without having undergone the influence of a neighbouring thread. What race, or what language . . . can boast of being pure today? . . . Nationality (if it really is not a convenient fiction like so many others to which the scalpels of present-day scientists have given the coup de grace) must find its reason for being rooted in something that surpasses and transcends and informs changing things like blood and the human word. (*Critical Writings* 165)

The Irishmen best representing that world (and word) view listed by Joyce in the lecture are notably nomadic sages, travelers and translators; and he might have added teachers, as he was one himself at the time. Which brings us back to the (Berlitz) classroom and the tower (of Babel), to which this essay will relate briefly two Joycean episodes involving translation and transnational communities that invite us to reflect on the multilingual perspective, and some of its resonances and contradictions. In a way, both

Babel and the Berlitz classroom are sites of confusion where lessons are learned (despite or even because of the dream of translation). These are lessons in language and the construction of community, which, as the two episodes discussed below illustrate, are mutually dependent, especially in moments of crisis and in visions of world peace. Their immediate contexts, a period of pause between wars (1932 – episode 1) and the conclusion of the first and bloodiest conflict (1918 – episode 2), provide the backdrop for Joyce’s participation in the construction of linguistic communities, both lived and imagined. They also may suggest that Joyce’s cosmopolitanism is not in direct opposition to the communitarianism he is usually seen to evade. Forged by associations with foreign nationals in diasporic communities, and fuelled by his political stance against imperialist wars, Joyce’s interest in minority languages, including his own Babelian idiom, was fundamental to his vision of a community of speakers and learners of the non-hegemonic word.

**<a> Episode 1: B(ritish) — A(merican) — S(cientific) — I(nternational) — C(ommercial)**

The drawn-out, periodic publication of *Finnegans Wake*, or of the versions that Joyce released in tantalizing (for some, befuddling for others) instalments as “Work in Progress” (between 1924 and 1939) performed a kind of peek-a-boo game with its readership, and was complemented by some carefully chosen explanatory accounts (deemed necessary by the author, especially when faced by responses of utter confusion). That was a Babelian reception that rattled but did not ultimately deter Joyce. In 1929, he welcomed the intervention of Cambridge linguist, philosopher, polymath C. K. Ogden, whose collaboration with I. A. Richards on *The Meaning of Meaning* (1923) he read and appreciated, in the form of a “Preface” to the publication of *Tales Told of*

*Shem and Shaun* by Harry and Caresse Crosby's Black Sun Press.<sup>2</sup> In August of that year, Ogden invited Joyce to the lab of his "Orthological Institute," a name that would have surely struck a chord, to record a reading of "Anna Livia Plurabelle," and the collaboration between the intellectual "troublemaker," as A. J. P. Taylor called Ogden (quoted in Garay 282), and the literary oracle continued with the publication in *transition* in March 1932 of Ogden's "translation" of the four last pages of "Anna Livia":

The last four pages of "Anna Livia Plurabelle," by James Joyce, have been here put into Basic English, the International Language of 850 words in which everything may be said. Their purpose is to give the simple sense of the Gramophone Record made by Mr. Joyce, who has himself taken part in the attempt; and the reader will see that it has generally been possible to keep almost the same rhythms. (Ogden *In Transition* 135)

The project was to be of mutual benefit, as well as very much fitting the bill of *transition*'s explicitly Babelian programme, for which Joyce was the recognized trailblazer, or as Eugene Jolas put it, "our bellwether in the neologistic pilgrimage" (124). For Jolas, writing in 1932, "the great composer of the word arrived with James Joyce. In him we see the decay of a sterile language and the prophecy of the future creative language. . . . With his still unnamed *Work in Progress*, Mr. Joyce goes beyond *Ulysses* and invents a language of his own. . . . Numerous modern and ancient tongues have been welded together by him" (149).

