Scholars and the reframing of Europe: the complex relationship between language, race and nation during the Great War

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Delegates attending the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 were given the arduous task of establishing the terms of the peace after WW1, including the criteria by which to determine the boundaries of new states emerging from the collapse of the old multinational empires. Given that U.S. President Woodrow Wilson had laid so much emphasis on the principle of 'self-determination', language was considered by many as the best element to establish nationality in ethnically mixed territories. A legacy of the nineteenth century, the apparently straightforward identification between language and nation was nevertheless complicated by pervasive ideas about race, as the taxonomies of language and race became increasingly entangled.

By presenting selected works by two scholars – Leon Dominian, a geographer, and Antoine Meillet, a linguist –, this paper analyses the main and most widespread arguments propounded in support of the identification between language and nation during the Great War. It also explains why this principle turned out to be exceedingly problematic at the time of the redrawing the political map of Europe, and how the ambiguous relationship between language and race persisted during the early years of twentieth century.

Keywords: World War 1, new states, making borders, language, race.

Introduction

When the delegates convened at the 1919 Peace Conference in Paris, they were given, among others, the task of solving what would be the guiding principle by which to define and draw up the boundaries of the new states, in particular those born from the ashes of the defunct Austro-Hungarian Empire. In an article on the languages spoken in that Empire by the various nationalities, published in the *Journal de la société statistique de Paris*, in 1915, the French physician and anthropologist, Arthur Chervin, had observed, with good reason, how language had come to serve political aims, especially with regard to the question of self-determination. In it, he aimed to analyse 'with the aid of indisputable scientific documents, without bias and without passion', the ethnic composition of Austria-Hungary. His objective was therefore to present the results of official administrative surveys on religion and, above all, the language spoken by its inhabitants. However, after immediately discarding religion, on the ground that it did not provide 'such conclusive information as the spoken language', he turned his attention to the 'spoken mother tongue'. This, according to him, represented an important proof that the nationalities were constituted by 'perfectly distinct linguistic units'. He argued that, 'whatever the primitive and remote origin of the races which populate the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the spoken language has now become the determining factor of the race which the various nationalities claim for themselves in their present habitat and the raison d'être of their political aspirations'.[1]

Chervin's statement identifying language as the main element by which a nation was to be defined conveys an assumption that certainly did not appear novel at that time; it was indeed a by-product of the evolving concept of nation, an ongoing process that began at the turn of the nineteenth century, according to which peoples were to be distinguished by cultural factors – above all linguistic ones. Even though the

association of language to nations was by no means simple (as there are languages without nations, just as there are nations with more than one 'national' language), language indeed became one of the principal factors used in the identification of nations. Further still, as language also conveyed a sense of ethnic (or racial) identification, given that language studies was directly correlated with the proliferation of race thinking throughout the century,[2] the taxonomies of language and 'race' became increasingly intertwined.[3] The full complexity of the tripartite nexus between language, race and nation came to the fore during the drafting of the Peace Treaties at the end the First World War on the question of 'reframing' Europe based on a 'natural and scientific solution'.[4] According to the 'nation-state principle', in effect, there was 'perfect congruence between political and ethno-cultural unity'.[5] Moreover, this principle spurred decision-making at the time of the peace treaties, which in turn led to the redrawing of the political map of Europe. Language, then, was therefore invoked as a 'natural' criterion by which to define and draw the boundaries of the new territories (nation states).

In this article, I would like to focus on precisely how this close nexus between language and nation was advocated by certain scholars during the Great War as the guiding principle for reframing Europe once the war had ended. Indeed scholars played a fundamental role in redefining the borders of central and eastern European states, since they were given the task, as the French linguist Antoine Meillet explained in the foreword of his book, *Langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (1918), of not providing 'ready-made solutions' or 'lead[ing]', but 'enlighten[ing] those who have the responsibility to act'.[6] However, in order to grasp the complexity of the problem, it will be necessary to explain the awkward coexistence between 'language' and 'race' in greater detail. By the same token, throughout the century the 'myth of race' was intertwined with the 'myth of nation': in fact, both 'provided complex social, cultural, historical, and political narratives that sought to solidify inherent similarities and

differences amongst individuals and communities'.[7] The close interconnection between these three concepts, facilitated by the fluidity of 'race' theories, emerged to its full extent during the First World War, in particular during the peace negotiations. Accordingly, in the following pages, I will try to 'verify' Anna Morpurgo Davies' assertion whereby, 'if one disregards the personal opinions of some scholars, the development of professional linguistics in the nineteenth century [...] ends up with a clear division between language and race'.[8] The fact is that the debate on the relationship between language and race (and of those of the nation), far from being limited to professional linguists, was a common concern of all those who, in one way or another, were confronted by the task of defining the characteristics (and hence, also the boundaries) of a nation.

Finally, the analysis of the relationship between language, race, and nation will help to clarify the deepening entrenchment of nationalist ideologies in ethnic (or cultural) principles from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, not only because the idea of the nation changed meaning in the late nineteenth century 'under the influence of science, and specifically of evolution and race theories',[9] but also because, inevitably, nationalism was transforming European politics and scholarship.[10] Some recent works have indeed emphasized both the influence that human and social sciences (such as ethnology, history, physical anthropology, psychology, etc.) had on nationalism and vice versa, and the transnational dimension of the development of the national sciences, which spread in the context of international relations.[11] This international frame of reference provides the context in which (cultural, physical, psychological) national differences were 'scientifically' elaborated and explained, and (more or less deliberately) manipulated for political purposes. However, as Chris Manias has explained, contrary to what happened in the earlier period, which were characterised by consolidation of scientific networks and disciplines, the decades preceding the Great War testified to a growing 'splitting and

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fragmentation'. The reasons for this were many, and related to both political factors (such as the exacerbation of inter- and intra-national rivalries, and the repercussions of 'New Imperialism' on 'public consciousness, domestic politics and the human sciences'), as well as more scientific factors, for instance, the 'challenging the idea of progress', and the growing importance of countries previously considered 'peripheral' to intellectual production in the international scholarly context. This led to increasingly scientific specialism and differentiation.[12]

It is in this context, then, that I would like to introduce and explore a few selected works by Leon Dominian and Antoine Meillet, as they are useful in understanding the issues at stake in the negotiations that culminated with the signature of the 1919 Peace Treaties. Leon Dominian was a naturalised American Armenian geographer, who made a detailed study of the political and linguistic situation in Europe and Near East, for the benefit of Americans; Antoine Meillet, on the contrary, was a French linguist who had participated in the meetings of the *Comité d'études*, held by the French government in 1917 to determine the country's peace objectives. Their works provide an opportunity to reflect on some of the major disputed questions as a result of the correlation between language and nation, such as the impossibility of using them as a reference framework for the redrawing of the map of Europe, and the need to dampen exacerbated nationalisms through the search for an 'international' (neutral) language.

