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ROUSSELOT'S SUCCESSION THROUGH PERNOT AND MILLET'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH CHLUMSKÝ

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Abstract: This article contextualizes the early developments of phonetics in Paris. It analyses the intricate network of Parisian institutions engaged in experimental phonetics, highlighting the significant role of figures like Rousselot and their connections within these establishments. Subsequently, it introduces the collection of letters exchanged between Pernot, Millet, and Chlumský, outlining the key individuals involved in this correspondence. The content of the letters is then analysed, concentrating on two main aspects: (1) Rousselot's material legacy, encompassing his instruments, library, manuscripts, and ownership of the rights to the *Revue de phonétique*, and (2) Rousselot's institutional legacy, spanning his positions at the Collège de France, Institut Catholique, and Alliance française. Additionally, some letters shed light on the period leading up to Rousselot's passing. Many letters reveal new details about the disputes over his succession and the disposition of his legacy.

1 Introduction

Although experimentation itself is an age-old method, the field of experimental phonetics remains relatively young compared to established disciplines like physics, physiology, and acoustics. The early landscape of experimental phonetics in Paris existed as a distinct discipline, with few connections to practical phonetics as evidenced by the work of Passy and scholars in Britain. Its genesis can be traced back to the pioneering efforts of Pierre-Jean Rousselot (1846–1924), a French abbé with a profound interest in pronunciation studies. Rousselot's influence on the inception and evolution of the field is unparalleled. His instrumental inquiries, beginning with his seminal thesis from 1891 [21], revolutionized the concept of experimentation and instrumentation within linguistics. Over the following three decades, experimental phonetics burgeoned into a significant discipline, attracting numerous adherents across Europe and beyond.

While the broader history of experimental phonetics is widely acknowledged, this article seeks to delve specifically into the period following Rousselot's passing in 1924. We have obtained access to a series of letters sent by two prominent figures in French experimental phonetics, Adrien Millet and Hubert Pernot, to Josef Chlumský, a pioneering Prague-based experimental phonetician, between 1924 and 1937 (see Section 3). Despite both Millet and Pernot being advocates of the experimental method, their differing views and life experiences come to light in this correspondence, which offers a rich corpus with varied points of views on a large set of topics. Our objective is to provide further context to the experimental phonetic milieu during this time and to examine the immediate impact of Rousselot's passing on it.

In Section 2, we describe the various institutions in Paris connected with Rousselot, while Section 3 presents the collection of correspondence and provides further background to the protagonists. In Section 4, we explore the fate of Rousselot's material legacy (instruments, unpublished notes, ownership of the rights to the *Revue de phonétique*) and his succession in the different institutions he belonged to.

2 Early experimental phonetics in Paris (1875–1930)

The very beginning of experimental phonetics in Paris owes much to Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), a famous physiologist and a professor at the Collège de France. Marey is also known for his invention of instruments, in particular of the ‘chronophotograph’ and the photographic gun (1882, with his collaborator Georges Demenÿ), which could capture rapid movements involved in locomotion. Many instruments that he invented or improved, such as the manometric drum (or ‘tambour de Marey’), would be used in phonetic investigation. In 1875, the first adaptation of his instruments to phonetic research (about the realization of consonant clusters) resulted from a collaboration between Marey, Charles-Léopold Rosapelly (1850–1913), a medical doctor, and Louis Havet (1849–1925), a senior lecturer (Maître de conférences) at the Sorbonne ([6], [20]). Later on, in 1885, Rosapelly trained Rousselot in the graphical method (‘Méthode graphique’) and in the instrumentation, and they both developed a speech inscriber (‘inscripteur de la parole’), a device with many sensors. With the help of an engineer (Charles Verdin), Rousselot could develop other specific instruments for phonetic studies.

In 1887, Rousselot was appointed to teach a course in the history of the French language at the INSTITUT CATHOLIQUE DE PARIS, a recently founded Catholic university (since 1875). In 1889, the Institut Catholique created a chair in experimental phonetics and a phonetic laboratory for him. This was the first chair in experimental phonetics worldwide. After Rousselot’s death, the successors were Chanoine Meunier (in office 1924–1929) and Abbé Adrien Millet (in office 1930–1937).

