Marcus Garvey's Nationalist Discourse: Its Hegelian Origins and Zionist Resonances

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Introduction

Marcus Garvey (1887-1940) stands as one of the most prominent figures in the articulation of what is known as the Pan-Africanist movement. Though born in colonial Jamaica, it was in the 1920s America that he assumed the stature as a thinker about the colonial problem. Among his extant writings, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or Africa for the Africans* is the one book or collection of articles and speeches which best articulates his post-colonial discourse. This postcolonial thought has of late received the interest of critics like Rupert Lewis (1988), Tony Sewell (1990) and Collin Grant (2008). However, to date, as far as my knowledge goes, these critics have not tried to retrace directly or indirectly he Hegelian contours of his discourse though Hegel is known to have provided, inadvertently it must be said, the method for overturning the power relations for most postcolonial theorists. Nor have they, always according to the best of my knowledge, sought to explain how Garvey came to pattern the black man's quest for national self-determination on Zionism. It is the purpose of the following article to do just that, i.e. show that Garvey's imagined national state is patterned on Hegelian and Zionist templates. To this end I shall appeal to discourse analysis and historicist criticism as critical movements giving importance to both text and context.

Hegel argues for the importance of an institutionally/rationally organised state in the third part of part of his book, entitled *The Philosophy of Right*. When established on a racial basis, institutions, Hegel tells us, make people feel "at home" in an Ethical state whose laws are in harmony with what they think is right. For Garvey, as for Hegel, the family, civil society, and the state are natural or organic entities that allow

people to fully realise themselves. Hegel values family life as a form of social liberation, structured as it is by rights and duties. Family life is liberation from personal isolation effected through love and marriage. It is a method of controlling the unruly press of sexuality and it is an objective structure that enables humans to express their capacities for long-term loving commitment through their relationship to spouse and children. It is a valuable escape from the demands of self-interest by allowing the possibility for a wider, more capacious sense of self than abstract personality permits. In other words, the family is a crucial domain for the exercise of a distinctively social mode of freedom that sociability generates. "The family", Hegel concludes, "is the first ethical root of the state. […] It contains the moment of subjective particularity and objective universality in substantial unity."(p.272)

Garvey does not provide us with much information about what family life was like among Negroes. He contented himself by drawing a very brief picture about his own family. He tells that his parents were "black Negroes". His father was a man of "brilliant intellect and dashing courage," (p.1) a courage that he retraced to his maroon ancestry. (Cf. Myers Aaron, 1999: 1253-54) As most bold men usually do, Garvey Sr took chances in the course of life, but unfortunately he lost his fortune. Poverty, Garvey tells us, did not in any way affect him personally because he knew how to take care of himself. Furthermore, his mother "assumed the responsibility that the father had failed to assume." She is described as, "a sober and conscientious Christian." Her character stands in contrast to that of his father. The latter was "severe, firm, determined, bold, strong, and refusing to yield even to superior forces if he believed he was right." By contrast, "the mother was soft […] and was always willing to return a smile for a blow, and ever ready to bestow charity upon her enemy." (p.1)

Born out of a "strange combination" of the traits of poor "black parent negroes," Garvey suggests that it is within the family unit of four members that he learnt to respect racial separation as quite natural. At the age of fourteen, Garvey and

his white little mate parted. Her parents thought that the time had come to draw, what is called "the colour line". So they sent her to Scotland to live with a sister there. To all evidence, Garvey's family played its role as a socialising agent by giving him a lesson about his proper place in a multi-racial society. He tells us that he "did not care about the separation after [he was told] about it." (p.2) Garvey adds that the separation did not hurt him because he "never thought all during our childhood association that the girl and the rest of the children of her race were better than I was; in fact, they used to look up to me." (p.2)This shows that apart from teaching racial separation, Garvey's family taught him to trust his own self-definition and value himself as a Negro. It fostered in him the love for those girls of his race. He writes that after his "first lesson in race distinction", he never thought of involving himself with white girls any more, even with those living next door. "At home his sister's company was good enough for me, and at school I made friends with the coloured girls next to me." (p.2)

Moreover, Garvey does not say much about the institution of the nuclear Negro family and about conjugal or filial love. It is racial love and appraisal that receives the most attention. When Garvey speaks about the problems of the black race, he speaks of them as problems of an extended family. This equation of family and race cannot be explained solely in terms of childhood personal experience in his own family. It is due mostly to the political and economic oppression that the black people endured even after emancipation. As Patricia Hill Collins puts it

During this period, revitalized political and economic oppression of African-Americans in the South influenced Black actions and ideas about family and community. Notions such as equating family with extended family, of treating community (the black race) as family, and of seeing dealings with whites as elements of public discourse and dealings with Blacks as part of family business endured. (p.53)

Throughout his speeches and articles, Garvey claims his love for his own race/family. But he is disappointed by those among his kith and kin who put their own selfish interests ahead of those of the family, which is the locus of ethical life. These are characterized as both slaves to their own selfish desire and peons of the white men who foster in them degenerate social needs.

Garvey urges the Negroes to seek recognition of their selfhood through the pursuit of love and commitment as members of the same family, but when he comes to the recognition of the Negroes by the "other fellow", the white race he underlines the necessity for the deadly rhetorical combat as described by Hegel in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Indeed, Garvey echoes Hegel's slave-master dialectic several times in his speeches when he talks about the relation between the races. For example, he writes that "Slavery is threatened for every race and nation that remains weak and refuses to organize its strength for its own protection. Slavery has no day and no time. It is present when the strong race desires to oppress the weaker race." (pp.124-125) He also writes that the "man, the race or nation that is not ready to risk life itself for the possession of an ideal [freedom], shall lose that "ideal." (p.86)

However, Garvey qualifies his argument about the life-and-death struggle between races by saying that the latter holds true only in cases where these races are not separated geographically. Fellowship and love between races remain possible if each race is given a "vital space" wherein to pursue its own self-interest and to contribute something to civilisation. Contrary to what integrationists claim, the Negro race cannot guarantee its survival in the white man's countries in the long term, Garvey warns the black masses. He also tells them that the competition between the races in the United States will become harsher as the white population increases and economic opportunity decreases in the next 50 or 100. Then the white race will no longer be able to afford to be indifferent or helpful to the black race whose

members will have developed the needed skills likely to lead them to ask for the same jobs and positions demanded by whites.

The problem with Negroes who think about racial integration is that they live "directly under the white man's institutions and the influence over [them] is so great that [they are] only a plaything in the molder's hand." (p.22) Garvey urges his fellow Negroes to create their own ethical institutions and not imitate those of the whites the better to affirm themselves as a civil society, wherein to assume their full moral status as free agents. One such ethical institution as already explained is the family as race. The other is religion. It must be noted that in *The Philosophy of History*, Hegel traces the expansion of freedom in the modern world to Luther's Reformation. (See supra Chapter 3). Probably influenced by the rise of Ethiopianism (the African Church movement), Garvey makes extensive references to what he calls "African Fundamentalism." (pp.184-186) Indeed, Garvey's allusions to religion are so extensive that Garvey scholars like Randall K. Burkett (1978), categorise Garveyism as a religious movement. Still, in spite of the great number of Biblical citations that he makes in his speeches and articles, this religious sensibility does not of make of him a priest or a pastor as the case is with his successors Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X. While it is true to say that he made a name for himself in New York when he addressed a mass meeting at the Bethel AME Church on June 12, 1917, it is also true that the good performance that day led him not to the establishment of a house of worship but the foundation of the New York division of UNIA in New York. Just as with Hegel, his religious references occur within framework of racial assertion on a divine plan. If there is one idea in all the speeches and articles by Garvey elevated to a religious tenet it is the Ethical State, or nation. Garvey kneels down in front of this Idea in the manner of the German master. The essence of this Idea is patriotism.