Nation, language, race: a tricky relationship

The language/nation convergence developed significantly in the nineteenth century in the context of nationality movements and the birth of nation-states. Before the coming of national languages, however, the

linguistic landscape of Europe was rather jumbled: the vast majority of people were illiterate, and languages were for the most part learnt orally. Moreover, different written languages existed within the single political unit, which could be accounted for by the different functions assigned to them: administrative, literary, religious and so on. By the end of the eighteenth century, national languages were deemed capable of 'replacing a heterogeneity of linguistic modes responding to diversified uses' and 'representing the nation', which therefore responded to the increasing demands of the modern state.[13] In contexts where multilingualism was the norm, a single idiom was chosen as the official language of the state. The equivalence of state language and national language is therefore the result of a long evolutionary process of both linguistic and political-legal conceptions of the nation and the modern state. Accordingly, the status of 'national language' was also attributed to written language, as it became codified, officialised, controlled and disseminated by state institutions in all domains of public life.[14]

The equivalence of language and nation is not only the product of a particular conjuncture, brought about by the consolidation of states into national entities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it was also the product of progress in human and social sciences – in particular, the linguistic disciplines – that accompanied the creation of those states. At the end of the eighteenth century, the aesthetic and socio-historical discourse developed by German romanticism placed language, as an expression of the spirit of a people, at the heart of the legal and political definition of the nation.[15] In the absence of a unifying state – as was the case for the German-speaking territories –, language 'was thought to testify to native speakers' shared historical descent from a common cultural origin'.[16] Philology was then applied with the aim of understanding historical cultures based on the analysis and interpretation of their texts. From a historical-scientific point of view, philological practice laid down the foundations of an independent discipline of

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philological-historical scholarship, as well as its correlated sub-disciplines, such as historical linguistics, cultural-philological interpretation and philosophical hermeneutics.[17] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the transformation of philology from an auxiliary science to an autonomous scientific discipline seemed to confirm the idea that language was 'one of the most significant elements in understanding the development of a nation'.[18] Its success was also a result of the social function exercised by literature as a cultural activity that participated in the construction of collective identities. Having become the main tool of medieval historical study, philology was given the task of tracing the origins of the nation. By facilitating 'the creation of a "scientific" national history that projects both the national language and the national ideology into the distant past', the new philology thus provided a scientific tool capable of proving the 'antiquity' of nations.[19]

At the same time, the idea of the close nexus between language and race was gaining ground. As 'the basis of somatic features that are stable over time', in fact, race was thought 'to reflect – and codetermine – the specific fundamental characteristics of language and the cultural forms associated with it'.[20] It was facilitated by both the inherent ambiguity of the notion of race itself, and the issues implicit in linguistic studies, as was the case of the monogenesis/polygenesis debate. This debate centred on the origins of languages, that is, whether or not they had a common origin, and the extent to which their differentiation had taken place over time (monogenetic hypothesis) or, conversely, the multiple origins of languages analysed in relation to population and geography (polygenetic hypothesis).[21]

Another issue widely debated among linguists and others, and which was to have important repercussions in terms of 'race' theories, related to the question of whether European tongues descended from a single, ancestral Indo-European language. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the German writer and philosopher, Friedrich von Schlegel, devoted his

attention to a major study of Sanskrit, *Über die Sprache und Weisheit des Indier* (1808), in which he argued that not only this sacred Indian language was 'the most regulated, the most efficient, the most poetic' language and the least confused, but also that a number of other languages, including Greek, Latin, Persian and German, owed their origins to it. He was the first to use 'comparative grammar' in the 'historical-genealogical' sense, i.e. as a means of demonstrating the common descent of several languages from a single mother tongue.[22]

The passage transforming a linguistic category into a racial one was short. The idea spread that this linguistic kinship originated from a people from northern Europe or the Caucasus who migrated during proto-history to the Indian peninsula, Persia and Europe. In 1849, on the occasion of the prestigious Volney Prize, annually awarded to the best philosophical and comparative study of languages, the German comparative philologist, Friedrich Max Müller, 'first presented his ideas about the existence of a distinct Aryan language and civilization'.[23] Not long after, he published *Comparative Mythology: An Essay* (1856), in which he claimed that comparative philology could provide 'insight into a period "when Sanskrit was not Sanskrit, Greek not yet Greek, but when both, together with Latin, German and other Aryan dialects, existed yet as *one* undivided language"', and 'would allow "the archives of the most distant antiquity of the Aryan race" finally to be opened'.[24] The superiority of the Aryan race, defined as the 'race of Indo-European speakers', was also claimed at that time by the French diplomat, writer, and ethnologist Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau. Despite not having invented the aesthetics of races,[25] Gobineau developed a theory of racial differences, whereby he identified the roles of the natural laws governing the social world, in his work, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (4 vols., 1853-1855). Among his basic premises, he argued that the inequality of languages corresponded exactly to the inequality of races, and that the white race, especially the Aryan one of Germanic peoples, was superior to others. In that same

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period, Ernest Renan published the essay *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1855), whose books I and V ('Questions of Origin' and 'Conclusions') were devoted to the construction of a genuine theory of 'Semitic peoples', and 'transposed a series of linguistic considerations into an ethno-cultural issue'.[26] In the case of German philologists, in the nineteenth century they interpreted language as evidence of ethnic descent and created influential myths of cultural origin around the perceived starting points of their own mother tongues.[27]

Such linguistic racial determinism was endorsed by the Belgian linguist Honoré-Joseph Chavée, who transformed the language/race partnership into a linguistic principle ('*telle race, telle langue, et telle langue, telle race*'), in his book *Les langues et les races* (1862), according to which he established a kind of hierarchy of languages.[28] Relying on the comparison of Indo-European and Semitic inflections and syntactic forms, Chavée argued that the two languages did not have a common origin and that, consequently, Indo-Europeans and Semites belonged to two different primitive races.[29]

Needless to say, the racial-linguistic affinity had also become commonplace outside linguistic circles.[30] For instance, Edward Augustus Freeman, the English historian mainly known for his *History of the Norman Conquest* (6 vols., Oxford, 1867-79), asserted in 1879 that the 'doctrine of race, in its popular form, is the direct offspring of the study of scientific philology'. This was not to say that 'scientific philologers' believed that language 'was a certain test of race', nor that men who speak the same tongue 'are necessarily men of the same blood'; rather, it was 'the natural instinct of mankind' to connect race and language:

It does not assume that language is an infallible test of race; but it does assume that language and race have something to do with one

another. It assumes, that though language is not an accurately scientific test of race, yet it is a rough and ready test which does for many practical purposes. To make something more of an exact definition, one might say, that though language is not a test of race, it is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, a presumption of race; that though it is not a test of race, yet it is a test of something which, for many practical purposes, is the same as race.