Nearby, the closest collaborator of Marey, Georges Demenÿ (1850–1917), was also active in developing a phonetic laboratory for the INSTITUT DES JEUNES SOURDS (Institute of the Young Deaf) with Professor Hector Marichelle (1862–1929). In 1891, to help learn lip reading and visualize the movements of the lips, Demenÿ invented the ‘photophone’, and in 1894, a camera ‘chronophotographique’, making it one of the forerunners in the invention of cinema (this laboratory was later merged with that of the Institut de Phonétique, see below).

In 1897, the study of phonetics was introduced to the COLLÈGE DE FRANCE with a modest laboratory established in its premises, initially associated with the Chair of Comparative Grammar held by Michel Bréal. Collège de France was (and remains) a prestigious and very specific institution. Established in 1530 by King François I, the Collège was originally intended to teach subjects not yet accepted at the Université de Paris, with the mission of teaching and divulging knowledge as it is being formed in all areas, from literature to science and the arts, with free lectures, open to the public, which do not confer academic credits. In addition to lectures, the Collège houses research centres with various types of laboratories. For fifteen years, Rousselot, while being ‘préparateur’ at the Collège, conducted research, contributed to the supervision of doctoral theses (H. Pernot, F. M. Josselyn, G. Panconcelli-Calzia, E. Landry, P. Verrier, G. Lote) and welcomed many scholars from abroad. Josef Chlumský was one of them and became his assistant (1910–1914). In 1922, Rousselot became ‘Chargé de cours’ just two years before his death, and in 1923, a chair in Experimental Phonetics was created for him at the Collège. Following Rousselot’s passing in 1924, this chair was not renewed (see Section 4).

On June 3rd, 1911, the ARCHIVES DE LA PAROLE and the foundation of the INSTITUT DE PHONÉTIQUE were inaugurated at the Université de Paris, located at the Sorbonne. Their creation was made possible by the influence of Ferdinand Brunot (1860–1938), holder of the Chair of History of the French Language and fervent advocate of experimental phonetics, and thanks to the generous patronage of Emile Pathé (1860–1937). In his opening speech, Brunot shared his vision of the newly created institution as integrating both the preservation of the sound of living speech (‘les sons de la parole vivante’) and:

“the definitive creation of a new science: phonetics, which is related to acoustics, physiology, linguistics, but which is not to be confused with any of them and which must have its own methods, its own instruments and its own scientists.”¹

Before World War I, Brunot organized several field trips equipped by Pathé to record regional languages of France. He stepped down as director in 1920 when he became dean of the Faculty of Letters. Jean Poirot (1873–1924), previously professor of Phonetics in Helsinki, became the next director. He supervised two phonetic theses, including the thesis of Fu Liu [5] (the founder of Beijing’s phonetics laboratory), but Poirot died prematurely in 1924. He was succeeded by Hubert Pernot (1870–1946) as director. In 1927, the Institut de Phonétique was given its own statutes, and the speech laboratory of the Institut National des Jeunes Sourds was attached to it. In 1928, the INSTITUT DE PHONÉTIQUE – MUSÉE DE LA PAROLE ET DU GESTE was founded by the City of Paris and the University of Paris, with its own building near the Sorbonne, at 19 rue des Bernardins. Pernot, while teaching phonetics, continued the tradition of recordings (cf. Section 3.3). Pernot was director until 1930, when he was succeeded by Pierre Fouché (1891–1967) as the head of the institute.