Nationalism is arguably the most important aspect of Garvey's philosophy. It was behind the creation of the UNIA

right from the beginning. On this point, Garvey's philosophy comes close to that of Hegel who affirms that it is ultimately the existence of the state that constitutes the conditions for the realisation freedom. Hegel's conception of the state differs from the contract view of the state developed by such philosophers as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau who affirm that communities are founded on contracts serving the interests of the individuals who form them. For Hegel, such a view privileges private or particular interests of the individuals over collective or universal interests of the citizen. A state is like a self-renewing organ, and unless it is "present in consciousness" of the citizens, it does not really deserve the name of state at all. Patriotism functions much like love in the family in the affirmation of the organic unity of the state. Hegel tells us that

Patriotism is frequently understood to mean only a willingness to perform extraordinary sacrifices and actions. But in essence it is that disposition which, in the normal conditions and circumstances of life habitually knows that the community is the substantial basis and end [of Freedom]. It is the same consciousness tried and tested in all circumstances of ordinary life, which underlines the willingness to make extraordinary efforts. (pp. 288-289)

As far as Garvey is concerned, the Negro can never be free as long as the Negroes have not constituted themselves into a national community. Garvey says essentially the same thing as Hegel. For example, he considers investment in the different economic projects that he created as an act of patriotism. The UNIA, like the US government during World War relied heavily on mass purchase of bonds through Liberty Bond programme. Just like President Wilson, Garvey gave a patriotic slant to the bond campaign by marching at the heat of UNIA parades in New York and addressing the black masses in meetings for the Universal Liberian Construction Loan. The word "duty" is often recurrent in speeches delivered to raise funds. The following is a case in point: "There are still Negroes here who can help and buy shares in the *Black Star Line*. Those of you who have done your

duty, I am not speaking to you; but there are thousands who subscribe to the Librarian Construction Loan." (pp.32-33) Selling and buying black are equally regarded as patriotic. In brief, Garvey, like Hegel, considers that only through habitual participation in the life of citizenship that Negroes could realise themselves. He urges the Negroes to set up a state or a nation in Africa because it was mere self-deception to expect to participate as free citizens in a predominantly white society. Garvey reminds his contemporary negro community that only a "government, a nation of our own, strong enough to lend protection to the members of our race all over the world, and to compel the respect of the nations and the races of the earth," (Quoted in Drimmer Melvin, Ed, 1968:396) Writing at the wake of the race riots following World War I, and at a time when race discrimination and lynching were at their highest peak because of the Negroes' attempt at social mobility, Garvey's philosophy of racial nationalism could not fail to strike a cord of sympathy in the Negro masses. Garvey tells them that

If you cannot live alongside the white man in peace, if you cannot get the same chance and opportunity alongside the white man, even though you are his fellow citizen; if he claims that you are not entitled to this chance or opportunity because the country is by his force of numbers, then find a country of your own and rise to the highest position within that country." (Quoted in Ibid, 396)

Two factors, one national and the other international, account for the easy reception of Garvey's racial nationalism in the 1920s. The national factor relates to the revival of exacerbated forms of nationalist feelings among the Anglo-Saxon community in the United States. These nationalist feelings are expressed in such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan and the Anglo-Saxon Clubs which mushroomed in the country after the end of World War I. Nativism, Anglo-Saxon racism and militant Protestantism were the hallmarks of these radical and defensive organisations born out of the post-war wave of strikes, bombings, Red Scares and race riots blamed on immigrants and

foreign ideas. It has to be observed here that Garvey was one of the immigrants who left Jamaica for the USA in 1916.

The nativist dimension of American nationalism in the 1920s had much to do with the foreign connections of many radicals, connections that led to the re-channelling of the war-time patriotism towards the hatred of the foreigners. Two such radicals are Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, both of them Italian-born members of an anarchist group. Sacco, a shoemaker by profession, and Vanzetti, a fish peddler were accused of having shot to death a guard for the Slater and Morrill Shoe Factory in Braintree, Massachusetts, and robbed him of his payroll amounting to a mere $15. Under the pressure of public opinion caught in nativist hysteria, Sacco and Vanzetti were brought for a 'monkey trial', convicted and sentenced to death on flimsy evidence. In spite of pleas for mercy and public demonstrations around the world on their behalf, the two men went to the electric chair on August 23, 1927, nearly seven years after their arrest on May 5, 1920. (Cf. Op. Cit.Lane and O'Sullivan, 1999: pp.280-282)

The resurgence of nativism in post-war America resulted from two interdependent sources: pseudo-scientific racist theories and immigration. The pseudo-scientific racist theory found its best expression in a widely read book, Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great R*ace (1916) which was so popular that it constituted one of the topics of debate among some of the characters in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925). The great race in danger of extinction was the Anglo-Saxon of Northern Europe, threatened by the Slavic and Latin people of Eastern and Southern Europe. The flow of immigrants that inspired the writing of Grant's book was momentarily stopped by the war before it resumed and reached its highest peak in the post-war period. Between 1920 and 1921, no less than 800,000 persons entered the US, the great majority of them hailing from Southern and Eastern Europe. (Cf. Ibid)

During the war, the hysteria against foreigners was directed mostly towards aliens from Germany and Austria, aliens rounded

up and imprisoned on Ellis Island. After the war, it was to the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Italians, Greeks, Jews driven out of their countries by religious persecutions or the post-war economic distress, who became the objects of fear. Unlike the earliest immigrants who came from Western and Northern Europe, these latest immigrants met different types of prejudice due to their differences in language, religion, and culture. Coming in such great numbers, new immigrants were naturally drawn together in city neighbourhoods known by names like Little Italy and Second Warsaw. This immigrant life in ethnic ghettoes emphasised all the more the sentiments of strangeness and anti-immigration on the part of the American society. Moreover, prepared to take jobs at lower wages, these immigrants were looked at very unfavourably by American labourers because of what they considered as unfair competition in a reduced post-war job market.

The xenophobia against foreign immigrants found its best expression in the return of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) which sought a "100 percent Americanism". The Klan originally arose in the white southern states as a resistance to post-Civil War Reconstruction policies. Headed by a former Confederate General Nathan Bedford, the KKK terrorized the newly freed black population so as to lead it to drop out the pursuance of civil rights. The activities of the Klan declined as a result of federal legislation, arrest and trial of several of its leaders at the end of the nineteenth century. (Ibid, p. 276) The KKK was in 1915 at Stone Mountain, Georgia, with the aim of saving the Anglo-Saxon heritage not only from the black people, as was the case with the policies of the post-Civil War Klan, but also from Roman Catholics, Jews and other Orientals.

The new Klan grew enormously in the post-war period by playing on American middle-class fears and frustrations, and on nativist alarm over the danger of Papacy and Jewry. It acted as a catalyst for a racial nationalism fuelled, among other things, by the powerful racist imagery of D. W. Griffith's epic film *Birth of*

the Nation and the black riots that flared up across the nation as a result of racial injustice towards the black population parked in Northern ghettoes. The KKK became some sort of nativist organisation with a constituency of 4 million Anglo-Saxon native-born members throughout the United States, a constituency which was able to elect senators "from 10 states and governors in 11 states – places like Oregon, Colorado, Indiana, and Maine, as well as southern states."(King David C. and Maria Marvin *et al*, 1986: 485) It has to be noted here that if Garvey stressed the number of 4 million as the number of members in his UNIA, it was arguably in response to the 4 million members that the KKK boasted to have enrolled in its lists.

No matter what the exact numbers of the KKK and UNIA were, it should be noted that the United States government reacted to anti-immigrant/anti-foreign sentiments by enacting laws that drastically reduced immigration of nationals belonging to cultures, religions, and systems of governments different from those of the predominantly Anglo-Saxon stock. For example, in 1921 was passed the Quota Law limiting the annual number of immigrants to a total of 357,000 giving full advantage to nationals hailing from Western and Northern Europe through an elaborate system of percentage. The Immigration Act of 1924 further restricted the number of immigrants from southern and Eastern Europe by reducing the 1921 quota to 150,000 to be distributed among peoples of various nationalities in proportion to the number of the fellow countrymen already in the United States in 1920.

The US government did not only pass stringent immigration laws, it also enacted laws that invested the Executive with power to deport persons "threatening" national security through their subversive activities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation was created during this period when the communist revolution of the Bolsheviks of 1917 was thought to be at the doorstep of America with the creation of the American Communist Party in 1919. The "Red Scare" eventually led to mass arrests and deportation of immigrant "agitators" or "trouble

makers" under the joint supervision of Attorney General Palmer and his younger assistant J. Edgar Hoover. In December 1919, an American ship sailed to Russia with 249 unwanted alien radicals on its board most of them not charged with any crime at all, except their national origin. It was the self-same Hoover, who had gathered information on the radicals deported to Russia, who later investigated into the activities of Garvey, which culminated in Garvey's deportation to Jamaica his home country in 1927 after nearly 5 years' imprisonment.

Garvey's racial nationalist philosophy can best be understood within the context of the racial nationalism pervading the American society during the mid-1910s and 1920s. It can be claimed that Garvey was caught in what Hegel calls the *zeitgeist* or the spirit of the times delineated above. Evidence can be found in the fact that Garvey's presence in the United States was far from being a fortuitous and whimsical matter. It has to be recalled that Garvey rode on the crest of the unprecedented flow of Negro migrants into the urban industrial centres of the North and the Midwest. Speaking of this Negro migratory movement, Alain Locke writes:

The tide of Negro migration, northward and city-ward, is not to be fully explained as a blind flood started by the demands of war industry coupled with the shutting of foreign migration, or by the pressure of poor crops coupled with increased social terrorism in certain sections of the South and Southwest. Neither labor demand, [Sic] the boll weevil, nor the Ku Klux Klan is a basic factor, however contributory any or all of them may have been. The wash and rush of this human tide on the beach line of the northern city centres is to be seen primarily in terms of a new vision of opportunity, of social and economic freedom, of a spirit to seize, even in the face of an extortionate and heavy toll, a chance for the improvement of conditions. (Quoted in Op. Cit. Lane Jack and Maurice O' Sullivan, Eds. p.218)

Alain Locke's statement captures so well the spirit of the times as far as the Negro was concerned. This spirit seems to all evidence to have sounded the end of Washington's philosophical

call for the Negro to "cast your bucket where you are" and live in accommodation with the racist regimes of the Southern states.