Similarly, Freeman believed that even though nationality was not grounded in philological science, language was 'the best guide' to group races and nations, to 'mark them off one from the other'.[31]

Of course, not all authors agreed on the strict determinism between language, race and nation. Abel de Hovelacque contributed to the heated debate regarding the defining (political or cultural) characteristics of the French nation, which had taken place following the loss of Alsace-Lorraine because of the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), and marked the beginning of the Third Republic. He wrote that the 'theory of races, languages and nationalities', was 'specious', for being at odds both with a number of scientific as well as political concepts it relied on, such as the right of free association, which was inherent in republican democracy.[32] He explained further that this theory had been 'officially affirmed and seemed to receive its first practical endorsement' during the unification of Italy. And yet, Hovelacque continued, 'this purported unity of the languages and races of Italy was mere fiction. The Italian people was *one* by necessity and by aspiration, it was not one [...] either in terms of its language or race'. In Europe, there are no places where race coincides with language. It is even rare for language to coincide with nationality, i.e. with 'voluntary political union'. And he therefore dismissed racial determinism: 'It is therefore just as inadmissible to pretend to base the idea of nationality on race as to pretend to base it on language'.[33] Abel Hovelacque, who was an anthropologist and linguist, in 1876 was

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appointed professor (and from 1890 director) of the École d'anthropologie. In 1867 he founded, together with Chavée, the *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* (1867-1916) (The Journal of Comparative Linguistics and Philology), which sought to integrate linguistics into the natural sciences, considering language as 'a living organism and argued for the rigorous application of evolutionary transformism in linguistics'.[34] In France, in that period, a generation of anthropologists-linguists (among others, Hovelacque, Girard de Rialle, and Julien Vinson) devoted themselves to analysing the question of the origins of language and its evolution. Following in the footsteps of the anthropologist Paul Broca, they admitted the distinction between *langage* (immutable and an integral part of man) and *langues* (which are transformed according to political events and social conditions). According to Hovelacque, the faculty of language was acquired by man, and the 'precursor of man' (a being in transition between man and animal) had acquired it through different places, thus giving rise to different human races. The plurality of languages thus contributed to the original plurality of races.

And yet, by the end of the century, many scholars still confounded the biological characteristics of a population with its linguistic or cultural heritage. The term 'race' became commonplace, as was transposed from linguistic to physical groups, and combined with ideas drawn from social Darwinism to produce theories of racial inequalities and superiorities.[35]

The complexity of the relationship between language, race and nation, as well as the different criteria with which to define the nation (voluntary political association or ethnic-cultural group?), and the contradictions they conveyed, would fully surface at the time of the 1919 Peace Treaties. Delegates at the Paris Conference attempted to identify the scientific and natural criteria with which to redraw the borders of the new states. That was the reason they called on experts (geographers, historians, linguists, economists, etc.) to redefine a geopolitical situation which, principally

due to the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires, had become potentially explosive.

Leon Dominian: language as 'cohesive power of nationality'.

In September 1917, the American president Woodrow Wilson authorised Colonel Edward M. House, a diplomat and Wilson's personal adviser, 'to organize forces to gather and prepare for use at the Peace Conference the most complete information possible, from the best and latest sources, for consideration by the Peace Commissioners'.[36] This was known as 'The Inquiry', a group of experts directed by House himself, which had the task of collecting and analysing data on the geographical, ethnological, historical, economic, and political problems of those areas subject of the peace negotiations.[37] Two months later, Isaiah Bowman, geographer and director of the American Geographical Society (AGS) since 1915, placed the resources of the Society at the government's disposal, thus becoming the centre of 'The Inquiry'.[38] 'The Inquiry', which was 'entirely independent of any political hypothesis', was composed of about 150 specialists and scholars in all fields, from political and diplomatic history to international law, from economics to geography, from physiography and cartography to education and irrigation. The 'cartographic force' of the AGS was handed the task of drawing up maps which could 'visualize not only all manner of territorial boundaries, but distribution of peoples, number and local densities of population, religions, economic activities, distribution of material resources, trade routes, both historic and potential strategic points'.[39] All these reports, studies, and maps were to be used subsequently by the American negotiators at the Paris Peace Conference to support the final peace negotiations. Among them, Leon Dominian was called in February 1919

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by the commission in Paris to deal with Turkish and the Near East related issues.

Of Armenian origin, but born in Istanbul, Leon Dominian (1880-1935) was not really trained in geography, since he studied geology and mining engineering in Belgium; he travelled in Asia Minor and Turkey, and lived for a time in Malta. He was fluent in many languages, Armenian, Turkish, Arabic, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. In 1903, he moved to the USA, becoming a naturalised citizen there ten years later; indeed, in 1912, he joined the AGS. In 1918, Dominian engaged in a consular career, which continued until his death. The following year, he was assigned to duty with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris.

As a member of the AGS, Dominian published a number of reviews and articles in the *Bulletin of the American geographical society*, namely on Balkan peninsula and Turkey, but also the linguistic areas of Europe. Dominian would further develop the arguments from his articles in the book *The frontiers of language and nationality in Europe* (1917), in which he reviewed all the disputed areas of speech in Europe, but also Asia Minor. As was pointed out by the American geographer, W.L.G. Joerg, who wrote a short memoir dedicated to him, the book 'supplied the desired detailed discussion of the problem of nationalities in Europe and the Near East and their geographical setting'.[40] In a letter sent to Isaiah Bowman on 19 February 1915, Dominian mentioned the idea of writing an article and drawing 'a set of maps showing linguistic boundaries' in Europe, explaining that the suggestion came from Madison Grant, a member of the AGS Council, under whose direction he would later carry out the work.[41] In his correspondence with the director of the AGS, Dominian went into detail about the nature of his intended work, also explaining which maps would be needed to complete it, including a map of Europe 'showing tendency of political boundaries to grow in accordance with linguistic frontiers'. He pointed out that the data he had collected revealed 'splendid conformity between physical features and

linguistic distribution' and that, even though it had no claim to originality, the work would be consisted of 'strictly impartial statement of facts, with very detailed mention of sources'.[42] Confronted with Bowman's misgivings about the work, which he considered not only 'exceedingly difficult' but also extremely complex, partly due to the absence of any dependence of linguistic boundaries on physical features, Dominian responded (citing Gruber's *Grundriss des Romanischen Philologie* and the *Atlas linguistique de France*) that 'while this is occasionally true, it is generally possible to trace genetic connection. Sometimes the sequence back is lost and it looks as if surface features had never intervened, but the deeper you delve into the subject the more you find the reverse to have happened'.[43]