In addition to these academic institutions, the role played by the ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE is particularly noteworthy. Established in 1884 as an association with the mission to promote the French language across French colonies and globally, the Alliance Française swiftly evolved into a widespread network of associations present in numerous countries and cities. A pivotal moment in its history occurred in 1894, with the decision to create French Summer Courses in Paris and entrust their organization to Ferdinand Brunot. These courses experienced rapid growth, boasting 470 students by 1896. The following year, in 1897, Rousselot was invited to conduct a five-lesson course on ‘Experimental Phonetics’, which was very successful. Subsequently, in 1898, these courses were institutionalized and extended, with Rousselot pioneering an extensive program aimed at teaching phonetics and pronunciation to foreign learners. Rousselot’s ideas on teaching foreign language were innovative, including the pioneering concept of ‘teaching by sight’, which leveraged the visual cues provided by phonetic instruments. Classes comprised both theoretical instruction and practical exercises utilizing a range of instruments. Assisting Rousselot was his collaborator, A. Zünd-Burquet, who served as a ‘préparateur’. Among the successors of Rousselot were Abbé Millet (1926–1937), and briefly Pernot (1924?–1926).

Table 1 presents an overview of the institutions involved in early experimental phonetics in Paris and shows that Rousselot was part of many of them.

Table 1. Overview of the institutions involved in early experimental phonetics in Paris

Institution	Experimental phonetics	People involved
Institut Catholique de Paris	courses; laboratory; a Chair	Rousselot (1889–1924), Meunier (1924–1929), Millet (1930–1937)
Institut des Jeunes Sourds	laboratory	Marichelle (1862–1929)
Collège de France	courses; laboratory; since 1923 a Chair	Rousselot (1897–1924)
Institut de Phonétique (Sorbonne, then 19 rue des Bernardins)	courses; laboratory; sound archives; a Chair	Brunot (1911–1920), Poirot (1920–1924), Pernot (1924–1931), Fouché (1932–1963)
Alliance française	courses; laboratory	Rousselot (1897–1924), Pernot (1924?–1926), Millet (1926?–1937)

¹ Our translation – the original speech can be found online: Brunot, F. Recording of the ‘Discours d’inauguration des Archives de la parole, June 1911’ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1279113>

3 The corpus of letters and biographical sketches of the correspondents

3.1 Josef Chlumský (1871–1939) and his correspondence

Chlumský was the founder of experimental phonetics in Czechoslovakia (see [22] for a more complete biographical sketch with additional background). Initially trained in the philology of modern languages at Prague, Chlumský augmented his academic pursuits with semesters abroad, including notable periods in Strasbourg, Berlin, and Paris. It was during his tenure at Rousselot’s laboratory at the Collège de France from 1910 to 1914 that Chlumský served as Rousselot’s assistant and laboratory custodian. Despite the outbreak of the Great War prompting Chlumský’s return to Prague, his connection with Rousselot persisted until the latter’s demise, a testament to their shared scholarly commitment (see Rousselot’s obituary in [2]).

Upon his return to Prague, Chlumský started offering lectures in experimental phonetics, general phonetics, and the phonetics of French, among others. While initially operating from a modest university laboratory established in 1914, it wasn’t until 1919 that the formal establishment of an official phonetics laboratory and chair of experimental phonetics at Charles University took place. This marked a significant milestone, solidifying Chlumský’s position as the preeminent Czech phonetician. He also had extensive contacts abroad, especially in France, resulting in the formation of an internationally attractive phonetics centre in Central Europe (see [22], [23] for further details and descriptions of the scientific and academic context).

Chlumský’s scholarly legacy is underscored by seminal works such as his monographs on the phonetics of word stress and intonation in Czech [1], [3], and the ground-breaking radiography of French vowels [4]. Additionally, his oeuvre comprises a myriad of methodological treatises, critical reviews, and shorter expositions delving into diverse phonetic inquiries. He frequently contributed to the *Revue de phonétique* and to other (inter)national journals (see [24]). Finally, Chlumský was a key figure in creating the Czech sound archives in collaboration with Hubert Pernot.

Chlumský engaged in extensive correspondence with several notable figures from abroad, including Hubert Pernot, Adrien Millet, Charles Bruneau, and Georges Lote. Moreover, he maintained communication with virtually all significant French phoneticians and linguists of his time, such as Bruneau, Brunot, Grammont, Mazon, Meillet, Poirot, and Vendryès. Additionally, he exchanged occasional letters with individuals involved in the phonetic instruments trade, such as Lioret and Montalbetti. Unfortunately, only the letters received by Chlumský have been preserved, currently housed at the Institute of Phonetics, Charles University in Prague, with plans for transfer to the university archives. Occasionally, Chlumský’s handwritten drafts of replies were found on the reverse side of the letters.