In a way as Garvey says it in his speeches, his stay in the United States was not planned beforehand. In his words, he went to the United States to collect funds for starting an industrial school and get inspiration from the followers of Washington school of racial thought. Garvey did not know that he was far from being a transient voyager to the source of Washingtonism in Tuskegee since before long he was seized by the *Geist* (the racial spirit) that permeated the Harlem Black life. About the attraction that Harlem exerted on the Negro at the highest peak of the Garvey movement, Locke says that Harlem has attracted Negroes from all regions, urban and rural, and all walks of life and through "proscription and prejudice have thrown these dissimilar elements into a common area of contact and interaction. […] So what began in terms of segregation becomes more and more, as its elements mix and interact, the laboratory of a great race-welding." (Ibid, 218) Locke continues his description of the role that Harlem played in the shaping of New Negro identity and culture by saying that

Hitherto, it must be admitted that American Negroes have been a race more in name, or to be more exact in sentiment than in experience. The chief bond between them has been that of a common rather than a common a common consciousness; a problem in common rather than a life in common. In Harlem, Negro life is seizing upon its first chances for group expression and self-determination. (Ibid, p. 220)

Throughout his speeches, Garvey, like Locke later, speaks about the "New Negro" no longer satisfied with the old dispensations imposed on the older generations to whom freedom had been denied because of their acquiescence and submission to the orders that be. So much has been written about the Garvey movement being the creator a mass movement paying scant attention to the fact that it was this mass movement, as portrayed by Locke, which created Garvey. Locke writes that

in the new situation of Harlem, "It is the rank and file who are leading and the leaders who are following." (Ibid, p.220) Garvey was not like the migrating clergyman following in the trails of his errant peasant flock which decided to move into the Northern cities after desperately trying to maintain them in the rural zones of the South. Yet, he resembled one in the sense that he luckily landed among a black community ready to listen to his call for racial nationalism and self-determination.

The Hegelian *zeitgeist* that caught Garvey reveals itself in other aspects of the rhetoric of his speeches than the leadership thrust upon him by historical circumstances. In the ***Crisis of the Negro Leadership*** (1984), Harold Cruise traces the bankruptcy of Negro leadership in the 1920s to the rivalries existing between the different leaders divided by the national origins (West Indian versus Black Americans) and ideological confessions (Pro-communists versus pro-liberals/capitalists). These rivalries undermined the effort to build a common front to ensure self-determination similar to the one that the Jews managed to do in spite of the same differences. Cruise's claim is to the point as regards to the dissension among the Negro leadership, but he failed to put them within the context of the white American thought of the period in which Garvey emerged on the stage of American Negro history. For example, Cruise pointed out the differences between Garvey the Jamaican with a British cultural background and the other native-born American negro leaders as the major cause behind the misunderstandings and animosity that marked negro leadership; yet he failed to show the extent to which the reactions on the part of the native-born negro American leaders towards Garvey's ascension to leadership of the black masses had much to do with white American nativism.

The point defended here is that if Garvey's Jamaican culture was made so much a case by leaders like DuBois, it was simply because American Negro leaders seemed to reproduce the same anti-immigrant sentiments that the white American society, through its Anglo-Saxon Clubs and White American Societies,

showed to white immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe in the same period. Tried as he could to show that "Great ideals know no nationality," (p.10) , especially when these were as shallow and spurious as black American nationality, Garvey did not manage to extricate himself from American Negro nativism of the Black American leadership which managed to have him imprisoned and deported to his country of origin, Jamaica in 1925. The irony in all this was that though Garvey reacted very badly to these nativist sentiments on the part of his American fellow Negro leaders, he himself subscribed to the same nativist sentiments by advocating a return of the Negro to Africa that he considered as his native land. Garvey's association of Africa (the native land) with the redemption of the black race strangely recalls Hegel's organiscism that made of the existence of the nation (a native land and a people) the ultimate condition for the realisation of freedom. Garvey's belief in organicism born partly as a result of racial segregation and discrimination (to which he was thankful for the white racists supposedly for having preserved the race from dilution) made him relinquish the civil rights for the Negroes in the United States for any help that nativist America could provide for the repatriation of the Negro to his native land (Africa).

The extent to which Garvey was seized by the nativist spirit of his times is reflected in his hostile attitude towards his fellow Negro socialists and communists like Randolph, Owen and DuBois. Following the Red Scare hysteria of the 1920s, Garvey attempted to depict these fellow leaders as stooges of the Bolsheviks seeking social and political equality in a land which he considered as primarily a "white man's land." Garvey's making a small case of the fact of being native-born citizens was one way of reducing native-born rival Negro leaders into permanent immigrant agitators, throwing back the stone to those leaders who denounced him to the American authorities as a foreign-born agitator.

Garvey's political and social thought was not steeped solely in the American ideas of his time as it might have been suggested above. It was in England that he decided to enter the world of politics in the 1910s after his contact with nationalist leaders like Duse Ali. It can be claimed that Garvey decided, to use Hegel's words, to reconcile the Negro with nationalism, an idea which was whipped up by people nearly in every part of the colonized world. Referring to nationalism, Garvey urged the Negroes to build a nation of their own by all means because it was the ideological bandwagon into which all peoples jumped in the 1920s. He affirmed to his mass audiences that if nationalism was good for all races it could not fail to be so for the Negro race. He pointed out the fact

There is a mad rush among races everywhere towards national independence. […] This year [1922] is regarded as a year of racial and national changes. Egypt and Ireland have already secured their freedom for 1922, and it is most likely that before the close of the year India will have gained a larger modicum of self-government. We cannot, therefore, allow the cause of Africa to lag behind. It is for us to force it. (pp. 44-73)

Garvey places his idea of Negro nationalism within the context of what Hegel calls world history. The call of "Africa for Africans… has become a positive, determined one. It is a call that is raised simultaneously the world over because of the universal oppression that affects the Negro." (Ibid, p.45) Apart from urging to 'strike the first blow' for realising the African dream of independence, Garvey tells the Negroes that this fight for the freedom of the motherland had also a providential dimension. It was 'written on the wall' that the Negroes would be freed from oppression. According to him, "God Almighty is our leader and Jesus Christ our standard bearer…. It is the same God who inspired the Psalmist to write, 'Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God." (p.47) Garvey spoke of the Negro's migration back to Africa in terms of an Exodus type of religious migration wherein he

emerged as a Moses figure. He warned the colonial holders of Africa that the only way to escape the wrath of God and his standing army of "4 million Negroes" was to quit it as soon as possible. It is in this apocalyptic judgmental view of history that Garvey comes closest to Hegel in his conception of the world spirit of freedom. This world spirit of freedom assumed the contours of nationalism in Garvey's speeches.

Many critics have pointed to the similarity between Zionism and Garveyism. (Cf. McCartney John T, 1992) But most of these critics have contented themselves with underlining their shared ideological call for the 'migration back home', overlooking other important aspects common to the two movements. One of these aspects is the relation between the idea of nation and freedom. For both movements, the migration back to the home country was not meant to be applicable indistinctly to all Jews (for the Zionists) and to all Negroes (for the Garveyists). For both movements, the building of a nation was regarded not only as essential for cultivating and maintaining the identity of the community in a determined sanctified territorial space, but also in allowing those Jews and Negroes still living in the Diaspora to develop a sense of pride for having achieved nationhood, and in imposing respect on other nationals living in foreign nations, which might otherwise be tempted to oppress them. It can be claimed, therefore, that for Garveyism and Zionism from which it was partly inspired, nationalism was not solely a geographical removal of a whole people from their "exile" to a regained Kingdom of old , be it "Ethiopia" or "Zion," but a spiritual Hegelian idea that endows the race with an identity among other races.

The above claim finds support in the following statement by Amy Jacques Garvey, who collected and published her husband's speeches while in prison: "At no time did he visualize all American Negroes returning to Africa." Garvey corroborates his wife's political statement affirming that the return is necessarily selective: 'Some are no good here, and naturally will

be no good there." (Quoted in Drimmer Melvin, 1967:395) Those Negroes particularly qualified for nation building are those who boasted of a practical, humble and pioneering turn of mind such as engineers, artisans, and farmers. No supercilious Negro could qualify for the migration back to Africa unless he managed to drop out the "practice of race superiority complex inflicted upon him" by the white man. (p.72) Furthermore, he warned the potential Negro migrants that his organisation

Does not want any bums to go to Africa. […] And if I have any friends who are bums, take my advice and stay where you are, because we will put you in jail. […] The fellow who has a grudge or a spite against the other fellow's goods, please stay in Harlem, in America, and make the best you can wish with the Irish cops. (p.173)

In short, what Garvey's project of establishing a national home for the New Negro needed most were people imbued with qualities such as self-reliance, a strong work ethic and racial solidarity. He did not want to make of Africa a human junkyard for the unwanted of the Western World, but a home for what he called the New Negro.