Published in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (June edition, 1915), entitled 'Linguistic areas in Europe: their boundaries and political significance', Dominian's main argument was that national frontiers could best be distinguished by linguistic characteristics, and, as a general rule, boundary lines should follow the separation of languages. According to Dominian, 'linguistic lines of cleavage have twofold importance' when they are considered as 'political boundaries'. First of all, they are sanctioned by national aspirations, so that it is rarely possible to separate the idea of language from that of nationality. Except in very rare cases (e.g., Belgium and Switzerland), language is the 'cohesive power of nationality', and it has 'cementing qualities', since it is 'the medium through which shared success, achievement or struggle and sorrow are expressed'.[44] Second, linguistic lines of cleavage conform considerably to physical features: in fact, there is a strict correlation between language and its natural environment. Since linguistic areas 'have been largely determined by the character of the surface covered or delimited', determination of linguistic boundaries 'implies due recognition of selective influences attributable to surface features. But the influence of region upon expansion or confinement of language is far

from absolute. The part played by economic factors', in fact, 'have been of prime importance'.[45] Dominian then examined both some controversial linguistic boundaries – for example, the Franco-Flemish one, the Franco-German in Alsace-Lorraine, the Danish-German, the Italo-German, the Italo-Slavic, a.s.o. – and main linguistic areas of Europe, of which he outlined the political and economic history, to conclude that:

1. 'Zones of linguistic contact were inevitably destined by their very location to become meeting places for men speaking different languages. [...] The confusion of languages on their site is in almost every instance the result of human intercourse determined by economic advantages'. That means that 'language always followed in the wake of trade and Babel-like confusion prevailed along channels wherein men and their marketable commodities flowed'.[46]

2. 'The growing coincidence of linguistic and political boundaries must be regarded as a normal development', and 'modern reconstruction of nationalities is based on language', as the history of Europe during the nineteenth century shows (e.g., the unification of Germany and Italy as well as the disentanglement of Balkan nationalities). In this sense, 'the Congress of Vienna failed to provide Europe with political stability because popular claims were ignored during the deliberations'; this is why 'inhabitants of linguistic areas under alien rule' were now 'clamouring for the right to govern themselves'.[47]

Dominian further developed his main arguments in the book he would publish a couple of years later, including parts that he had previously been forced to omit from the article, and extended his study to the Turkish area because of its significance for European international affairs.

Quite interestingly, whereas Dominian had summarily dismissed the issue of 'race', considering its political significance as 'trifling' in both the

article and the book, on the contrary, Madison Grant, who wrote the introduction to the book, brought it to the fore. Grant was a member of the governing board of the AGS from 1913 to 1935,[48] besides being an American lawyer and wildlife conservationist, and later President of the New York Zoological Society; he was also a fervent eugenicist and advocate of scientific racism. In 1916, he published the best-selling book *The passing of the great race or the racial basis of European history*, in which he advocated the biological and cultural superiority of the 'Nordic race' (Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon groups) over all other people, and dealt with the fate of the 'Nordic type' in the United States of America.[49] In his introduction to Dominian's book, Grant explained the lack of 'race consciousness in Europe', arguing that 'although race taken in its modem scientific meaning – the actual physical character of man – originally implied a common origin; today, it has little or nothing to do with either nationality or language, since nearly all the great nations of Europe are composed, to varying degrees, of two and sometimes all three of the primary European races'. That is why language rather than race should be relied on as a basis for nationality, even though 'lines of linguistic cleavage frequently represent lines of race distinction as well'. In his opinion, the current war could probably have been avoided if, subsequent to the Franco-Prussian war, the borders between the two states in Alsace-Lorraine had been drawn up in conformity with the linguistic reality. Finally, national aspirations 'expressed and measured' by a common language' ought to serve as a monitor for future peace.[50]

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Fig. 1. L. Dominian, 'Part of Europe showing languages having political significance', in:
The frontiers of language and nationality on Europe (1917), 334.

Both the article and the book were widely criticised, and Dominian was accused not only of occasionally exhibiting anti-German sentiment, but also of knowing little about Germany and the history of the German language.[51] Moreover, the Romanian-born American sociologist, Max Sylvius Handman, reproached Dominian for using mainly second-hand literature and sources, except in the case of Turkey. This had not only led him to overlook 'the deeper underlying causes of nationalistic antagonisms', but also to present merely a one-sided stance. Hence, even though the book paid 'a great deal of attention to the subject of national characters and geographical influence, […] discussions of this subject will not be worth taking seriously until we have first developed a technique for the study of national characteristics and then found out something definite about them'.[52]

Following the convergence of linguistics and geography, which came about as a result of the upsurgence of ethnically and linguistically-based European nationalisms by the end of the nineteenth century, Philip Jagessar has commented that 'language was increasingly viewed as a mappable phenomenon that could provide a new, stable, variable for demarcating and organising space'.[53] Linguistic geography, which spread as a branch of dialectology from the end of the nineteenth century, dealt with the analysis of linguistic phenomena from the perspective of their geographical distribution, taking into account historical, social and geographical factors. The publication of the *Atlas Linguistique de France* (1902-1910) by the Swiss linguists Jules Gilliéron and Edmond Edmont, consecrated linguistic geography as an autonomous discipline.[54] Moreover, 'language areas were seen also as the geographical spaces inhabited by members of the concomitant "races" or nationalities, and this strengthened the tendency to give a political application to such ethnic-geographical groupings'.[55] Consequently, linguistic geography proved particularly suited to redrawing the borders of the states that had belonged to the fallen multilingual empires. This explains not only

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Dominian's interest and work within the AGS, but also why linguists and experts on linguistic issues were gradually integrated into the French *Comité d'études*, which met in the 'Salle des cartes' of the Sorbonne *Institut de géographie* from 1917 to 1919, to clarify French military ambitions and prepare for peace. The Comité was set up by the Deputy, Charles Benoist, to deliberate in particular on what to do with the Dual Monarchy, and what place should be given to the principle of nationalities. In particular, since the conditions for peace had to be agreed upon by the other allies, it was necessary to identify possible areas of conflict within the Entente. In this sense, geographical, historical and philological knowledge made it possible to identify and clarify difficulties.[56] At the outset, the Comité was composed mainly of geographers and historians. In 1918, experts from other disciplines were added, namely linguists: Antoine Meillet, scholar of Iranian and Armenian studies, and Slavic languages; the Slavist, Paul Boyer, specialising in Russian; Émile Haumont, specialising in Slavistics; Hubert Pernot, specialising in Modern Greek Studies, and founder (1919) and Director of the *Institut néo-héllenique* at the Sorbonne; and Paul Verrier, specialising in Scandinavian languages and literature.