The correspondence varied considerably in length and regularity, according to the correspondents. This paper draws upon the 36 letters received by Chlumský from Adrien Millet between 1924 and 1935, totaling 157 pages, and the 28 letters received by Chlumský from Hubert Pernot between 1924 and 1937, totaling 109 pages (for more details on the distribution of the letters per years, see [24]). Hereafter, we will refer to the letters under the abbreviation PtC and MtC, standing for Pernot/Millet to Chlumský, followed by the date in the European format. For instance, MtC 06/07/1931 indicates a letter from Millet sent on the 6th of July 1931. The English translation is ours but the reader may consult the original French texts in the accompanying online materials, including a few photocopies of the letters for illustration.²

² Visit the website of the Institute of Phonetics, Charles University in Prague: <https://fonetika.ff.cuni.cz/en/research/from-our-research/history/>. Alternatively, the materials are posted online using the Open Science Framework: <https://osf.io/acm3z/>.

3.2 Adrien Millet (1881–1937)

Abbé Millet was a student of Rousselot's, then his close collaborator until the latter's death in 1924. Following in Rousselot's footsteps, Millet taught at the Alliance française and the Institut Catholique de Paris (see Section 2). In 1926, at the Alliance française, he began teaching experimental phonetics and French pronunciation to foreign students. The same year, he defended his thesis entitled 'Recherches expérimentales et historiques sur l'R d'une région de haut Berry' [9] – a work in the spirit of Rousselot's doctoral thesis [21].

In 1930, after the death of Meunier, Millet was appointed 'Chargé de cours de Phonétique expérimentale' at the Institut Catholique de Paris, and then became 'Professeur adjoint' in 1934. Millet died shortly before the war, aged 56.

Millet's books span a wide array of topics, from works on experimental phonetics based on Rousselot's approach [10], [11], [12], studies of French dialects (particularly of the Berry region, [9]) to the teaching of French pronunciation and its history [8]. Beyond books, he also made significant contributions through articles published in journals such as *La Science Moderne* and *La Revue de Phoniatrie*, among others, in the field of speech pathology.

3.3 Hubert Pernot (1870–1946)

Pernot is often better known for his contributions to Modern Greek studies than to phonetics. However, while he was studying with Émile Legrand and Jean Psichari – two specialists in Greek – at the École des Langues Orientales, he discovered phonetics with Rousselot. One of his doctoral theses 'Phonétique des parlers de Chio' [14] is pioneering, as it introduces experimental phonetics into the study of Greek dialects. From 1895 to 1912, Pernot worked as a 'répétiteur' of Modern Greek at the École des Langues Orientales. In 1912, he became a lecturer at the University of Paris at the Sorbonne, and in 1919 he became director of the newly founded Institut néo-hellénique.

In 1924, after the death of Jean Poirot, he was named director of the Institut de Phonétique et des Archives de la parole. He taught experimental phonetics and contributed to the development of the Institut de Phonétique, with its move into its own building in 1928 (see Section 2), and especially to the enrichment of the Archives de la Parole. Between 1928 and 1930, Pernot led large-scale expeditions to record traditional folk songs and dialects in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Greece. In 1930, he stepped down as the director of the Institut de Phonétique, as he was offered the professorship of Post-classical and Modern Greek and neo-Hellenic literature at the university. He kept this position until his retirement in 1938. His library was ransacked in 1940 by the German troops and his youngest daughter, a member of the Resistance, was sent to the Ravensbrück camp, where she died.

In 1911, Pernot and Rousselot founded the *Revue de phonétique*, the first journal in France devoted to experimental phonetics and its applications (see [2] and [24]). Pernot's publications, which concern Greek almost exclusively, include dialect studies (some involving instrumental phonetic research; [13], [19]), folksongs [15], [17], grammars [16] and lexicons [18].