The reference to the language of the future and the engineering metaphor are apt as much for Ogden's vision as Joyce's. "Basic English," the new universal idiom that Ogden had devised and proposed as the world's second language (and in the first instance its *only* language if its principles were to be fully embraced as Ogden still

hoped in 1932), was the language of the future, but also the only true vehicle for capitalising on the advances of those workers for human progress—radio, telephone and cinema engineers: “It is the business of the Inter-linguist to bring it home to the world that the electrical engineer has to-day brought the World into the home. International Radio, international Talkies, international Telephone—these are to be the decisive factors in this coming century” (Ogden *Debabelization* 71).<sup>3</sup> Writers as diverse as Sylvia Pankhurst, the English socialist feminist, and Velimir Khlebnikov, the Russian avant-garde poet, had already written about the revolutionary potential of these technologies for a universal language of poetry and progress, but built on a vocabulary of 850 words and simplified, standardised structures, Ogden’s Basic English was to be *the* medium of communication that would “weld together” not only linguistic differences, but cultures and thinking habits too. In a way, Ogden’s project was aimed at reenlisting speakers in a community of meaning-making that he presumed existed before historical and social habituation: “To put the argument shortly, Basic at last gives us a chance of getting free from the strange power which words have had over us from the earliest times; a chance of getting clear about the processes by which our ideas become fixed forms of behavior before we ourselves are conscious of what history and society are making us say” (Ogden *Basic English* 116). And the stakes were high; as Ogden put it:

The so-called national barriers of today are ultimately language barriers. The absence of a common medium of communication is the chief obstacle to international understanding, and therefore the chief underlying cause of War. It is also the most formidable obstacle to the progress of international Science, and to the development of international Commerce. (*Debabelization* 13)

Joyce did not live to hear of Winston Churchill's typically sonorous championing of Basic English, most memorably when receiving an honorary doctorate at Harvard University in 1943:

He used the occasion to deliver a typically resonant and stirring speech on Anglo-American unity. He called the "gift of a common tongue" a priceless inheritance and suggested that in order to spread the common language even more widely throughout the globe, "some months ago I persuaded the Ministers to study and report upon Basic English. Here you have a plan. There are others but here you have a very carefully wrought plan for an international language capable of a very wide transaction for practical business and interchange of ideas." (Garay 281)

For Churchill, Basic English would be the world language of peace and prosperity but also the culmination of the joint struggle in the world war of the two "most civilized" nations of the world which shared a common tongue: Britain and America.<sup>4</sup> We have reasons to believe that Joyce might have been more sceptical, but he would have surely appreciated the wit of those responses to the Churchillian plan reported by Ogden that spoke to underlying tensions persisting to our day:

Basic English bids fair to become a bridge of language among the nations of the world. Already Mr. Churchill has instructed the B.B.C. to promote its use in overseas broadcasting. Its possibilities for the future are unbounded. Will it spell the lessening of narrow nationalism? A Scottish M.P. raised this point on the floor of Commons: "Will the Prime Minister see that when Basic English is being used the clear Scottish pronunciation is employed, thereby avoiding the fluctuating and irritating noises generally made by the English?" (Ogden "Basic English" 3)

The problem of correct pronunciation, with all its national, class and economic connotations, compounded the Babelism that Ogden sought to redress. His Orthological Institute was partly concerned with analyzing such divergences (in the context of “orthoépeia,” correct speech) and the Joyce recording should also be considered in that light, again in the sense of a mutually enlightening experiment, both for Ogden and Joyce, whose Irish voice activates an additional explication of “the meaning of [his] meaning,” as Richards and Ogden might have put it. At the same time, both Ogden and Joyce, though perhaps for different purposes, seek to educate a public audience whose opinions on the matter of language were, according to Ogden, “still much where the sons of Noah left it” (*Debabelization* 82). Although Joyce probably shared Ogden’s contempt for the “purity crusade,” or the “oratorical enthusiasm of certain purists” in, for instance, the Celtic and Gaelic movements, whose “constant propaganda” sought to garner arguments for, as Ogden put it, “officially inflicting a local survival as a second language on all who are so unfortunate as to live in a particular area,” some of Ogden’s argumentation must have given Joyce pause: “it is the business of all internationally-minded persons to make Basic English part of the system of education in every country, so that there may be less chance of war, and less learning of languages—which, after all, for most of us, are a very unnecessary waste of time” (*Debabelization* 82, 64-65, 12). For a man who spent much of his lifetime learning languages, who was both a speaker and a teacher of English as a foreign language, the attack on the hegemonic pretensions of which he considered a just war, the sentiment would be a provocation.<sup>5</sup>