According to Isabelle Davion, the Comité was the 'laboratory of the new diplomacy', and reflected the need to provide support to diplomatic work by offering specific expertise on extremely technical issues.[57] However, the Comité was never really involved in decision-making processes. It was powerless, not least because of its independence from diplomatic and governmental spheres. Thus, its influence was limited to providing notes and statistics on highly specialised subjects, and consultations based on specialist status. Nonetheless, some of its members were later appointed as experts to the Peace Conference, as it was the case of the geographer Emmanuel de Martonne, a specialist in the construction and comparison of ethnographical maps,[58] who succeeded in obtaining the formation of 'Greater Romania'.[59]

Antoine Meillet: languages in 'new Europe'.

Born in Moulins, France, Antoine Meillet (1866-1936) was one of the leading linguists of his time, particularly in the field of historical-comparative philology of the Indo-European languages. In 1891, he was appointed director of comparative Indo-European studies at the *École pratique des Hautes-Études* in Paris and taught Armenian from 1902 until 1906, when he was appointed Professor of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages and of general linguistics at the Collège de France. In 1921 Meillet created the *Revue des études slaves*, together with Paul Boyer and André Mazon. That same year, and until 1937, he was also appointed as President of the *Institut d'études slaves*, established in 1919 by Ernest Denis, which 'served as a steering instrument for the French Institutes in the East, especially those in Prague and Warsaw'.[60]

Antoine Meillet divulgated some of his main ideas on language and nation through a number of articles published in the multilingual journal *Scientia, rivista internazionale di sintesi scientifica* (International journal of scientific synthesis),[61] as well as in his book, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (1918; 2nd ed. 1928). These publications were all inspired by the tragic events afflicting Europe at that time. His intention was to present 'the linguistic situation of Europe as it stands', and not as the product of 'vanity and national claims' that had been exaggerated since the nineteenth century.[62] He blamed the 'German block' for triggering and carrying on the war against several nations: Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium and England. As he explained, the only allies of the Germans were two groups who had survived by oppressing other nationalities: the Magyars, who managed to make themselves the sole masters of a country in which they had been in a minority against the Serbo-Croats, the Romanians, the Ruthenians and the Slovaks; and the Turks who had dominated Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Slavs, Christians from Syria, Jews by force.[63] Meillet drew on the contrasting examples of the Russian and

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Austro-Hungarian empires to substantiate his arguments, both of which had populations belonging to mixed language groupings. He argued that, whereas non-Russian speaking population occupied mainly the borders of the Russian Empire, those who spoke Russian formed a compact and united people; the situation in Austria-Hungary was quite different. Of the two states constituting the Habsburg Empire, Austria had no language of its own, except Czech; on the contrary, Hungary had an official language, Magyar, which was the idiom of the largest and most influential group in the kingdom, but the mother tongue of less than half the population. The linguistic conditions of Russia and Austria-Hungary, he concluded, were in no way comparable: on the one hand, there was a huge number of people with the strongest possible unity speaking one of the great languages of European civilisation; on the other, groups had been brought together by chance, and rejected Magyar or German as their official language and language of civilisation, aspiring to disassociate themselves. Here, language was the vehicle through which peoples opposed one another.[64]

Meillet was also critical of Germany's expansionistic ambitions, which it achieved partly by endlessly multiplying the principle of nationality, and partly, by promoting its own linguistic expansion over the small national languages. This was the case of the small states bordering on the Baltic Sea, whose languages of civilisation could not compete, because of their very limited influence, with the spreading of German as a 'language of business and high culture'.[65]

In his book, Meillet defined the situation in Europe as 'paradoxical': while material civilisation, science and art were becoming increasingly unified, the languages that served this civilisation were extremely varied, 'and they were becoming more numerous every day', and each nation, no matter how small it was, wanted its own language. He therefore argued there was a link between language and nation, despite the fact that nation was not always expressed through language, 'nor is a particularity

of language sufficient to give a national consciousness'. Even though belonging to the nation was 'a matter of feeling and will' and the nation was not characterised by any kind of 'material' elements, Meillet continued, and 'the fact remains that language is the first, clearest and most effective character by which a nation is distinguished. Where differences of language disappear, national differences tend to disappear as well, and where national feeling is lacking, differences of language tend to disappear'.[66]

Meillet also devoted a chapter to the question of the relationship between language and 'race', the latter defined by physical traits. Moreover, he rebutted the thesis of the Austrian linguist and ethnologist, Friedrich Müller, who classified languages according to the physical character of those speaking them in his work *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft* (1876-1887). Meillet, on the contrary, believed that there was no such inevitability between a language and the 'race' of those who spoke it, and the limits of race and language were revealed by the fact that they could 'never coincide exactly'. 'No doubt, it is possible to observe a degree of concordance between languages and ethnic types [...]. But such concordance is due to the fact that the languages now used in the world appear to be almost all the result of the divergent evolution of a relatively small number of earlier languages, and that historical and geographical conditions have resulted in the distribution of languages and races which, despite not corresponding exactly, do have some common features'.[67]

Generally speaking, by illustrating the contemporary linguistic problems of his century, Meillet aimed to illustrate how languages could lose their unity and how common languages were created. An advocate of the fundamental unity of European culture, Meillet feared that the Entente's victory would lead to a multiplication of national languages, which would not only be pointless – being intrinsically weak, they were destined not to go beyond the borders of the nations for which they were created –,

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but also detrimental to internationalisation of civilised life. In his opinion, for Europe to overcome its 'linguistic fragmentation' and the resilient crises that such situations engendered, a second language was needed for international relations. In light of the failure of existing languages, he pleaded for the adoption of an artificial language (such as Esperanto and Ido), which would provide international relations 'the simple practical instrument they lack'. Moreover, an artificial language, to be used only in international relations, had the advantage of never having, or at any rate not for a long time to come, 'qualities that enable it to compete with national languages outside the limited and relatively humble objects for which it will be made'.[68]

Conclusions

In 1928, the second edition of Meillet's book, which was improved and enriched thanks to a comprehensive statistical analysis by Lucien Tesnière, a specialist in Slavic languages, German and French, attempted to come to terms with the outcome of the 1919 Peace Treaties. While the Treaties had left the geo-political situation of Western Europe practically unchanged (except for Alsace-Lorraine, returned to France), they had totally overturned the reality of Eastern Europe. Meillet suggested that linguistic criteria had been fundamental in drawing the new frontiers: 'linguistics did not expect to be accorded such an honour'.[69]

No doubt, as the linguist Patrick Sériot has observed, the Treaty of Versailles typifies the belief that the 'distinction between languages' matches the 'distinction between nations'. However, even if the fundamental criterion according to which 'where there is language, there is a nation' appeared quite straightforward, it soon turned out to be inoperative. Sériot has therefore defined the 'boundary-makers using spontaneous linguistics' ('*la linguistique spontanée des traceurs de*

frontières') when thinking of the discontinuous and the homogeneous; on the contrary, field linguistics reveals a complex, heterogeneous and continuously evolving situation. However, as Sebastien Moret has argued, this approach to linguistics was embraced not only by non-linguists (as Dominian's has shown), but also by professional linguists.[70] The desire to achieve a 'scientific peace' had led the Entente governments to employ experts they considered capable of finding a solution for drawing up the boundaries of the new states, which could be both natural and scientific.[71] Yet, as the subsequent historiographical research on these expert committees has shown, their influence was eventually limited to furnishing notes and statistics on highly specialised subjects, and consultations based on specialist status.