4 Rousselot's material and institutional legacy

When Rousselot passed away, Pernot and Millet found themselves in differing situations: Pernot was serving as the director of the Phonetic Institute of Paris, while Millet, somewhat younger, had yet to defend his thesis. Interestingly, it is in Millet's letters that we unearthed richer details concerning Rousselot's legacy and the ensuing conflicts. In one of his letters, Millet remarked, blending humour with a tinge of disappointment:

"I congratulate myself every day on having inherited nothing from the Master but his briefcase: neither books nor instruments nor positions. Succession is a real hornet's nest [...]" (MtC 25/04/1926)

Before examining the intricacies of Rousselot's succession, we will refer to the few letters from 1924, prior to Rousselot's death. Subsequently, we will examine both his material and institutional legacy.

4.1 Rousselot's last year

We have a few letters from Pernot and Millet recalling Abbé Rousselot's last year and even his final moments. During 1924, Abbé Rousselot's health declined. Despite his frail health condition, Abbé Rousselot taught at the Collège de France in 1924, revisiting the theory of vowel resonances. He was planning a class on consonants for the following year (MtC 23/07/1924).

“First, bad news from Abbé Rousselot. He is currently in a clinic, undergoing radium treatment. It's always serious, especially at his age. I'm afraid our dear friend is on a bad path. His intelligence and spirit are intact, but his physical condition is seriously affected.” (PtC 24/05/1924)

Another letter from Millet is of special interest: it concerns the last lines written by Rousselot, a relic that was sent to Chlumský but which could not be found in the archives. From his description of it, Millet is suggesting that Rousselot thought of him (Millet) to his succession at the Institut Catholique:

“Here is a relic of the Master: these are the last lines his hand was able to write; it took him a quarter of an hour to draw them. I had presented him the certificate in question with a view to apply abroad: he indicated to me, with difficulty, the points to be emphasized ‘for the Catholic Institute in particular’, he told me, and wanted to add two lines in his own hand.” (MtC 07/06/1926)

In fact, Rousselot had designated Abbé Meunier as his successor at the Catholic Institute, and later on, Millet was accused of ‘having extorted the said certificate from a dying man on his deathbed’ (MtC 07/06/1926). Unfortunately, the certificate with the last lines of Rousselot has been lost.

4.2 Rousselot's material legacy

4.2.1 The executor of the will

Before we consider the legacy of the instruments owned or used by Rousselot, his personal library, his notes and unpublished documents, and also the ownership of the rights to the *Revue de phonétique*, we have to address the question of the executor of the will. Rousselot's succession was fraught with conflicts, not least over this matter.

According to Millet, Robert de Souza, one of Abbé Rousselot's collaborators, pretended that he was the executor of the intellectual succession of Abbé Rousselot, but his claim was rejected by the courts. In accordance with Rousselot's will, Mme de Saint Genès, who was a cousin of Rousselot, was the only executor.

“It should be noted that de Souza presented himself as being in charge of liquidating the abbé's intellectual estate: tuning forks, manuscripts. He is nothing. The will gives everything to his cousin, who is currently concluding the sale of tuning forks to the Catholic Institute. The court dismissed Souza's claims.” (MtC 19/02/1929)

4.2.2 The instruments

Abbé Rousselot possessed or utilized instruments across five different laboratories. In his Parisian apartment, he gradually established a personal laboratory which included his renowned Koenig tonometer. He assembled collections of instruments also in École des Carmes (École Ecclésiastique des Hautes Etudes), Institut Catholique de Paris, Alliance Française and Collège de France. The instruments of École des Carmes transitioned to the Institut Catholique de Paris when he was hired there in 1889. Later on, all instruments of the Institut Catholique de Paris

were relocated to the Collège de France ([7]). Following Rousselot's death, his personal collection, including the Koenig tonometer, was sold by his heirs. The other instruments were left in the institutions they belonged to; however, the fate of many of them remains uncertain.