Joyce might have twitched too at Ogden’s invocation of another visionary of progress by standardization: “‘Make everybody speak English’ was the four-word peace-slogan suggested by Henry Ford some years ago; ‘Basic English for all’ is its modern counterpart” (*Debabelization* 13):

There are not a dozen proposals before the world today, as current controversy would have us believe; there are two. But one of these has over 500 years start and over 500,000,000 converts; and it is within the power of a single individual—say Henry Ford, since he is already a convert—to make its success a certainty, within his own lifetime. . . . [F]or “Debabelization” is now no longer a dream, and it is everybody’s business. (*Debabelization* 167)

Given Ford’s known concern with efficiency, one can understand the appeal of the 850-word Basic English method; in fact, the American industrialist had already blazed a trail for the application of Ogden’s dream of an international community of English-speakers. According to the account of the Benson Ford Research Center, “Ford’s demand for cheap labour drew thousands of immigrants to Detroit.” In order to manage such a large and diverse workforce, John R. Lee, Head of Personnel, created the Sociological Department in 1914: “An adjunct to the Sociological Department was the Ford English School. Originally established in 1913, the Ford English School addressed the problem of communicating with non-English speaking workers who didn’t share a common language, and the potential threats to safety that this posed” (“Ford Motor Company”).<sup>6</sup> The classes at the Ford English School (fig. 8.1) were free for foreign workers, who attended them before or after their shifts. This successful programme was emulated by other companies, and a Ford English School Diploma was considered invaluable for those seeking naturalization. **{fig. 8.1 here}**

The Ford English School graduation ceremony anticipated and enacted that aspiration (fig. 8.2):

Students dressed in costumes reminiscent of their native homes stepped into a massive stage-prop cauldron that had a banner across the front identifying it as the “AMERICAN MELTING POT.” Seconds later, after a quick change out of sight

of the audience, students emerged wearing “American” suits and hats, waving American flags, having undergone a spiritual smelting process where the impurities of foreignness were burnt off as slag to be tossed away leaving a new 100% American. (“Ford Motor Company”)

**{fig. 8.2 here}**

The vision of foreign welders falling into the (s)melting pot to rise again as carriers of the flag and dreamers of the American dream is compelling – and worthy of Swift, Joyce, “Circe” and the *Wake*. That the majority of the “celebrants” translated into Americans at that point in time would have otherwise been caught in the melting pot of the WWI, adds a further poignancy to this scene of staged debabelization.

The questions arising from these resonances of the brief encounter between Ogden’s and Joyce’s “English” are not so much genetic or contextual as methodological: how far should we pursue the contradictions generated by the co-existence on the page of two idioms (and one might add, worldviews), standardized and synthetic, mono- and multi-lingual? Their cross-purpose performances (educational, explanatory, exemplary, prophetic), their double stance both for and against a “pure language” converge and diverge at once (because Joyce’s impurities purify as if through a melting pot and Ogden’s Basic rendition filters “difficulty” into “simplicity”). Is Joyce’s anti-hegemonic word lost in Ogden’s translation? The experiment has been read as confirmation of a shared universalist perspective still in thrall to the Enlightenment or perhaps the kind of “blind universality” from which Jessica Berman seeks to distance her reading of some of modernism’s narrative communities.<sup>7</sup> Yet the contradiction and the polyphony *remain* on the page, in its ineradicable vocality a testament not to the impossibility or necessary failure of a utopian vision but to the necessary working

towards that goal. In this sense, the simultaneity and community of the languages recorded here is all-important, and is indeed noted in Ogden's own prefatory frame:

The normal process of putting complex ideas by men of letters into Basic English is through the use of foot-notes, wherever there would be any doubt as to the sense of the simpler account. But Mr. Joyce was of opinion that a comparison of the two languages would be of greater interest if the Basic English were printed without the additions necessary to make the sense more complete. In this way the simplest and most complex languages of man are placed side by side.

("Introduction" 135)

Joyce's insistence on the "side by side" is both an invitation and a resistance, both a "yes" to the possibility of linguistic community and a "no" to the "naturalization" or basic-anglicization of his idiom—in other words, a kind of temporary reconciliation but a kind of continued warfare too between the "simplest and most complex languages of man."