In fact, the US peace plan advocated by Woodrow Wilson, which took the form of a peace brokered on the principles laid down in the Fourteen Points, came up against a labyrinth of interests making its implementation very difficult. The Peace Treaties failed to supplant national rivalries at the root of the war, and the conditions for further conflicts remained. The harsh political, economic and military conditions that were imposed on Germany soon proved unrealistic, while the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire fuelled national tensions in many of the new states. Commenting on the new European order, Isaiah Bowman noted indeed that 'where there were approximately *8,000 miles* of old boundary about the former states of central Europe, there are now *10,000 miles*, and of this total more than 3,000 miles represent newly located boundaries. Every additional mile of new boundary, each new location, has increased for a time the sources of possible trouble between unlike and, in the main, unfriendly peoples.'[72]
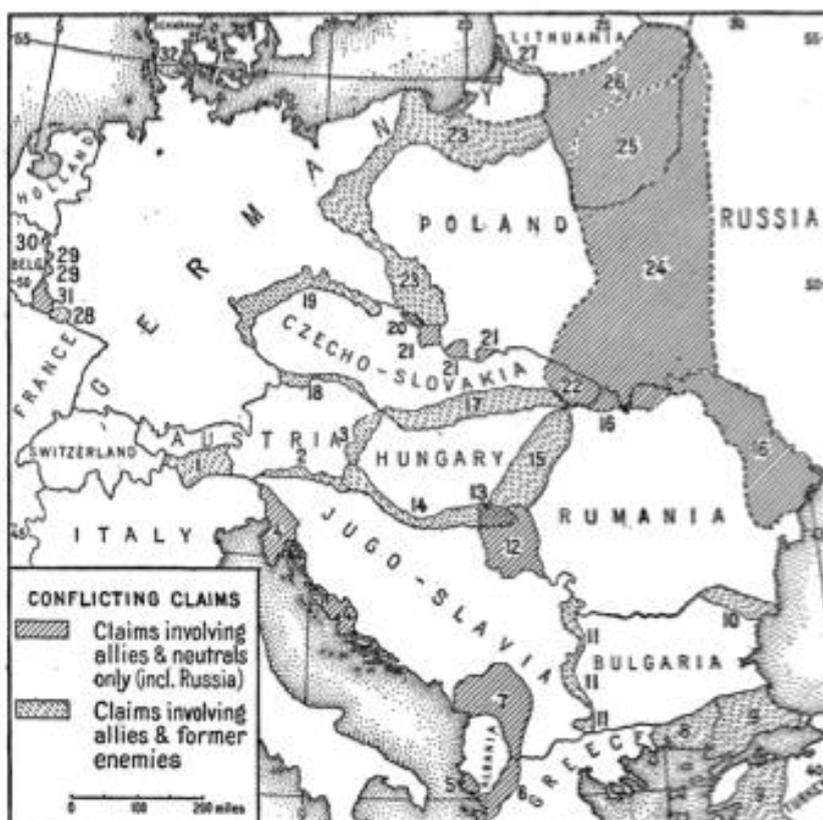
4   The New World

FIG. 1. Overlapping territorial claims in central Europe. Claims are represented not in their most extreme but in their more conservative forms; in general, therefore, the ethnic line is taken as the limit of the claims of Austria and Hungary; the eastern limit of Poland's claim as shown on the map is some distance west of her boundary in 1772 (see Figure 166), etc.   The districts are numbered as follows:

1. Part of Austrian Tyrol
2. German-Slovene borderland
3. German Hungary
4. Istria and Dalmatia
5. Valona
6. Northern Epirus
7. Serbo- Albanian zone
8. Western Thrace
9. Eastern Thrace and the area claimed by Greece in Asia Minor
10. Southern Dobrudja
11. Western Bulgaria (See Fig. 153)
12. Southern Banat
13. Northern Banat
14. Southern Hungary
15. Western Transylvania
16. Eastern Ruthenia and Bessarabia
17. Southern Slovakia

18. Southern Bohemia
19. German Bohemia
20. Czech districts in German Silesia
21. Teschen, Orawa, and Spits (named in order from west to east)
22. Ruthenia
23. Upper Silesia, Posen, Danzig, Marienwerder, and Allenstein
24. Polish-Russian border zone
25. Lithuanian-Polish-Russian border zone
26. Polish-Lithuanian border zone
27. Trans-Niemen territory
28. Saar basin
29. Malmédy, Eupen, and Moresnet
30. Southern Limburg
31. Luxemburg
32. Northern Slesvig

As for the relationship between 'language' and 'race', at the dawn of the new century the two notions began to undergo a certain differentiation, and their immediate juxtaposition were not unanimously accepted. Nevertheless, their relationship remained ambiguous (or at least was never clarified), and the use of racial (and ethnic) categories to define the nation emerged strongly in the first decade of the twentieth century. Not surprisingly, the words of Edward Augustus Freeman come immediately to mind: while juggling the ambiguity of those concepts, he was confident in saying that 'community of language is, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, a presumption of the community of blood, and it is proof of something which for practical purposes is the same as community of blood'.[73]

Endnotes

[1] A. Chervin, 'Les langues parlées en Autriche-Hongrie par les différentes nationalités d'après le dénombrement de la population de 1910' (Part I), in: *Journal de la société statistique de Paris*, 56 (1915), 105-137. Arthur Chervin (1850-1921) was a physician, director of the *Institut des bègues* (Institute of stutterers), from 1878. He was also president of the *Société d'Anthropologie* (1901) and *Société de Statistiques* (1904). In the article, as well in his books *L'Autriche et l'Hongrie de demain* (1915), and *De Prague à l'Adriatique; considerations geographiques, ethniques et économiques sur le territoire (corridor) faisant communiquer les Tchèques avec les Yougoslaves* (1919), Chervin advocated the creation of a kind of '*Marche slave*', in order to guarantee European peace. Accordingly, this common territory would connect northern Slavs with southern Slavs, where Czechs and Yugoslavs could live side by side. On the contrary, it would also allow Austrians and Hungarians to cease being neighbours, thus preventing the merging of Hungary with the 'groups of German provinces'.

[2] B. Ashcroft, 'Language and Race', in: *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 7/3 (2001), 311-328.