There are many parallels that can be established between Garvey's nationalist project and that of Zionists like Sokolow. One of these was their equal emphasis on respectively the New Negro and the New Jew. For both Garvey and Sokolow, those of their racial fellows who did not share the qualities that they assigned respectively to the New Negro and the New Jew are unnatural and unreal, Negroes and Jews lost to their respective races. Garvey's strain of anti-Negro racism directed especially against those Negroes of lighter skin pigmentation, and generally against those who did not follow the principles of his organisation recall Sokolow's tendency to Anti-Semitism. Addressing the New Jews, i.e., Zionists of his time, the latter told them that "You are, if I may use the paradox, a little bit of an Anti-Semite." (Quoted in Elie Kedourie, 1987:113) Garvey did not address his New Negroes in such explicit terms as Sokolow

did with the New Jews, but all through his speeches he castigated the mediocrity of the old Negroes and their brainwashed leaders. In short, Garvey and Sokolow excluded those portions of Jews and Negroes who did not subscribe to their nationalist projects from Jewry and Negroness.

There are other points in common between Sokolow and Garvey that have made for the rapprochement drawn here between Zionism and Garveyism. It is their acceptance of the racist theorists of their times, who saw in the presence of Negroes and Jews in Europe and America a menace to Western civilization. Just as Sokolow made his own the anti-Semitism of G.K. Chesterfield and that of Sir Mark Sykes so did Garvey appropriate the anti-Negro racist ideas of last-day champions of the American Colonization Society such as Mcallum. What Garvey and Sokolow shared in common with their respective white supporters was, to paraphrase Elie Keddouri's statement, the idea that the hyphenated and diluted Jew and Negro was both the cause and the result of Anti-Semitism and anti-Negro-racism. By striving for social equality and political positions in Western countries, these misguided Jews and Negroes gave rise to suspicion of their host countries. Therefore, helping Jews and Negroes to build their own nations elsewhere was the ideal way to re-establish racial harmony.

The harmony between the races, as envisaged by Sokolow and Garvey, was predicated on the division of labour. For both, the nation to be established would be a nation constituted of an agrarian population living in Kibbutzim or homesteads. The New Negro and the New Jew farmers would provide raw materials and agricultural products in exchange for the manufactures supplied by the Western World. Wearing the garb of an Abraham Lincoln, Garvey elaborated a program for the restoration of the Negro to Africa spelled out in similar terms as the agricultural programmes of the Reconstruction Era. Speaking about this Reconstruction/Restoration program, he writes as follows:

We have made arrangements whereby every industrious family going to Liberia will have twenty-five acres of land which you can develop agriculturally or industrially, and in addition to that you will get a free house lot in the city to build your home, and after you have built your house on it the government will give you a free title in fee simple for the occupation of the land. (p.173)

The quote above provides a sample of Garvey's propaganda for the re-settlement of Negroes in a nation of their own in Africa. No matter what material benefits it invoked to persuade the Negroes to return to Africa, the ultimate purpose behind the Restoration of the New Negro to his homeland, just like that of Sokolow's New Jew (Zionist), was the completion of the project of freedom, which according to the Hegel of ***The Philosophy of Right***, could not be achieved without a country and governmental institutions of one's own.

Conclusion

In this article, I have tried to relate Garvey's militancy for the creation of the Black nation to the prevalent nationalist, not to say nationalitarian discourse of the period. In other words, Garvey took his cues from both the patriotic culture of his adopted country, in the United States, and that of continental Europe which soon witnessed the birth pangs of nationalist movements such as the Sinn Fein in Ireland. As a charismatic leader, Garvey's call for creating a nation in Africa did not fail to appeal to the black masses caught between recurrent economic depressions on the one hand and the racial prejudice often expressed in the concrete form of lynching on the other. However, the social movement to which he managed to give birth, just like many mass movements of its kind, lost its social bearings soon after the deportation of Garvey to Jamaica in 1925. Until the mid-1960 when racial separatism as a political and socio-economic philosophy came to the fore again, the remnants of Garvey's philosophy had remained dormant. Confronted to the Great Depression of the 1930s, racial theorising of the Garveyist kind became less important to the Black people as they sought to weather the hard times by joining labour unions and

trying to get the most out of Federal Projects of the New Deal. Racial prejudice dies hard and that the progressive and socialist-oriented policy of the Roosevelt era left the problem of racial injustice unsolved, a problem to which Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X would try to bring a solution in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. Ultimately, Garvey's anti-colonial discourse will serve not only the pan-Africanist ideal but also black American leaders in the denunciation of racial discrimination in the American black ghettoes looked at as internal colonies. The Zionist turn of his discourse is the result more of expediency than of a real commonality of interests.

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The Implementation of Literary Competence through Project Work Methodology: Advantages and Pitfalls

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Much has been said and written about the implementation of the Competency-based Approach (CBA) in the education sector. However, the relevance of this approach to the teaching of university courses, such as literature and civilisation, has received but little interest. This paper attempts to bridge this gap by conducting a field experiment based on task and project work methodology and assessing its results. Project work stands as the backbone of CBA; it is viewed "not as a replacement for other teaching methods but rather as an approach to learning which complements mainstream methods and which can be used with almost all levels, ages, and abilities of students" (Haines, quoted in Stoller F. L. 2002: 109).

What is meant by literary competence? In what perspective does CBA fit a literary course? In other words, what are its advantages and its pitfalls? These are some of the main issues that we address in this paper. To answer them, we shall first outline the prominent characteristics of project work and then provide a rationale for task-based instruction to show how project work can be integrated into a classroom work of literature. The next section of our paper will provide a course design in relation to project work methodology and discuss the results reached after a field experiment conducted with the third year students of British literature.

Project Work Methodology

Project work is defined as a student-generated action, based on authentic reading and cooperative learning .It sets problem-based tasks related to real-world matter in terms of topic and content to trigger the students' thinking abilities through reading

and interpreting skills, and writing both along the process of learning and at its final stage. The end product of project work can have various configurations in terms of its nature and can be delivered in a way or another (an oral presentation, a stage performance, an article, a dissertation…etc.

Fredrika L. Stoller (2002: 111) distinguishes five types of project work with regard to collection techniques and sources of information:

-**research projects** which are undertaken through library and/or internet research.

-**text projects** which are carried out through literature, reports in news media, video or
audio materials, and computer-based information.

-**correspondence projects** based on communication with individuals

-**survey projects** which deal with collection and analysis of data.

-**encounter projects** which are related to face-to-face intercourse with guest-speakers.

To carry out project work, Henry (1994: 111) proposes three types of organisation which differ in terms of learning process, autonomy, and outcome. He calls the first type *structured project* and defines it as a work determined, organised, and specified by the teacher in terms of topic, materials, methodology and presentation. The second type, called *unstructured project*, is decided by learners without interference of the teacher. The third category, labelled *semi-structured project,* negotiates and blends the former types, because it is defined and organised by the teacher and the students together.

Whatever the category we are concerned with, it remains that a project is either introduced as a special sequence of tasks in a more traditional course made of disparate developed topics, or integrated into a content–based thematic unit. It can be carried out individually, in pairs, or in groups. It can take place in the classroom, outside the school, or start in class and have an extension outside. Its main feature, however, as an ELT approach, lies in the fact that, contrary

to traditional approaches, its value is not just in the final product alone, but in the working process as well.

Project work should be used in literature to promote linguistic, cultural and literary competencies. As this type of task is new to the students, it is advisable to start with a *structured text project* which needs to be planned, organised ad processed by the teacher so as to help the students develop a literary competence. Once this preparatory step achieved, the teacher can then move to projects where the students are given more autonomy.

Method

The implementation of competency-based approach on the course of literature led us to conduct an experiment with the classes of third year in the module of British literature. Our course went through the types of project organisation called *structured* and *semi-structured projects* which required from the students to develop **a portfolio** including **four poems of the same genre with their respective critical analysis** and a biography and philosophy of the poet to be studied. This portfolio represents an end project around thematically organized materials typical of poetry analysis. It has been accomplished through three stages and involved the use of both a literary corpus and critical materials.

Literary materials:

* *I Wandered lonely as a Cloud* by William Wordsworth
* *The Tables Turned* by William Wordsworth
* *Intimations of Immortality* by William Wordsworth
* *To Autumn* by John Keats

Theoretical and Critical Materials (Preparatory course):

*Definitions of Romanticism, its background, and its philosophy

* Definitions of key figures of speech (simile, metaphor, symbol, image…)

*The biography and philosophy of the poets under study

Stage I:

The objective of this stage was to allow a space for linguistically and semantically driven development to occur in

order to install in the students linguistic, cultural and literary competencies.

This stage has involved the study of *I Wandered lonely as a Cloud* by William Wordsworth. The following procedure has been undertaken:

1-Reading the poem and asking for the students impressions
2-Close reading of the first stanza for the purpose of:

    -defining difficult words
    -inferring the figurative language
    -summarizing the idea developed in the stanza

3-Reading the second stanza and performing the same task as in stanza one, but this time the thematic link between the two stanzas is highlighted.