### <a> Episode 2: "Par des paroles, rien que par des paroles"

The second episode takes us back to an earlier time when the world was thinking urgently of peace—and Joyce of language. On 30 April 1919, from Zurich where he spent the war years, Joyce wrote to his American publisher B. W. Huebsch looking to interest him in the translation (from the French) of a pamphlet by a Greek friend, the émigré journalist, polyglot theosophist, Antoine (or Antonio) Chalas, then Zurich correspondent of the Greek-American daily *Atlantis* (*Letters* 430). The work in question, *Le Président, Woodrow Wilson, personnification des plus hautes idées politiques de tout temps et les plus réalistes, conclusions qui s'imposent en ce qui concerne Le centre de l'équilibre mondial* [*The President Woodrow Wilson,*

*Embodiment of the Highest Political and Most Realistic Ideas of All Time, Conclusions Which Apply with Regard to the Centre of the World's Equilibrium*], published in October 1918, “proved,” as Frank Budgen recalls Joyce telling him, “that the centre of gravity of the earth passed through Athens, and that therefore the great powers should guarantee the perpetual immunity of Greece” (Budgen 174). Employing in equal measure bombast and lyricism, classical allusions and contemporary *realpolitik*, Chalas’s impassioned tirade against militarism and hymn to Woodrow Wilson’s intervention for world peace, also calls for “the *neutralization* of Greece and its dependences assured and guaranteed not only by its protector powers, but by all interested parties,” for, “the Greek question is not a European or Asiatic, but a universal question” (58).<sup>8</sup> More specifically still, and at an opportune moment—since it was surely no accident that the pamphlet was dated 30 October 1918, the day Turkey made peace with the Allies—Chalas also proposes “the only solution [that] conforms to the lessons of history, the interests of the universe, the rights of humanity,” namely, the return of Thrace, with Bosphorus and Constantinople, of the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles, the Asia Minor coast, with Smyrna and the hinterland, along with the islands “—without exception—to its legitimate owners: to Greece, that has been and will be the sentinel—that has never known sleep—of Europe” (57).<sup>9</sup> As Chalas puts it, “Il faut rendre à César, ce qui appartient à César” [“Render to Caesar what is Caesar’s”] (58). Chalas’s is a typically telescoped vision of history, punctuated by great discoveries, heroic expeditions and tragic falls; its protagonists are men of peace as benefactors of civilization (Ulysses is one, Agamemnon more improbably another), along with intellectuals, such as the Byzantine sages whom he presents fleeing Constantinople in a flourish that Joyce would have appreciated: “Like rose leaves in a strong and savage wind” (20).<sup>10</sup>

It is not known whether the pamphlet ever reached the proudly monolingual Woodrow Wilson. The lack of reference to a Christian God (Chalas was a theosophist), would have bemused Wilson, son of a Protestant minister and devout to the point of neurasthenia (as observed by none other than Sigmund Freud who co-authored a psychopathological study of the man), but Chalas's paeon would have at least flattered the orator in Wilson.<sup>11</sup> Language and free communication play a central role: Chalas declares that "from the epoch of Jason to the epoch of Mr. Woodrow Wilson," his version of from Plato to Nato, as it were, it is the power of the word that has imposed itself on humanity, averting total catastrophe (57). No doubt referring to Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points" for peace, the statement of 8th of January 1918 declaring that World War I was being fought for a moral cause and calling for postwar peace in Europe, Chalas marvels: "How did that man prove to be the greatest benefactor of humanity? Through the power of words, nothing but words" (7).<sup>12</sup> Chalas's earnest approbation presciently anticipates accounts of Wilsonian rhetoric that follow: in *The Story of a Style* (1920), for instance, William Bayard Hale intones:

Mr Wilson deals in words, spends his time, his life, with words; is what he is, and does what he does, by the instrumentality of words. What he has accomplished—and his has been a wonderful record of accomplishment—has been accomplished through statement, argument, appeal. His scepter is his—pen; his sword is his—tongue; his realm is that of—Words. (2)

What Hale proceeds to offer, of course, is an anatomy of a style that in its relentless matches the fervour of the original but also exposes the tricks and tritenesses of what H. L. Mencken in a contemporary review succinctly summarized as "the whole Wilsonian buncombe" (119).<sup>13</sup>