The correspondence studied helped gather different information that sheds light on the fate of Rousselot's instruments, focusing particularly on the renowned Rousselot tonometer. The tonometer, featuring 160 tuning forks and 40 resonators, built by Rudolph Koenig, was initially acquired by the Institut de Laryngologie et Orthophonie, established in 1899 by Rousselot and Marcel Natier. Financial setbacks led to the institute's closure after a few years. Rousselot, with the aid of donations, secured ownership of the tonometer, relocating it to his personal residence following the institute's demise. Subsequently, upon Rousselot's passing, the tonometer was purchased by Cardinal Dubois for the Institut Catholique de Paris. Pernot's letter (PtC 26/03/1925) reveals that the Université de Paris sought to acquire the tonometer, along with other instruments, offering a higher financial proposition compared to the Institut Catholique. Despite this, the university's offer was declined. Millet's correspondence (MtC 25/03/1925) indicates a divide concerning this acquisition within the Institut Catholique de Paris: while the institution's director advocated for phonetics and the purchase of the tonometer, many scientists voiced opposition. Consequently, no accommodations were made for the tonometer within the Institut Catholique de Paris. The tonometer's boxes were temporarily stored at the École des Carmes.

Later on, the tonometer was brought to a convent where it could be used by Abbé Meunier before being relocated to the Clinique Chanoine Rousselot, founded in 1925 by Meunier and Natier. This clinic was situated within the Institut Prophylactique, overseen by Dr. Vernes and situated near the Institut Catholique de Paris. Meunier, succeeding Rousselot at the Institut Catholique de Paris, oversaw the tonometer's installation at this institute in 1927 [7]. Meunier passed away in August 1929. Letters from Millet allow to keep track of it up to 1930. We learn that in 1929, Chlumský was allowed to continue tuning his new tuning forks based on the tonometer (MtC 26/11/1929). Of particular significance are two letters from Millet (MtC 19/01/1930 and 30/04/1930) describing it in relatively good condition, except for damage to the larger tuning forks, due to their use with hearing-impaired individuals who were permitted to strike them. After Millet, the subsequent fate of this tonometer remains unknown, and it is likely that it was eventually destroyed. There are some surviving forks in the collection of instruments at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France but, given our evidence, these must be of different origin (from the Institut de Phonétique de Paris), not from this specific tonometer.

In addition, letters from Millet when he succeeded Abbé Meunier at the Institut Catholique de Paris (MtC 06/07/1931 and 12/12/1931) mention that many instruments got lost, including the universal resonator of Rousselot.

4.2.3 Personal library, notes and unpublished manuscripts

As for Rousselot's personal library, it was bought by the Institut de Phonétique led by Pernot: “[...] I have acquired the entire library for my institute, and we are in the process of installing it” (PtC 25/03/1926).

Rousselot's notes and unpublished manuscripts were at the heart of the legal battle about the executor of his will (see 4.2.1). Later on, in 1933, as they were in possession of Rousselot's cousin, Mme de Saint Genès, Millet expresses worries about them: “What does she do with the Abbé's notes? I don't know. She's incapable of deciphering them, but she's suspicious of everyone” (MtC 05/09/1933).

4.2.4. Ownership of the rights to the *Revue de phonétique*

Difficulties arose surrounding the *Revue de phonétique*, established and co-edited by Rousselot and Pernot since 1911. Pernot faced uncertainty regarding Rousselot's will and its impact: "As long as I don't know whether I have complete freedom to continue the *Revue*, I can't do anything" (PtC 31/12/1924).

Over the following year, Pernot engaged in negotiations with Marguerite de Saint-Genès, Rousselot's heir, seeking full ownership of the *Revue* (PtC 26/03/1925). Ultimately successful, Pernot secured the contract (PtC 11/06/1925) leading to the publication of the eagerly awaited final issue of the fourth volume from 1914, now released in 1925 (for further details, see [24] in this proceedings).

4.3 On the succession for Rousselot's institutional positions

Rousselot's succession at the Institut Catholique was straightforward: Abbé Meunier was designated by Rousselot as his successor at the Institut Catholique.