4-Following the same procedure for the remaining stanzas

   Once the study of every stanza is achieved, the analysis moved to the investigation of the following aspects of the poem:

* Its setting
* Its atmosphere
* Its themes

Then the analysis was expanded to the study of the mode of writing and the students were shown how the romantic philosophy and themes are reflected in the poem, in order to settle in their minds literary knowledge which leads to autonomous study of any piece of literature.

      Along this first stage, the teaching was teacher-centred as it was considered as an investment stage in which students develop their linguistic competency and become familiar with poetry analysis. As a consequence, the students were not given the freedom to choose the subject of study.

      In the next step of **stage 1** the students were asked to work in discussion groups in order to start a process of reflective observation about theories on poetry analysis, and to try these theories out again in practice.

Stage II:

This phase involved the study of Wordsworth poem *The Tables Turned*, whereby the students were asked to recycle the procedure and the type of analysis followed in **stage I.**

During this phase, the teacher's role shifted from that of a knower transmitting knowledge to a knower-to-be, the student, to that of a guide who encouraged students to ask questions, use libraries and other resources, select, make and take notes, read and interpret texts and poems…etc

The teacher's guidance consisted in:

-reminding students the analytic procedure followed in **stage 1**

-guiding students through the different steps of the analysis

-supplying the linguistic, cultural, communicative tools for students to express themselves effectively and interpret accurately.

-helping students applying what they have learnt previously (figurative language, principles of romanticism…).

The analysis of the two other poems (Wordsworth's *Immortality Ode* and Keats's *To Autumn*) was left for the students to analyse in pairs or groups. The students' autonomy and freedom of choice has been limited to these two poems because we wanted to conform to the curriculum. Besides, we think that, since the approach was new for the students, we would have run a risk in giving them too much autonomy at this stage.

Results

The study of the students' projects revealed some successful attempts. But these successes seem to have been achieved mainly by brilliant students. In the other attempts, we noticed the following weaknesses:

- Too much reliance on critical references, to the extent that the students merely   copied long passages from the reading sources without even understanding what they reported.
- Weak writing skills, especially in summarising and paraphrasing.

- Lack of writing strategies, organisation and coherence in writing
- Lack of presentation skills which sometimes amounted to mere reading of the   written performance
- The students did not seem to take profit out of the autonomy that they had been granted, since most of them remained sceptical about their interpretive abilities.   This negative attitude inhibited their creative faculty.
- Even though the figurative language was easy to handle, students found problems to identify the different types of metaphors and to explain them .On the other hand, the different kinds of images (auditory, visual, spatial, etc) were handled with ease.

Discussion

The results show that the students' performances were affected by four major areas of weaknesses:

- a lack in the linguistic competence (weak reading and writing skills)
- a lack in the communicative competence (weak presentation skills)
- a lack in the literary competence (too much reliance on sources, lack in creative and interpretive skills, difficulties in handling the figurative language)
- no effective use of autonomy

To discuss the students' weaknesses observed in the implementation of literary competence, we need to define what is meant by literary competence, and then say how and why some students failed to acquire this competence. According to J.C. Alderson (2000) who referred to Gray, students in literature should develop their reading skills within an established hierarchy of levels of understanding of a text. The hierarchy comprises the following levels: one, reading the lines; two,

reading between the lines; three, reading beyond the lines. The first relates to the linguistic competence which leads to the literal understanding of a text; the second concerns the cultural competence and helps to understand the meanings that are not directly stated in the text; the third and last level deals with the literary competence and provides readers with the competency to highlight the main implications of a text by their critical value.

Alderson's hierarchy of understanding is useful because it sheds light on the cognitive and intellectual capacities required in the study of literature. From his description, one comes to the conclusion that literary competence is not an easy objective to attain, since it requires good background knowledge of the topic and a firm grounding both in the linguistic and cultural competences of the language in which it is studied. It seems to us that the absence of the last two competences has affected negatively our experiment, since most students displayed a slavish reliance on the library or internet documents, to the extent that they overlooked the great autonomy and big incentives that they were granted. Besides, the students' weak writing skills prevented them from displaying their truthful interpretation abilities and hindered the correct assessment and appraisal of their final projects. But does this mean that the failure of most students to perform a good project work is due to extraneous agents, such as their low level in writing and unfamiliarity with literature, and is not inherent in the method of project work? All in all, the experiment encouraged us to re-conduct it again and advise it to our colleagues teaching other modules. Why? This is due to many reasons:

One: using project work has had the merit to show the real level of the students in at least three skills involved in foreign language teaching (writing, speaking, and reading). The students were of course the first to achieve consciousness about their limitations. Such self-consciousness about one's weaknesses may be very valuable to the students in the course of their learning process.

Two: group work stirred high excitement among the students and enforced 'active' and 'interactive' learning in the classroom, thus breaking away from the monotonous atmosphere of former teacher-centered methods. In other words, the project work has immersed the students in the actual study of literature, because it has broken the monopoly held by the teacher both as the mediator and the interpreter of texts.

Three: students were urged to use the department's library and to develop skills related to book search. Other students resorted to the internet and developed skills related to electronic search, too. These two skills have further significance in the construction of the student's future learning.

Four: the students' unsuccessful attempts to infer the structure of imagery may still be valued because they remain autonomous attempts which may be improved through time. We have had the opportunity to notice this not in the students' products, but in the lectures following the end of the experiment.

All in all, these four reasons combined to infuse a new breath to lectures in literature classes. Yet, project work should be handled with care, because it is time-consuming for the students and teacher alike and, when carried inappropriately, may result in increasing frustration and discouragement. Such reactions, which may hinder the learning process, have been observed in some students whose works were rejected on the ground that the writing style and interpretation were not personal. They had committed themselves heart and soul to their project, to the extent that they could not take enough distance between their subjective feeling and the teacher's assessment. This attitude led them to perceive the negative results of the assessment as degrading for their personality.

On the basis of Gray's hierarchy of levels of understanding of a text, the students were also given the task 'to read beyond the lines' in order 'to make connections among textual elements and interpret those connections in terms of their knowledge, attitudes and beliefs'. In other words they were asked to use interpretation and discover the organizational

scheme of the text. But most of the students showed their incapacity to go beyong the initial step of reading 'between the lines' and even of 'reading the lines'.

The necessity of prerequisites is put forward here as literary competence is specifically linked with students' reading and writing abilities. Students should therefore master the linguistic competence which associates the field of sociolinguistics to highlight the cultural dimension of language so as to go beyond the notion of linguistic competence.

It is then a necessity for students to acquire language for cultural awareness in order to attain cross-cultural understanding in the target language for communicative and literary purposes. To put it in other terms, cultural awareness is seen as a prerequisite for communicative and literary competences which do not neglect the aesthetic and cultural dimensions in a world of pluriculturalism and plurilingualism.

According to Richard Kern (2000), students should grasp the pragmatic implications of the way the informational content is presented; in short, they should be able to interpret a text by using what McCarthy (1991:27) calls "a set of procedures, the approach to the analysis of texts that emphasises the mental activities involved in interpretation" and named procedural.

The procedural approach emphasises the role of the reader in actively building the world of texts which are social in origin, intimately related to other texts which are context-bound and socially embedded. He has to use his background knowledge of the world in order to make inferences by linking between form and content, comprehension and production; in one sentence to be able to use the text as a source for a new production.

As Michael Stubbs (quoted in Carter and Burton, 1982: 71) put it, literary competence involves "the ability to understand different kinds of semantic relatioships between a text and a summary of it; between sentences and different kinds of propositions conveyed by them; and between what is said and what is implied. These distnctions give more precise insight into some aspects of literary fiction, since a traditional concern of

literary criticism is the ambiguity and multiple meanings of literary texts, and how meanings may be conveyed without having to be stated in so many words".

The literary competence implies the students' command of analytic skills related to understanding, selecting, discriminating, comparing, organising in order to re-use, re-shuffle information called from set books, lecture notes and critical works. It helps the students to escape the slavish reliance on critical references, to the extent that they would no longer feel the need to copy blindly passages from the sources.

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MICUs, Componyms and the Triple Articulation of Cyber Language.

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Résumé

Cet article tente de clarifier le statut linguistique d'un nouveau type d'acronymes complexes, actuellement en usage dans la variété de langage connue sous le label de cyber-English. La structure particulière de ces néologies nous semble unique, car elle est formée d'unités intermédiaires entre les phonèmes et les monèmes, et implique de ce fait, une triple articulation du langage dont personne, à notre humble connaissance, n'a encore rendu compte de façon explicite. De plus, la structure extrêmement réduite de ces néologies qui peut inclure aussi bien des lettres, des graphes que des chiffres, peut représenter des phrases complètes et complexes regroupant toutes les parties du discours. Nous avons nommé ces néologies « componyms », et les parties individuelles mais solidaires dont elles sont formées « MICUs » ou Minimal Informational Cooperative Units. Dans cet article, nous tentons d'expliquer d'une part, la nature de l'innovation apportée par les utilisateurs de cyber-English aux mécanismes classiques de créativité lexicale, et, d'autre part, nous essayons de mettre en lumière l'intrusion de la triple articulation du langage dans le processus d'énonciation. Cette dernière a une double fonction : accroître l'économie du langage, tout en augmentant les limites linguistiques de la communication humaine.