In any case, Joyce's championing of Chalas's pamphlet has more to do with the fellow emigré writer's plea for the "perpetual immunity" of Greece than the tribute to Wilson's power as a wordmonger. Rabaté's astute reading of a limerick sent to Jolas in 1933 from Versailles (site of the signing of the most famous WWI peace treaty) illustrates Joyce's prescient and perpetual disbelief in grand statements by world leaders such as Wilson: the line "*après mot le deluge*" is proposed by Rabaté as both a play on Jolas's "revolution of the word" and Wilsonian types' delusions of grandeur (*Politics of Egoism* 3-4).<sup>14</sup> Here, Joyce's playful cynicism is closer to Immanuel Kant's republican reflexes when commenting on political alliances meant to preserve a balance of power: writing on "Perpetual Peace" in 1795, after the First Treaty of Basel between France and Prussia, Kant sides with the republican nation's claims to guarantee lasting peace through a peaceful cosmopolitan federation. On provisional alliances with dynastic powers and grand statements, he pours Joycean scorn: "For a permanent universal peace by means of a so-called *European balance of power* is pure illusion, like Swift's story of the house which the builder had constructed in such perfect harmony with all the laws of equilibrium that it collapsed as soon as the sparrow alighted on it" (Kant 102).<sup>15</sup>

Even as it brought the house down, Wilson's rhetoric, along with Chalas's keen appropriation, belong in the "Aeolus" episode (which Joyce was writing at the time), but there is evidence to suggest that Chalas's nationalism was couched in terms to which Joyce (an eccentric when it came to the issue of nation) would have been sympathetic. Elsewhere Chalas applied his knowledge of the Blavatskian Secret Doctrine to an analysis of the mystical roots of the Greek alphabet, and given their friendship, it is more than likely that Joyce would have been at the receiving end of that wisdom too.<sup>16</sup> In any case, more so than Trieste or Paris, the Zurich years were marked by Babelism and dislocation, which seem to have propelled the writing of *Ulysses*, but

also provided the opportunity for immersion in other languages and cultures, most notably modern Greek.<sup>17</sup> In the hinterland of this episode, then, we may see Joyce’s countenancing of the claims to universality of a minority language as an alliance with a transnational community of speakers of an “impure tongue,” a kind of *lingua franca* for Joyce. The speakers of that minority tongue included Paulo Ruggiero, another Greek émigré and Triestine friend taking refuge in Zurich, who shared with Joyce a love of popular song and the Greek national anthem (the singing of which usually signaled the end of drunken merriment), and Pavlos Phokas (“Poulophoka” in *Ulysses*), with whom Joyce exchanged language lessons. Six of the Zurich notebooks (1915-1919) are devoted to modern Greek and show quite concretely not only Joyce’s developing familiarity with the language, but also some of the uses to which it was put, always through translation of linguistic and national idioms high and low. Highlights from these encounters include poignant Joycean phrases triggered by relevant vocabulary exercises, such as the pair “εξόριστος = exile”, followed by “εμμαι εξοριστος από την πατριδα μου” [“I am exiled from my homeland”] in Joyce’s handwriting (Greek notebook, Buffalo VIII.A. 4-16); or, from the same notebook, the co-existence of modern and ancient Greek in the vocabulary lists, with a distinctive Joycean flavor (“ξεσπάω = I burst out, μεθυσμένος = drunk”), followed by two distichs from the *Odyssey* (VIII.A.4-29). And, finally, in another occurrence of the communality and continuity of the word that Joyce so freely enjoyed, a reproduction of a scene of mutual instruction (silent, but reconstructible on the page) in two hands (VIII.A. 4-30):<sup>18</sup>

~~ενοικιασε~~ [“to rent” in Joyce’s writing, crossed out]  
οικία  
Σπήτι House [Phokas]  
ἐνοίκιον  
ἐνοικιάζω Let rent [Phokas and Joyce]  
φιλώ - I kiss [Joyce]  
lawsuit [Joyce]

Ευρυδίκη [“Eurydice”, Joyce’s writing]

ορφεύς [“Orpheus”, Joyce’s writing]

NO/GOD [Joyce]