[3] J. Leerssen, 'Language interest: Europe. Introductory survey essay', in: J. Leerssen (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam, 2018), https://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/56/object/122-159898

[4] S. Moret, 'Linguistique et nouvel ordre européen autour de la Grande Guerre', in: *Cahiers de l'ILSL,* 26 (2009), 132.

[5] P. Alter, *Nationalism* (London, 1989), 92.

[6] A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918), 7.

[7] M. Turda & M.S. Quine, *Historicizing Race* (London & New York, 2018), 51.

[8] Morpurgo Davies, 'Razza e razzismo', 56.

[9] G. Sluga, *The Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870-1919* (Basingstoke, 2006).

[10] R. McMahon (ed.), *National Races. Transnational Power Struggles in the Sciences and Politics of Human Diversity, 1840-1945* (Lincoln, 2019), 35.

[11] To mention but a few: Sluga, *The Nation, Psychology, and International Politics, 1870-1919*; C. Manias, *Race, Science, and the Nation* (London & New York, 2013); C. Reynaud Paligot, *De l'identité nationale: science, race et politique en Europe et aux États-Unis, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris, 2015); R. McMahon, *The Races of Europe. Construction of National Identities in the Social Sciences, 1839-1939* (London, 2016); Id. *National Races.*

[12] Manias, *Race, Science, and Nation*, chap. 7.

[13] A.M. Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales* (Paris, 1999), chap. 2.

[14] D. Baggioni, *Langues et nations en Europe*, 12.

[15] A. Renaut, 'Logiques de la nation', in: G. Delannoi & P.A. Taguieff (eds.), *Théories du nationalisme* (Paris, 1991), 29-47.

[16] T. Benes, 'From Indo-Germans to Aryans', in: S. Eigen & M. Larrimore (eds), *The German Invention of Race* (Albany, 2006), 167-181.

[17] R.S. Leventhal, 'The Emergence of Philological Discourse in the German States, 1770-1810', in: *Isis*, 77/2 (1986), 243-60.

[18] A. Morpurgo Davies, *La linguistica dell'Ottocento* (Bologna, 1996), 98.

[19] P.J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations* (Princeton and Oxford 2003), 24-25 & 32.

[20] A. Burgio, *L'invenzione delle razze* (Roma, 1998), 99.

[21] As Morpurgo Davies explained, by the middle of the century, with the growth of linguistics and comparative-historical studies aimed at establishing linguistic kinship, the problem of language and race formed part of 'the cultural background against which the history of linguistic thought should be considered'. M. Davies, *La linguistica dell'Ottocento*, 227.

[22] S. Timpanaro, *Sulla linguistica dell'Ottocento* (Bologna, 2005), 44 ff.

[23] Turda & Quine, *Historicizing Race*, 74. Since Indo-Iranian-speaking peoples used to call themselves 'Ari', the term 'Aryan' was used to identify Indo-European peoples who had settled in India, Iran and Europe thousands of years earlier.

[24] J.R. Davis & A. Nicholls, 'Friedrich Max Müller: The Career and Intellectual Trajectory of a German Philologist in Victorian Britain', in: *Publications of the English Goethe Society*, 85/2-3 (2016), 87, DOI: 10.1080/09593683.2016.1224493.

[25] In George Mosse's words, Gobineau 'was not an original thinker, but a synthesiser who drew on anthropology, linguistics, and history, in order to construct a fully furnished intellectual edifice where race explained everything in the past, present, and future'; *Toward de Final Solution*, 49.

[26] D. Paone, 'The general history and comparative system of the Semitic languages, by Ernest Renan. 1863', http://heritage.bnf.fr/bibliothequesorient/en/history-semitic-languages-renan-art

[27] T. Benes, *In Babel's Shadow. Language, Philology, and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Detroit, 2008).

[28] S. Auroux, *Histoire des idées linguistiques. Vol. 3: L'hégémonie du comparatisme* (Sprimont, 1989), 290-292; A. Morpurgo Davies, 'Razza e razzismo: continuità ed equivoci nella linguistica dell'Ottocento', in: P. Cotticelli Kurras, G. Graffi (eds.), *Lingue, ethnos e popolazioni: evidenze linguistiche, biologiche e culturali* (Roma, 2009), 55.

[29] Although Chavée's influence was very limited outside the country, and linguistic classifications did not necessarily go hand in hand with 'racial' or ethnological ones, it is certain that at the time there was great confusion among

linguists, fuelled, not least, by the ambiguity of the term 'race'. M. Davies, 'Razza e razzismo', 66 ff.

[30] M. Davies, *La linguistica dell'Ottocento*, 226.

[31] E.A. Freeman, 'Race and Language', in: *Historical Essays*, Third Series (London: 1879), 173-230. See also, C. Hutton, 'Race and Language: Ties of "Blood And Speech", Fictive Identity and Empire In The Writings Of Henry Maine And Edward Freeman', in: *Interventions*, 2/1 (2000), 53-72, DOI: 10.1080/136980100360797.

[32] A. Hovelacque, *Langues, races, nationalités* (Paris, 1875), 8.

[33] Hovelacque, *Langues, races, nationalités*, 9-22.

[34] P. Desmet, 'La Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée (1867-1916)', in: *Orbis*, 37/01 (1994), 349.

[35] S.G. Alter, *Darwinism and the Linguistic Image* (Baltimore & London, 1999).

In particular, the French anthropologist Georges Vacher de Lapouge adapted Darwin's theory of evolution to a vision of society, and attempted to organise his vision of the racist world into a coherent system. He developed the thesis of the superiority of the Aryans in several works with a sociological background. After dealing with the question of the multiplicity of European 'races' and the mismatch between languages and 'races', Vacher de Lapouge conjectured that a native Aryan people had originated among the mists of the North Sea; an idea that later would serve the political ideology of the anti-democratic and racist extreme right; J.-P. Demoule, *Mais où sont passes les Indo-Européens? Le mythe d'origine de l'Occident* (Paris, 214), 145-147. See also, P.-A. Taguieff, 'Racisme aryaniste, socialisme et eugénisme chez Georges Vacher de Lapouge (1854-1936)', in: *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah*, 183 (2005), 69-134.

[36] 'Inquiry of the American Geographical Society for the Information of the Peace Commissioners', in: *Science*, 48/1250 (1918), 590-592.

[37] https://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/related-records/rg-256. See also L.E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry. American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven & London, 1963).

[38] In December 1918, Bowman sailed for France as Chief Territorial Specialist, but he quickly assumed an administrative role as well, gaining the ear of President Woodrow Wilson and his chief adviser, Colonel Edward House. He

thus played a major role in determining distribution of land areas and national borders, especially in the Balkans, as part of the Paris Peace Conference. G.C. Carter, 'Isaiah Bowman, 1878-1950', in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 40/3 (1950), 335-350.