Mots-clés : néologie – économie – MICUs – componyms – triple articulation du langage.

MICUs, Componyms, and the Triple Articulation of Cyber Language.

Human language has always been considered as the cornerstone of the divide between man and other beings. At the basis of this divide, is the double articulation of language which markedly distinguishes human language from the rest of all types of languages, including the programming languages. As a linguistic operational concept, Double Articulation has received the closest attention of linguists and other scholars who have always taken it for granted. The works of André Martinet (1985, 1998) and those of the members of the Prague School are quite illustrative of this interest. However, the extent to which this concept remains valid for the analysis of cyber language in general and cyber English in particular has been overlooked because the issue of Double Articulation is still considered as peripheral in the research related to electronic language. Unless the complexity of this computer mediated type of language is given full consideration, we will continue to neglect the intricate manner in which it is articulated. In the following, we would argue that as an innovative type of discourse developed by the abundant virtual communities that populate the web, cyber English is based on units other than phonemes. The phenomenon we shall discus now consists in the formation of new linguistic units built on a basis other than the usual double articulation as defined by André Martinet. Indeed, neologies like 'ASCIIbetical order', 'greped', 'laserize', 'ROT 13', 'FAQlist', 'B4U come', etc, show quite clearly that they are not formed from another type of minimal units which we label MICUs or Minimal Informational Cooperative Units as shall be discussed further. The neologies resulting from the combination of MICUs we name componyms, for we discriminate between componyms and acronyms.

For clarity purposes, we start by drawing a plain distinction between integrated acronyms commonly used in ordinary English, and MICUs which are more specific to the electronic space. To start with, an acronym is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary 1989 simply as 'a word formed from the

initial letters of other words'[1], précising though, that some new forms combine the initial syllables instead of initial letters as in the case of Amvets (American Veteran's Association), adding that 'they still are in the spirit of acronyming'. A point we should like to discuss further on. Some scholars like David Crystal distinguish initials which 'are spoken as individual letters like BBC, DJ, etc., from acronyms 'which are pronounced as single words, such as NATO, laser, etc'. Items which 'would never have periods separating the letters – a contrast with initialisms, where punctuation is often present[2]'. André Crépin (1994) considers acronyms as 'the extreme form of abbreviation. e.g. MP (Member of Parliament)'. Crépin precises that in acronyms,

The letters are not read successively, one after the other,

but they form a whole word. The Royal Air Force /rɔiəl ɛə fɔ:s/ becomes the acronym [RAF]. Acronyms make it possible to play on two meanings: that of the words represented by the initials and that of the word carried by the new whole. e.g. the PEN club groups Poets, Essayists, and Novelists[3] .

Another distinction which proves of a valuable interest for us is that of the French linguist Jean Tournier (1989)who considers acronyms and initials as being the result of the same lexicogenic process, but who discriminates them on pronunciation grounds. Tournier considers that in an initialism,

The item is pronounced letter by letter when it does not respect the morpho-phonemic constraint imposed upon words. e.g. FLCM (Fellow of the London College of Music), but when it constitutes a whole that fits an existing morpho-phonological model, it becomes an acronym and can be pronounced exactly as an ordinary word (OPEC, UNESCO) etc[4].

Conversely, a MICU can be defined as an autonomous linguistic unit functioning as the initial of a *word*, but which, being in a contiguous association with other MICUs, evolves into a more complex acronym we name componym. A componym may, in its turn also combine with a given lexicogenic device to evolve into a higher order componym. As an illustration, a componym like FAQ list is a linguistic unit

which results from the combination of the MICUs (FAQ Frequently Asked Questions) and the lexicogenic process of compounding (the addition of *list* to FAQ). It is worth signalling that the two types are not easily differentiated because an acronym is similar to a componym in that they are both composed of a certain number of initials which, threaded together by usage, form a whole considered as a linguistic unit. Yet, while an acronym is only built from the combination of initials of words, the componym involves the addition on the syntagmatic axis, of other elements like affixes, compounds or other lexicogenic processes impelled by the paradigmatic requirements of the situation of communication. Componyms are thus, the neologies which result from this complexification, and their articulation requires not only the double articulation of language as elaborated by André Martinet[5] (1998), but also a 'triple articulation of language' as shall be argued now.

In Martinet's conceptualisation[6], when a particular speaker wishes to express, through language, a particular experience they have about the world, they need to represent it in words, or to use Martinet's terminology, in 'monemes', those units of a sentence which the linguist considers as the smallest meaningful units of language. However, monemes, as long as they are not actually uttered out of the speaker's mouth in the form of coherent string of speech sounds, remain totally absent from the hearer's perception. Therefore, to be audibly communicated to the other, the speaker resorts to the second articulation of language, consisting in the individual articulation of the smallest contrastive units labelled phonemes. The phonemes are pronounced one after the other in an intelligible and structured manner (monemes) so to trigger in the hearer's mind, the expected representation.

In our conceptualisation, the articulation of the experience to be communicated is manifested in three distinct planes instead of two: like in Martinet's, the first plane concerns the ordering in the speaker's mind of the experience to be communicated into meaningful units. The second plane concerns the linear

amalgamation of other monemes into a genuine configuration to form a larger coherent structure, the componym, represented by the initials of each moneme concerned. Only then does the third articulation, the one involving the effective pronunciation of MICUs, sounding like phonemes, take over. In other words, the first articulation is the same in both conceptualisations, but in our view, the second articulation is the intruding one, occupying the virtual free space where the MICUs combine contiguously with a lexicogenic process to form componyms. The combination may involve either a derivational, affixional or any other lexicogenic process. The third articulation then, consists in the physical articulation of the MICUs which occurs between the articulation of the monemes and that of the phonemes. It concerns the moment when the units of the first articulation are formed in the mind and grouped into the larger units we have labelled componyms. The physical articulation of MICUs totally subsumes that of phonemes and this gives way to the confusion between MICUs and phonemes. The confusion rises from the remarkable similarity between the pronunciation of MICUs and that of phonemes. This is due to the fact that MICUs as well as phonemes strictly conform to the phonetico-phonological rules of the English language and MICUs are thus perceived as if they were phonemes combining to form ordinary lexical units. In fact, their natures are utterly different.

To illustrate this process, let us suppose that a person who had witnessed a laser operation, later reports: 'I saw the surgeon laserize the liver to remove the tumour'. We can now examine the cognitive and the linguistic activities involved by the use of the verb to *laserize*. First, the witness amalgamates his/her external experience into linguistic units representing the object of his observation which, here, concerns the use of a laser apparatus by a surgeon seeking to remove a tumour. The linguistic units are the components of the complex word laser, which unlike phonemes are initials of lexical units that do not appear in the utterance. These lexical units are successively: light (represented by L); amplification (represented by A); by

stimulated (represented by S); emulsion (represented by E); and of radiation (represented by R). They from a whole sentence implied without being articulated, and they combine with the suffix *ise* to form the componym *laserise*. We call a componym, the amalgamation of a complex linguistic unit, whether it is an acronym like laser or not, to which a suffixation device like *ise* for instance is added to build a more complex unit. The representation of the external experience in the form of componyms constitutes, hence, the first articulation.

The second articulation consists in the amalgamation of the individual monemes composing laser, and their reduction into MICUs. In the example mentioned previously, the Verb to laserise is built from the verbalization of the noun laser which is conjugated as if it were an ordinary simple lexical unit, while it is actually as we have seen a complex acronym. Now, let us examine the result of this process whose output, laserise consists of six monemes. These are the words to which every MICU of l.a.s.e.r. refers to plus the suffix 'ise' which, by the same token transforms the status of the word from Noun to Verb. When a certain number of MICUs virtually cooperate to form a componym as is the case here, a triple articulation takes over, that of the individual pronunciation of the MICUs which by now, behave as if they were phonemes. It is the physical utterance of laserise by the use of the organs of speech which constitutes the triple articulation.

As has been shown, the relations between the MICUs which make up a componym involve both 'a syntagmatic and a paradigmatic' dimension to use a Saussurean terminology. The syntagmatic dimension concerns the linear combination under certain conditions of occasional monemes and their reduction to MICUs to build componyms, while the paradigmatic dimension involves the association of the viable occasional elements apt to form acceptable componyms. This new way of coining electronic words by using different but effective lexicogenic processes challenges the habitual linear manner of writing classical words composed of phonemes written from left to right, or of uttering them, raising the pitch at particular syllables and

lowering it at others, pausing regularly at the end of each portion of text to respect the rhythm induced by meaning and punctuation. Here the rhythm is not imposed by the movement of the lungs breathing air in and out, but by the capacity to optimise meaning and its communication by resorting to all devices made available by the mouse and keyboard, hence, the ever increasing use of abbreviations, acronyms and emoticons. These novel processes consist in the association, under particular circumstances, of some linguistic forms with other units, whether linguistic or not, producing thereof new types of lexical units. As an illustration of such combinations, (B4 U come, CUL8er, ASCIIbetical order, FAQ list, @party, ROT13, etc.). These processes, as long as they consist in unusual associations rendered possible by the flexibility of the electronic support, increase the number of paradigmatic associations and undeniably favour network thinking, since they force the mind to establish links between entities that would not have been connected together otherwise. Steven Johnson points out that given its power to draw connections between things and thus, to forge semantic relationships, 'the link plays a conjunctive role, binding together disparate ideas in digital prose[7]'. The componym, just like Johnson's link seen as a synthetic device, becomes the locus for new types of linguistic relationships to dwell.