οδυσσεύς [“Odysseus”, Joyce’s writing]

ουτις [‘noone’, Joyce]

οὐδείς [‘noone’, Phokas]

Ζεὺς [‘Zeus’, conjugated by Joyce]

Διός

Διῖ

Διο

ὦ Ζεῦ

Phokas’s Greek for “house,” “residence,” “to let,” is followed by Joyce’s interesting sequence of the Greek for “to kiss,” followed by “lawsuit” (untranslated), and perhaps with or without a time lapse, Joyce’s explication of his own, arcane etymology for the name “Odysseus,” which Joyce derives from linking the famous Homeric pun of “ουτις” (“no one” or “no man”), via the later Greek “ουδεις” with “Ζεϋς” (“Zeus”).<sup>19</sup>

There are many other unexamined links in these notebooks (partly due to the monolingual, or still mainly Anglo-centric tenor of Joyce scholarship, despite the challenge posed by the multilingualism of the man and the work), and at least as many contradictions in the claims one might be tempted to make about the importance of any single foreign thread in the dense fabric of Joyce’s writing, but as in the Basic English episode, one may see and hear here, on the page and side by side, the actuality of a linguistic community and the promise of an imagined community that is a version of the tower and classroom, the recording studio and the melting pot. Events proved that world peace could only be precarious and forged temporarily only in communities of the word, but for that very reason, for Joyce, it was worthy of “perpetual immunity” too.

## Works Cited

- Αραβαντινού, Μαντώ [Aravantinou, Mado]. *Τα Ελληνικά του Τζέιμς Τζόυς*. Αθήνα: Ερμής, 1977.
- Batchelor, Ray. *Henry Ford, Mass Production, Modernism and Design*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Berman, Jessica. *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Budgen, Frank. *James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses."* London: Grayson & Grayson, 1934.
- Chalas, Antoine. *Le Président Woodrow Wilson personnification des plus hautes idées politiques de tout temps et les plus réalistes. Conclusions qui s'imposent en ce qui concerne Le centre de l'équilibre mondial*. Zürich (chez l'auteur), [1918].
- Χαλάς, Αντώνιος [Chalas, Antonios]. *Η Απόκρυφος Διάταξη του Ελληνικού Αλφαβήτου. Πηγή Απάσης της των Ελλήνων Φιλοσοφίας* [1928]. Αθήνα: Ιδεοθέατρον, 2005.
- . *Το εις το Ελληνικόν Αλφάβητον και το Σύμπαν Υπολανθάνον Μυστήριον ή περί Επιστήμης*. Αθήνα, 1921.
- Derrida, Jacques. "Ulysses Gramophone: Hear Say Yes in Joyce." *Acts of Literature*. Ed. Derek Attridge. New York and London, 1992. 253-309.
- Fitch, Noel Riley, ed. *In Transition - A Paris Anthology: Writing and Art from transition Magazine 1927-30*. New York: Doubleday, 1990.
- "Ford Motor Company Sociological Department and English School." *Benson Ford Research Center*. Web. 21 July 2015.

- Freud, Sigmund and William C. Bullitt. *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: A Psychological Study*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.
- Garay, K. E. "Empires of the Mind? C. K. Ogden, Winston Churchill and Basic English." *Historical Papers / Communications historiques* 23.1 (1988): 280-291.
- Gorman, Herbert. *James Joyce: A Definitive Biography*. London: John Lane/The Bodley Head, 1941.
- Hale, William Bayard. *The Story of a Style*. New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1920.
- Jolas, Eugene. *Critical Writings, 1924-1951*. Ed. Klaus H. Kiefer and Rainer Rumold. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2009.
- Joyce, James. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*. Ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann. New York: The Viking Press, 1964.
- . *Letters of James Joyce*. Ed. Stuart Gilbert. London: Faber and Faber, 1957.
- . *Notes, Criticism, Translations & Miscellaneous Writings (The James Joyce Archive 2-3)*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler and Michael Groden. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979.
- . "Work in Progress" [March 1932]. *Transition - A Paris Anthology: Writing and Art from transition Magazine 1927-30*. Ed. Fitch. 135-139.
- Kant, Immanuel. "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch." [1795] *Political Writings*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Ed. H. S. Reiss. Cambridge and NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 93-130.
- Kenner, Hugh. *A Colder Eye: The Modern Irish Writers*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984.
- Khlebnikov, Velimir. *Snake Train: Poetry and Prose*. Ed. Gary Kern. Trans. Gary Kern, Richard Sheldon, Edward J. Brown, Neil Cornwell, Lily Feiler. Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1976.