[39] 'Inquiry', 592.

[40] W.L.G. Joerg, 'Memoir of Leon Dominian', in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 26/4 (1936), 197.

[41] 'Dominian, Leon, 1913-1935', in: 'Correspondence between Isaiah Bowman and Leon Dominian regarding matters of the American Geographical Society during the time Dominian was on staff, through his time at the U.S. Department of State and the American Consular Service', *American Geographical Society of New York Records*, 1723-2010, bulk 1854-2000, https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agsny/id/28780

[42] https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agsny/id/28781

[43] Leon Dominian's letter to Isaiah Bowman, 25 February 1915, https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agsny/id/28785

[44] Dominian, 'Linguistic areas', 402-403.

[45] Dominian, 'Linguistic areas', 402.

[46] Dominian, 'Linguistic areas', 438.

[47] Dominian, 'Linguistic areas', 439.

[48] J.K. Wright, *Geography in the making. The American Geographical Society, 1851-1951* (1952), 147.

[49] C.C. Alexander, 'Prophet of American Racism: Madison Grant and the Nordic Myth', in: *Phylon*, 23/1 (1962), 73-90.

[50] M. Grant, 'Introduction', in: L. Dominian, *The frontiers of language and nationality in Europe* (New York, 1917), XV-XVIII. As explained by J. Leerssen, the 'applied geography' of such authors as Dominian and Grant, but also William Z. Ripley (author of *The races of Europe*, 1899), 'had given intellectual support to the agenda of various diaspora nationalisms in North America'; J. Leerssen, 'Ethnography and ethnicity: Introductory survey essay', in: J. Leerssen, *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (Amsterdam, 2018), https://ernie.uva.nl/viewer.p/21/56/object/122-160535

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51 Before publication, both text and maps were 'censored by an expert committee'. Among the criticisms Dominian's article received, those by professor A.H. Palmer, reported here; https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agsny/id/28804

52 M.S. Handman, 'The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe by Leon Dominian', in: *Journal of Political Economy*, 27/5 (1919), 417-419.

53 P. Jagessar, 'Geography and linguistics: Histories, entanglements and departures', in: *Geography compass*, 14/11 (2020), 3-4, https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12540

54 However, the ALF contributed above all to 'spreading the idea that each language fact is unique, and that consequently dialects as closed, clearly circumscribed entities do not exist'; P. Sériot, 'La clôture impossible (l'espace en géographie linguistique: la querelle du continu et du discontinu)', in: G. Nicolas (ed.), *Géographie et langages(s). Interface, représentation, interdisciplinarité. Actes du Colloque IUKB-IRI (UNIL) de Sion, 1997* (Sion, 1999), 227-248.

55 Leerssen, 'Language interest: Europe'.

56 G.-H. Soutou (ed.), *Les experts français et les frontières d'après-guerre. Les procès-verbaux du comité d'études 1917-1919*, https://socgeo.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Les-experts-français-et-les-frontières-daprès-guerre-MEP.pdf

57 I. Davion, 'Introduction', in: G.-H. Soutou (ed.), *Les experts français*, 19.

58 G. Palsky, 'Emmanuel de Martonne and the Ethnographical Cartography of Central Europe' (1917-1920), in: *Imago Mundi*, 54 (2002), 111-119.

59 See also T. Ter Minassian, 'Les géographes français et la délimitation des frontières balkaniques à la Conférence de la Paix de 1919, in: *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 44/2 (1997), 252-286.

60 J.-C. Chevalier, 'Les linguistes français et les pays d'Europe de l'Est de 1918 à 1931', in: *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, 8 (1996), 59.

61 In 1915, *Scientia* inaugurated a specific section called 'Enquiry on the main present questions of an international character', which dealt specifically with war-related issues. Between 1915 and 1922, Meillet published in it a number of articles dealing specifically with the issue of language and nation, namely: 'Les langues et les nationalités' (vol. 18, 1915), 'La situation linguistique en Russie et

en Autriche-Hongrie' (vol. 23, 1918), 'Les langues dans le bassin de la Mer Baltique' (vol. 24, 1918), 'L'unité linguistique slave' (vol. 27, 1920), 'L'Unité romane' (vol. 31, 1922).

[62] A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918), 7.

[63] A. Meillet, 'Les langues et les nationalités', in: *Scientia* 18 (1915), 192.

[64] A. Meillet, 'La situation linguistique en Russie et en Autriche-Hongrie', in: *Scientia* 23 (1918), 209-216.

Meillet made a distinction between '*parler*' (language), 'cultivated languages' (written languages with literature), and 'languages of civilisation' (whose strength is assessed according to the competence acknowledged in comparison; these are all Indo-European languages); P. Caussat, 'Langue et nation', in: *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, 10/2 (1988), 195-204.

[65] A. Meillet, 'Les langues dans le bassin de la Mer Baltique', in: *Scientia* 24 (1918), 383-392.

Following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) between the Bolshevik government of Russia and the Central powers, Russia renounced all territorial claims to Finland (which it had already recognised as an independent and sovereign state), and to the future Baltic republics (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), Belarus and Ukraine.

[66] Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, 93-96.

[67] Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, 86, 89.

[68] Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*, see Chapter XXV, 'Les essais de langues artificielles', 319-330. For more information see, S. Moret, 'Autour des *Langues dans l'Europe Nouvelle*. Une réception de Meillet par les adeptes des langues artificielles', in: *Histoire Épistémologie Langage*, 41/2 (2020), 157-176.

It is noteworthy that in the inter-war period, there were new developments in the pursuit of the universal language projects, which were quite different from the nineteenth-century efforts for several reasons. Firstly, there was increasing mention of an 'auxiliary language' (it was futile to try to eliminate the diversity of mother tongues; this 'universal language' only claimed to be a language of communication) and an 'International Auxiliary Language Association' was created (US). Secondly, in contrast to the projects of the end of the previous century, the enterprise was now the domain of linguists. Thirdly, the centre of

gravity crossed the Atlantic, with the consequent marginalisation of European linguistics; D. Baggioni, 'Préhistoire de la glottopolitique dans la linguistique européenne, de J.G. Herder au Cercle linguistique de Prague', in: *Langages*, 21/83 (1986), 35-51.

[69] A. Meillet, *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1928, 2nd edition), IX.

[70] P. Sériot, 'La linguistique spontanée des traceurs des frontières', in: *Cahiers de l'ILSL*, 8 (1996), 277-304; Moret, 'Linguistique et nouvel ordre européen', 136.

[71] Moret, 'Linguistique et nouvel ordre européen'.

[72] I. Bowman, *The new world. Problems in political geography* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1921), 3.

[73] Freeman, 'Race and Language', 224.