The philosophical issue to be discussed now relates to the apprehension of the external world, and its representation in language either in speech or in writing. From a historical viewpoint, the question of the relationship between the 'objects' of the external world and our apprehension of them through the mediation of language has always been of great concern in philosophical and epistemological enquiry, and of course has always been a crucial issue in linguistic and semiotic studies. The Greek thinkers were among the first ones to reflect upon the status of the mediation between the world outside and the language used to represent it, and to question the nature of this mediation. The challenge was and still remains that of providing an alternative elucidation to the virtual capacity of a fixed linear text to contain

an abstract meaning linking readers to other texts, to the intimate world of the author as well as to the world of things in the outer world, as often as the text is actualised by a reader.

Our personal understanding of the new type of writing commonly used by online communities in the variety known as cyber-English clearly challenges the supposed fixity of writing whose invention had, Walter Ong reminds us 'separated the knower from known'. The cyber sign as we understand increases this distance because of the specific nature of the cyber sign. Indeed, the latter is more than a simple inscription. As a sign, it is also a sign of another sign, since, as a sign, it stands for something else. But an electronic sign is more than a sign of a sign since it combines with other signs (embedded signs) to form a coherent whole labelled componym. This means that the cyber sign entails a double representation albeit appearing as if it were only one. As for example a person's representation of Magritte's pipe which would be entitled 'This is not Magritte's pipe.'[8] The Saussurean sign, because it is built on a dyadic relationship between the signifier and the signified remains unable to account for the double representation capable of continuous evolution which the cyber sign in general and the componym in particular both display.

If, then, following Pierre Lévy[9], we consider a text (and therefore any formatted piece of language from a single lexical item up to any type of elaborate writing) as a virtuality which takes value only through its actualisation, then the text depends as much on the author who encodes it as on the reader who proceeds to decode it. The new challenge for the reader is to actualise a text which has undergone several layers of coding but which (because of the linearity imposed by traditional written surfaces) still appears as if it had only one layer. With cyber-English, the layers of codes are represented by MICUs, and the text as a whole in the form of componyms. Yet although the keys are indicated by the MICUs to find one's way through the maze of componyms, the intention of the author may still remain 'beyond the text' and the reader may fail to catch it. This is due

as Peirce states, to the fact that 'the universe is perfused with signs'[10], although the nature of these signs is not identical.

After five centuries of print literature, we have become intimately accustomed to reading texts as configurations of interrelated words on a syntagmatic contiguous axis, and now we shall have to become acquainted with words read as configurations of virtual sentences within a fragmented linearity. The configurations constantly change thus undermining the myth of the 'stable unity' of the analog text, and the readers need to learn how to adapt their sometimes mechanistic type of reading to the new linguistic neologies whenever a componym is to be dynamically actualised in a new context. The reading movement ceases to be exclusively linear. It becomes discontinuous and sinusoidal, requiring additional cognitive activity from the part of the reader. This is the new challenge which the twenty first century reader has to take.

Notwithstanding the differences in appreciation about the capacities of language to faithfully account for the realities of the external world in simple lexemes or in highly complex componyms, one should reckon that a constant problematic issue for humans after the invention of writing has been the discovery of appropriate technologies to devise suitable physical tools likely to fit their storing purposes. The technologies were also to play a decisive role in fashioning the way people think and encode text. The gradual standardisation of writing and much later, the invention of the printing press prompted the duplication and the wide dissemination of information over large geographical and linguistic areas.

The development of print concomitantly brought about important intellectual and social disruptions to people's world views as they became confronted to different visions of the world which gradually questioned theirs. The development of the printing press also brought a standardisation of written languages which, beginning with the standardisation of spelling ultimately constrained also text organisation and book format. The major output was the imposition of the Book format model. This model

soon became the standard to be imitated, and by the same token even thinking became modelled on the new patterns imposed by standard spelling, text organisation and book format. Like the clay tablet, the parchment etc., the printed text allowed humans to store great amounts of information outside themselves in a physically hierarchised support separate from the mind and best represented by the printed book for over five centuries.

Nevertheless, the change incited by the printing press on language was relatively limited in comparison with the changes that languages are witnessing today as a result of the tremendous development of hypermodern explosion of information. When one examines the profound transformations hypertext is bringing to the way in which we habitually think and encode text, one can easily foresee the changes that the electronic text will operate by restructuring the way people use language. As a matter of fact, one of the most important benefits offered by the electronic sign in comparison with the printed text is its hypertextual architecture. Ted Nelson, its inventor, defines hypertext as 'Non-sequential writing with reader controlled links'[11]. In reality, it is the non-linearity of the digital text, as well as the new freedom acquired by a reader who can impose other reading paths and rhythms, which singles it out from the analog text. The electronic sign can be built from words, from images (static or dynamic), from sounds, or from a combination of each. Besides, given its hypertextual aspect, the digital sign easily connects itself with a variety of other signs, including the analog sign, without the habitual spatial constraints of the printed page. Electronic signs allow us to cross a further distance in our intellectual advance towards the conquest of new cognitive resources. When Giles Lipovetsky depicts the move towards the hypermodern condition, he bluntly affirms that "on est passé du règne du fini à l'infini'[12]. The passage is made easier by the electronic word, and more precisely by the componym which permits through its capacity to be fragmented, the embedding of other items such as other words, numbers, graphs or emoticons and the like without losing from its coherence, thus, projecting us into a new dimension.

Perhaps would it be useful to remind the reader of Vannevar Bush's idea of the memex, which can be considered as the closest anticipation of what was to become the hypertext, and to which the componym may serve as a nucleus or as a minimal structure, in its challenge with the classical 'word'.

The human mind...operates by association. With one item in its grasp, it snaps instantly to the next that is suggested by the association of thoughts, in accordance with some intricate web of trails carried by the cells of the brain… A memex is a device in which an individual stores his books, records, and communications, and which is mechanized so that it may be consulted with exceeding speed and flexibility. It is an enlarged intimate supplement to his memory… [13] Almost half a century later, and as a follow-up to Vannevar Bush's appeal to the implementation of the memex, one can appreciate the peremptory response by Tim Berners-Lee, the inventor of the WWW on page 14 of his Weaving the Web, where he declares in an inspired forecast which prefigures the hypermodern text, in which the traditional clear-cut separation between syntax and semantics is properly blurred: 'What matters is the connections. It isn't the letters, it's the way they're strung together into words. It isn't the words, it's the way they're strung together into phrases. It's not the phrases, it's the way they're strung together into a document'[14]. Like for hypertext narrative, the basic concern in the construction of componyms pertains to the conjunctive links one builds with MICUs to create meaning. The context is provided by the specificities of the situation of communication which requires a third order capacity for reflection that caters for economy of expression. In other words, with componyms the reader is invited to re-build the links between the MICUs to work out the meaning of the componym or 'hyperword'. This type of reading is basically dynamical for it appeals to the readers' capacities to renew the links between the MICUs at each step before reaching the overall meaning contained in the componym. Indeed, the combination of MICUs

into componyms constitutes a perfect illustration of 'network thinking' or what Ascott defines as

The antithesis of tunnel vision or linear thought. It is an all-at-once perception of a multiplicity of viewpoints, an extension in all dimensions of associative thought, a recognition of the transience of all hypotheses, the relativity of all knowledge, the impermanence of all perception[15].

However, as coding becomes more complex it allows its author an increased capacity to construct meaning and to communicate it, but it concurrently requires from the reader at least the same capacities for decoding. This of course raises another issue which can be dealt with in another discussion.

A significant precision which should be added now concerning the syntagmatic construction of componyms, is the novelty brought by hypertext links. These links, which fragment the habitual linear construction of syntagms, may concern either a complex syntagmatic construction or a simple coinage, as a link may be inserted even within a simple construction. For example, it is possible to link the individual elements of an acronym to their respective objects to facilitate its comprehension, as in 'The Sysope is working on the D.N.S. @ the moment.[16]' Hyperlinks involving hypermedia are considered as complex syntagmatic constructions in comparison to the simple syntagmatic constructions mentioned above. As an illustration, a sentence like *a bug's already crashed the bogus system* can be hyperlinked to the sound produced by sinking water in a sieve or any other sound that may suggest the crashing of an object. In this respect, componyms resemble hypertexts from the standpoint of their constitutive elements. However, while componyms mainly operate at the level of the word, hypertexts (which can also be the result of a componym operation) mostly operate at the level of the sentence. Therefore, both the conception of componyms and the hypertext links ought to be considered as representative implementations of network thinking since both of them incite the mind to draw adequate relationships between disparate elements which would not fit

together in other contexts. As an illustration for such an assertion, let us consider the example of ASCIIbetical order.

