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SUMMARY

We address here the concept of *Macht/Kratos*, which appears rather late in ZM's works, as a sort of supplement. This concept invites us to consider the whole political dimension of ZM's relativist approach. ZM on several occasions explains how he found, in the works of different scholars, the elements of his own approach. In this history of his thought, the political dimension is more and more important. Against a purely philological approach, he gives more and more space to dynamic processes and to the force field of languages-and-politics: finally the concept of Macht/Kratos appears to be a keystone of ZM's approach. One may still wonder about the lack of the term "politics" in his work, but one cannot doubt that he deeply rethought his model, from year to year, in the direction of a political linguistics.