- Kolocotroni, Vassiliki. "Familiar Materials: Joyce among Europeans." *Miscelànea* 20 (1999): 209-222.
- Liu, Lydia H. "iSpace: Printed English after Joyce, Shannon, and Derrida." *Critical Inquiry* 32.3 (Spring 2006): 516-550.
- Maitra, Dipanjan. "Of Contorted Politics: A Note on the VIII.A Notebooks of 1916." *Genetic Joyce Studies* 16 (2016): 1-10.
- Mencken, H. L. "The Style of Woodrow." 1921. *H. L. Mencken's Smart Set Criticism*. Ed. William H. Nolte. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1987. 119-121.
- McCourt, John. *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000.
- Mikhail, E. H., ed. *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Milesi, Laurent. "Introduction: Language(s) with a Difference." *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*. Ed. Milesi. 1-27.
- , ed. *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Ogden, C. K. *Basic English: A General Introduction with Rules and Grammar*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938.
- . *Debabelization: With a Survey of Contemporary Opinion on the Problem of a Universal Language*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931.
- . "Introduction to 'Work in Progress by James Joyce.'" *In Transition - A Paris Anthology: Writing and Art from transition Magazine 1927-30*. Ed. Fitch. 135.
- . "Will Basic English Become the Second Language?" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 8 (Spring 1944): 3-9.

- Ogden, C. K. and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company/London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1927.
- Pankhurst, E. Sylvia. *Delphos: The Future of International Language*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1927.
- Rabaté, Jean-Michel. *James Joyce and the Politics of Egoism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . "Joyce and Jolas: Late Modernism and Early Babelism." *Journal of Modern Literature* 22.2. "Joyce and the Joyceans" (Winter 1998-1999): 245-252.
- Sailer, Susan Shaw. "Universalizing Languages: *Finnegans Wake* Meets Basic English." *James Joyce Quarterly* 36.4 (Summer, 1999): 853-868.
- Shiach, Morag. "'To Purify the dialect of the tribe': Modernism and Language Reform." *Modernism/modernity* 14.1 (January 2007): 21-34.
- Spielberg, Peter. *James Joyce's Manuscripts and Letters at the University of Buffalo: A Catalogue*. Buffalo: University of Buffalo Press, 1962.
- Tadié, Benoît. "'Cypherjugglers going the highroads': Joyce and Contemporary Linguistic Theories." *James Joyce and the Difference of Language*. Ed. Milesi. 43-57.
- Taylor-Batty, Juliette. *Multilingualism in Modernist Fiction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- "20 British and Irish Novels of All Time." *The Telegraph* (15 April 2014). Web. 21 July 2015.
- Wales, Katie. *The Language of James Joyce*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992.

Wood, Allen W. "Kant's Project for Perpetual Peace." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. 59-76.

---

<sup>1</sup> The correction appears as a postscript to the current version: "This was originally published as a list of the best British novels of all time. Of course, it should have been headlined the best British and Irish novels of all time" ("20 Best").

<sup>2</sup> In a wonderfully non-Basic English flourish, Ogden summarized Joyce's invented language: "The intensive, compressive, reverberative infixation; the sly, meaty, oneiric logorrhoea, polymathic, polyperverse; even the clangorous calembour, irresponsible and irrepressible, all conjure us to penetrate the night mind of man, that kaleidoscopic recamera of an hypothecated Unconscious, jolted by some logophilous Birth-trauma into chronic serial extension" (quoted in Sailer 854). For a discussion on the points of contact between that work and Joyce's developing interest in linguistic theories, see Liu, Rabaté ("Joyce and Jolas"), Sailer, Shiach, and Tadié.

<sup>3</sup> See Sailer and Shiach on the importance of those technologies of communication for the vision of language reform.

<sup>4</sup> See also Liu: "He urged Americans to understand that 'the empires of the future are the empires of the mind.' In the midst of running a war with fascist Germany, Churchill exhibited a shrewd understanding of the value of language for empire building, and he was not disappointed" (541).