On the syntagmatic axis, it is composed of a certain number of elements which can be described as follows on the first syntagmatic level:

American + Standard + Code + for + Information + Interchange + betical + order. A)– As a whole, the coinage is a highly complex lexical unit which fulfils the necessary requirements to be labelled componym, and its elements can be broken down into two distinct components: the first is comprises componym ASCII, compounded with an unusual suffix, 'betical', and the second component is composed of a simple lexical unit, 'order'. The result is ASCIIbetical orderB) – The componym can be broken down into its constitutive components: the MICUs A, S, C, I, I.

C) – The suffix betical can in its turn be broken down into two parts: the clipped element 'betic' from alphabetic and the suffix 'al'. In the last case, the suffix 'al', remains as a sign waiting for an object to be connected with, so as to embody it with an adjectival qualifier meaning 'relating to', or to participate in the formation of a noun denoting verbal action. Other neologies like F.I.S.H.queue or FAQ list are built on similar grounds, except that here the acronym represents a more complex proposition from the syntactic standpoint.

The second syntagmatic layer would comprise all the linear constructions which, like ASCIIbetical conform to the syntactic rules still at play within the Standard English language. It could also involve the insertion of any multimedia type of document whose objects could be accessed and retrieved by a simple click on its hypertext or hypermedia links. These could be underlined in blue, and be highlighted by a pointer device like a mouse. In this way, any click on any element on the syntagms (first or second layer) would thus function on a hypertextual mood, capable of bringing forth remote connections in unpredictable ways.

Each element on the syntagmatic axis on both layers can stand in a one to one term relationship with its correlate on the

paradigmatic axis. At the same time, a syntagmatic combination of terms into larger units also finds its correlate within the paradigmatic axis. As an illustration, a sentence such as "the R.& D. manager, suggests to laserise the I.B.M. piece of hardware before fixing it" would read as: the Ar an Di manager suggests … with a simple mouse click on the graph R, the reader is trans/teleported to the document linked to the graph which explains that R stands for Research and provide further documentation relating to the field of research concerned. Another click on D would perform the same activity and would connect the reader to the document where the word Development and its files are stored. But then, if the reader still finds it difficult to understand the link between research and development, another hypertext R&D would connect the reader to another document explaining the function and use of this service within a given firm. In order to better highlight this point, let us again reconsider the example of ASCIIbetical order:

First, a number of initials capable of fitting together in an appropriate pragmatic context are combined on the syntagmatic axis to form ASCII. The result is the coinage formed from the aggregation of the once disparate elements (A+S+C+I+I) which by now have become MICUs into a coherent whole, the componym ASCII. Each MICU of the componym on the syntagmatic linear axis may be linked to its correlate on the semantic axis by means of a hypertext link. Considering the existence of the alphabetical order which indicates a certain manner of classifying objects by using the disposition of alphabetic letters from A to Z, and taking advantage from the existence of a paradigm already associated with the mental activity of classifying objects of knowledge, one can substitute ASCII, (which is also a form used by computers to organize knowledge), to alpha from alphabet, and add to it the suffix betical to form ASCIIbetical. Eventually, order is added to the new lexical unit to form a complex compound ASCIIbetical order.

A succinct analysis of the cognitive activity devoted to the formation of this coinage perfectly illustrates what is meant by

interconnectedness or network thinking since this procedure performs several actions at one time:

- It permits the formation of a new lexical item ASCIIbetical by borrowing a suffix from an established lexical unit. In so doing, it forces the mind to accept the newness of the coinage by pointing to its similarity with a familiar lexical unit (alphabetical) built upon a similar device. This new contiguity results in new meaning (a digital manner of organising knowledge).

- By drawing attention to its familiar counterpart (alphabet) whose paradigmatic contiguity is now brought to the foreground, it both justifies and questions its proper status, because as a coinage it is brought to compete with the already existing term 'alphabetical.'

- By the same token, it deconstructs the process by which the 'simple' lexical unit was built. In the example above, the coinage is not built from the linear combination of alpha + beta from which the last sound was dropped by the well known linguistic device known as apocope to form 'alphabet', but from MICUs to which the suffix 'betical' is added to form a new complex lexical unit, named componym.

- It disrupts the classical way of building words from phonemes (alphabet is formed from phonemes, while ASCIIbetical is a componym formed from MICUs).

Because it builds connections on familiar grounds, the coinage acquires a legitimacy which, in time, becomes equal to that of ordinary lexical units as the examples of laser, bit and radar, or as the newly admitted items like dinky or nimby show. (It should be pointed out that while both dinky and nimby are integrated into the electronic version of the COED, only dinky was added to the OED electronic version in 1993 leaving nimby in the lexical fringe. The point to be raised is that when this actually takes place, the etymology of the item gets lost with the passage of time and the alien coinage becomes so familiar that it is naturalised in the language as well as a transplanted organ becomes 'natural' in the receiver's body when a surgical operation is successfully conducted.

In fact, this innovative way of using language, significantly augments the generative capacity of language which makes an infinite use of finite means by optimising the potential of the finite means. It also reminds us of the distinction drawn by Chomsky's deep and surface structures[17], where a sentence may have one surface structure but two or more different deep structures, with the notable difference that our concern is strictly limited to lexical structures while Chomsky's involved the examination of full syntactic structures and language universals.

Actually, though the process of turning acronyms to componyms remains at fledgling level, it has already started exerting a visible influence on the type of lexis used by cyber -English as can be attested by the ever-increasing number of neologies involving MICUs on the Internet. The changes implicated by the appearance of componyms could become more significant in time, for although they are still considered as marginal today, componyms might well initiate profound transformations in the way people think and communicate in the long run. Most probably, when people become used to this way of coding and decoding language, cyber English will sound like Pidgins sounded once, before turning to Creoles after people used them 'naturally' as their mother tongues. After all, a brief examination of the history of human life shows that it has been characterised by constant growth and complexity in all fields, and human language as we have seen is no exception. An innovation or a new invention appears, struggles to take root, gets further 'internalised' in human habit and then ceases to look new. Later, as we get intimately acquainted with it, it loses its newness and looks as if it had always been 'there'. Sometimes, it lingers on and 'naturally' dwells in its location, sometimes it changes its function or appearance, and sometimes it disappears from human memory. So it goes with language. A coinage appears, gains more ground, becomes internalised by a great number of users, and one day, it changes its meaning or simply disappears from human sight and earshot. Accordingly, one might find themselves someday thinking in componyms without ever realising it, just like Mr Jourdain ignored he was making prose.

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Notes and references

1- The Oxford English Dictionary. Second edition 1989. CD. Oxford University Press.

2- See D. Crystal's 1995. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language, p 120.

3- *Les sigles sont la forme extrême de l'abréviation. e.g. MP (Member of Parliament)....Les initiales peuvent se grouper en acronymes. Les lettres ne sont plus lues successivement, l'une après l'autre, mais elles forment un mot. The RAF (Royal Air Force) devient l'acronyme R.A.F. Les acronymes permettent de jouer sur deux sens: celui des mots représentés par des initiales et celui de l'ensemble nouveau. e.g. Le PEN Club rassemble Poets, Essayists, Novelists- gens de plume*. André Crépin. 1994. *Deux Mille Ans de Langue Anglaise*. Nathan, p 157.

4- *La réduction d'une séquence de mots à ses éléments initiaux est un processus qui s'est développé considérablement au cours des cinquante dernières années: cette forte productivité reflète certaines caractéristiques de la société contemporaine, où se multiplient à la fois les découvertes scientifiques et techniques et les institutions et organismes de toute sorte.* Jean Tournier. 1989. *Précis de Lexicologie Anglaise*. Nathan, p 142.

5- See André Martinet. 1998. *Eléments de linguistique général.* Armand Colin.

6 - Idem

7- Steven Johnson 1997. *Interface Culture or How New Technology Transforms the Way we Create and Communicate*. Basic Books, p 111.

8- Daniel Chandler "Semiotics for Beginners", *Modality and Representation*, http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/semiotic.html , (Accessed November, 21, 2009)

9- See Pierre Lévy, 1998. *La Virtualisation du texte*", in Qu'est-ce que le virtuel ? La Découverte.

10- Charles S. Peirce, Collected papers, Pragmatism and Pragmaticism, Vol.5. Electronic version.

11- See Theodore Nelson. 1982. *Literary Machine.* Mindful Pr.

12- Gilles Lipovetsky 2004. *Les Temps Hypermodernes.* Le livre de poche, p 84.

13- See Vannevar Bush. 1945. *As We May Think.* In The Atlantic Monthly.

14- Tim Berners-Lee. 2000. *Weaving the Web.* Texere, p 14.

15- Roy Ascott. *The Architecture Of Cyberception*, http://www.clas.ufl.edu/anthro/Seeker1_s_CyberAnthro_Page.html

16- *Sysope* is a blend formed from System and Operator, and the D.N.S. stands for the Domain Name System.

17- See Noam Chomsky. 2nd Ed. 2002. *Syntactic Structures, Mouton de Gruyter*