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En relisant Hermann Paul

par Bertil Malmberg

Pour une génération qui avait commencé ses études de linguistique entre les deux guerres mondiales, le nom de Hermann Paul et le titre de son grand ouvrage théorique « Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte » (plusieurs éditions, celle citée ici la cinquième, de 1920) représentent une synthèse de cette école historique qui avait commencé à dominer la recherche depuis la naissance du comparatisme indo-européen au début du XIXe siècle. Aux yeux des jeunes structuralistes qui, sous l'inspiration du « Cours » de Ferdinand de Saussure et de la phonologie pragoise, s'étaient orientés dans une direction opposée à l'historicisme devenu traditionnel, Paul et ses principes semblaient résumer une idéologie scientifique (la néogrammaire) qu'il s'agissait de combattre. La synchronie avait été admise depuis Saussure comme une approche légitime – même si le maître n'avait jamais prétendu qu'elle dût être la seule –, et la description des états de langue commençait de plus en plus à être regardée comme un présupposé de toute interprétation diachronique et étymologique.

C'est avec ce nouveau point de départ que la réaction contre les thèses de Paul et de son école de la part des jeunes – auxquels appartenait à l'époque l'auteur de ces lignes – fut si violente. On fut surtout choqué par la thèse si nettement formulée dans les « Prinzipien » que seule une approche historique était susceptible d'expliquer les faits de langue, la seule qui était scientifique. Au moment, enseignait Paul, où l'on veut aller au delà d'une simple constatation de faits concrets et passer à n'importe quel genre d'explication de ces faits, on franchit automatiquement le seuil du terrain historique (*den geschichtlichen Boden*). C'est là une formule que j'ai citée moi-même maintes fois, dans mon enseignement oral et dans mes livres. Et je l'ai fait pour démontrer l'opposition absolue entre une école traditionnelle et une linguistique nouvelle qui mettait l'analyse synchronique et la structure des systèmes au centre des préoccupations des chercheurs et qui représentait ainsi une méthode plus adéquate, plus proche des faits et des