The chair of Phonetics at Collège de France was more disputed. Candidates Grammont, Marange and, for a few days, Meunier were considered and eliminated, and ultimately the chair was discontinued and replaced by a chair in histology. Millet provides his analysis of this failure:

"I wrote to Mr. Grammont to tell him of my disappointment, and to explain to him, in my opinion, the causes, both remote and imminent: colleagues' ignorance of the method, and the scattered defense of experimental phonetics. In the face of all kinds of slander, we didn't get along, and even arrows were sent from the people who had to stand together." (MtC 25/03/1925)

If the chair was not renewed, the phonetics laboratory persisted under the oversight of the Collège de France. However, to the disappointment of Millet, the responsibility for the laboratory was granted to Abbé Meunier instead of himself, despite his aspirations for the role (MtC 04/09/1926). In a letter from 1930, Millet provides insight into the subsequent fate of the laboratory following Meunier's passing in 1929:

"As for the Laboratory of the Collège de France, it has been suppressed in fact, if not in law. I wrote to Monsieur Meillet who replied that there was no budget, and that the guard of the instruments had been entrusted to Monsieur Frank from the 'Hautes Etudes', a physicist, I believe. I didn't insist." (MtC 19/01/1930)

At Alliance Française, Pernot taught after Rousselot's death, and he was replaced by Millet at the end of 1926. Millet taught regular classes during the academic year as well as Summer Courses. The Summer Courses were particularly successful with 3000 students in 1927 (MtC 17/05/1927). Millet's perspectives on the uses of phonetics in teaching foreign languages were in line with those of Rousselot. Millet kept up the phonetics laboratory and he brought some improvements to facilitate phonetic research:

"I've finished furnishing the Laboratory with practical instruments: my aim is to record the articulations specific to each language in the form of tracings and to build up a library: I've adapted a jaw recorder to Rousselot's lip recorder; the two organs will thus be compared; they can be compared simultaneously with the larynx, the tongue and the nose." (MtC 17/05/1927)

In order to update the 'Précis de prononciation française' of Rousselot and Laclotte (1902) which was designed for foreign students of French, and to take into account the evolution of pronunciation over a generation, Millet organized a major survey on the pronunciation of Parisian French, particularly among the well-educated people (MtC 17/05/1927). After his recruitment by the Institut Catholique de Paris in 1930, he kept his classes at the Alliance Française where he taught until 1936, almost until his death in 1937.

5 Conclusion

First, this article examined the origins of experimental phonetics in Paris, contextualizing the institutions and individuals crucial to its development, notably focusing on the influential figure of Rousselot. While Marey laid the groundwork with his advancements in movement study, it was Rousselot who truly pioneered experimental phonetics, merging physiology with linguistic inquiry. We then turned to an analysis of Pernot and Millet's correspondence with Chlumský concerning the last year of Rousselot and his material and institutional legacy after his death. Chlumský, who had been an assistant to Rousselot but was in Czechoslovakia at the time of his death, was not directly involved in Rousselot's immediate legacy, unlike Pernot and Millet. The letters that kept him informed show how close Rousselot's former collaborators remained, perpetuating a network of shared ideas and support.

We knew that Rousselot's legacy had been conflicted, but the letters provide new details. We can follow the destiny of some of Rousselot's instruments. The fate of Koenig's Grand Tonometer can be tracked through Millet's correspondence, from its acquisition by the Institut Catholique de Paris, to its placement in crates following internal conflicts at the Institut Catholique, to the damages it sustained in Institut Prophylactique where it was installed at the latest. Letters of Millet dated 19/01/1930 and 30/04/1930 are undoubtedly among the last testimonies concerning this large tonometer which no longer exists, at least as a whole. There are also details of negotiations concerning the rights to the *Revue de phonétique*, and of Rousselot's unpublished manuscripts. Conflicts and disappointments are reported around the succession of Rousselot's positions. Many letters also reveal little-known personal details, such as the fact that Abbé Rousselot had received radium treatment.

These letters are therefore rich in detail, enabling us to better understand the events and motivations of the various parties involved in Abbé Rousselot's succession.

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