<sup>5</sup> On this connection, see Juliette Taylor-Batty's argument that the Berlitz experience "taught the teacher about the ways in which he could "unlearn" English—a practice that relates closely to his resistance to Standard English (which he would have been expected to teach)" (Taylor-Batty 116).

<sup>6</sup> See also Batchelor (49-52).

<sup>7</sup> For Sailer Joyce's, Ogden's and Jolas's "common pursuit reminds us that, in its universalizing tendencies, modernism may have been the Enlightenment's last gasp" (866). Berman has argued that although in modernist fiction "community [is] being imagined over and over again," those imagined communities "undermine political versions of established consensus or . . . blind universality" (2).

<sup>8</sup> "la neutralisation de la Grèce avec ses dépendances assurée, garantie non seulement par ses puissances protectrices, mais par tous les intéressés," for "la question grecque n'est pas une question européenne ou asiatique, mais une question universelle." All translations from Chalas's French original are mine.

<sup>9</sup> "une seule solution [qui] conforme aux leçons de l'histoire, aux intérêts de l'univers, aux droits de l'humanité."

<sup>10</sup> "Comme les feuilles de roses, au souffle d'un vent fort et sauvage."

<sup>11</sup> Freud and Bullitt's book was written before Freud's death, but was published only after the death of the second Mrs Wilson.

<sup>12</sup> "Comment cet homme a-t-il su se montrer le plus grand bienfaiteur de l'humanité? Par des paroles, rien que par des paroles."

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the anti-Wilsonian views of the Anglophone intelligentsia of the time, see also Benoît Tadié's essay in this collection, which traces critiques and satires of Wilson's pomp and paternalism in the work of writers as diverse as John Maynard Keynes, Freud and Bullitt, Mencken and Max Eastman, but also Dashiell Hammett, John Dos Passos, e.e. cummings and Ernest Hemingway.

<sup>13</sup> Joyce puns on the notorious statement "après moi le déluge" ("after me the deluge"), associated with Louis XV (though usually attributed to Madame de Pompadour) and his fatally nonchalant attitude to the impending Revolution. Joyce supplants "mot" ("word") for the royal "moi," thus grandly associating its power with perpetual revolution.

<sup>14</sup> Joyce puns on the notorious statement "après moi le déluge" ("after me the deluge"), associated with Louis XV (though usually attributed to Madame de Pompadour) and his fatally nonchalant attitude to the impending Revolution. Joyce supplants "mot" ("word") for the royal "moi," thus grandly associating its power with perpetual revolution.

<sup>15</sup> As the editor points out, Kant is inaccurately rendering here Swift's analogy of wisdom as a hen in *Tale of a Tub* (Kant 276). Still, Kant's misremembered citation is even more Joycean in its Babelian appropriation. For a discussion of Kant's republican internationalism in that work, see also Wood.

---

<sup>16</sup> See Αντώνιος Χαλάς, *Το εις το Ελληνικόν Αλφάβητον και το Σύμπαν Υπολανθάνον Μυστήριον ή περί Επιστήμης* [*The Latent Mystery in the Greek Alphabet and Universe, or On Science*] (1921), and *Η Απόκρυφος Διάταξη του Ελληνικού Αλφαβήτου, Πηγή Απάσης της των Ελλήνων Φιλοσοφίας* [*The Apocryphal Order of the Greek Alphabet, Source of All Greek Philosophy*] (1928).

<sup>17</sup> For an account, see Aravantinou, Budgen, Gorman, Kolocotroni and Maitra. For Joyce's Triestine Greek connections, see also McCourt.

<sup>18</sup> For facsimiles, see Joyce (Archive 318, 331, 332). For a summary of the notebooks' contents, see Spielberg.

<sup>19</sup> Aldous Huxley was also privy to an exposition of that Joycean theory, as he recalled in a later interview: "It really comes from the words Udyce, meaning nobody,' [Joyce] said, 'and Zeus, meaning God; the Odysseus is really a symbol of the creation of God out of nothing.'" Huxley added: "Joyce seemed to think words were omnipotent. They are *not* omnipotent" (Mikhail 119).