

## Comparative Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Typology and Syntactic Change

EDUARDO BLASCO FERRER

Bonn

### 0. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Caution is in order when discussing the reasons for Linguistic Change (= LC), but especially when this involves syntactic structures, which represent the most constant or least prone to influence within language (Skalička in Ramat 1976: 111; Blasco 1986a: 85). Well known amongst linguists is the widespread reluctance of XIXth Century comparatists to analyse or even describe syntactic structures (let alone syntactic changes<sup>1</sup>). This deficit might be ascribed not only to the prominence assigned by the Junggrammatiker and the Comparatists like Meillet to the phonetic evolutions and laws, but also to the incapacity of their (rudimentary) model to assess syntactic developments within a homogeneous and structurally rigid norm, as the *scripta* represents. Then, as Alberto Várvaro has eloquently pointed out (1984: 9), historical grammars and linguistic histories of, say, Greek or Latin or other well-attested Indoeuropean languages, have focussed their attention on literary documentation alone, leaving aside the rich, and, as far as the regularity of change is concerned, controversial contribution of non-normative evidence. The main problem with this approach is that it gives way to a gap in the illustration of linguistic evolution, a gap which prevents us from reaching a satisfactory explanation of two temporally very distant stages of the development. In the following discussion I shall comment briefly the advantages which derive for the linguist, when he centres his attention on *substandard* or

---

<sup>1</sup> It has long been claimed that the Pre-Structuralists did not possess a well-formed theory of syntax, at least not until the explicit remarks of Ries, but Rosiello (1986) has cogently argued that indeed their linguistic programm included such a theory.

*dialectal* data, and the methods he can apply to arrive at diachronic explanations with the dialectal material (written or oral), which he has collected. My theoretical considerations will be complemented by empirical evaluation.

### 1. NORM VERSUS SUBSTANDARD

As it has already been suggested, much disarray is observed among Pre-structuralists when dealing with non-normative (i.e. dialectal) data (see Meillet (1930) 1976; nonetheless, criticism of Meillet's approach should actually be softened, for, as Emidio De Felice points out in his rich introduction to the *Lineamenti di storia della lingua greca*, he does devote some space to colloquial and vulgar documentation). The main problem that faces the Comparatist who pretends to offer a detailed analysis of LC, yet restricts his attention to literary *scripta* (of Latin for ex.) is that this represents (in the words of Marcello Durante 1981: 6):

“un ideale letterario di perfezione formale, un linguaggio calibrato a misura d'arte che non è suscettibile d'evoluzione storica nei suoi principi costitutivi”.

We must conclude then that much evidence of LC remains concealed by the tendency, inherent in every idealised literary norm, to exclude those innovations (= evidence of LC!) which belong to the lower classes or to vulgar speech, or which do not fit into the artificial model (τέχνη) of *scripta*<sup>2</sup>. Hence, we find ourselves confronted with a stark dichotomy, between *norm* and *substandard* varieties, of which only the first has been handed down to us integrally. The tricky problem of defining with accuracy the substandard language cannot be undertaken in this short paper<sup>3</sup>, so I distinguish only two main groups, narrowly related to each other: (1) *colloquial* or *vulgar* speech (not necessarily tied to oral communication!) and (2) *dialectal* evidence.

The importance of dialectal evidence for the history of language need not be proven here: no one would dispute that since Gilliéron's attempt to correlate linguistic geography and LC, dialectology has come to represent an indispensable tool for the reconstruction of lost stages and pro-

<sup>2</sup> Remember the precept of Cicero de Am., 2 Fan., which advises avoiding words never heard or used before, mainly in extrarethorical contexts.

<sup>3</sup> The literature which deals with this subject is fairly extensive: see among others Holtus-Radtke (1986 and 1988) for some important contributions.

cesses of change. Not so widespread is the acquisition according to which colloquial (that meaning not carefully structured) speech or written documentation may as well contribute to clearing out scarcely attested phenomena. Adams (1976), Calboli (1978), Warner (1980) and Ramat (1984: 137-142) have shown convincingly that the established fundamental word order of Latin SOV, which we infer from the rich literary documentation, underwent a radical re-analysis towards the romance output SVO in the mouths of lower class speakers from the time of Plauto onwards (or even earlier).

A look at Greek evidence gained through the accumulation of classical structures (for instance in the manuals of Meillet, Pisani, Schwyzer, Heilmann-Ghiselli etc.) provides us with an equally unconvincing impression. Apart from some frequent constructions with *θέλω*, almost nothing is said about contemporary rival forms (*μέλλω* + inf., *γίγνομαι* + adj., *βούλομαι*), which consolidate their functional value within the non-standard language and even gain ground in certain functions, irrespective of the parallel trend in the standard variety. The shift of *μέλλω* constitutes an outstanding example: it expressed, coupled with an infinitive, the ingressive *Aktionsart*, but soon became a rival to the future I, although examples of this new function are very scarce, and we are compelled to search for them in the late non-standard, popular writings of Romanos the Melodist, Ioannes Malalas or even Ioannes Moschos C. VII)<sup>4</sup>: *μέλλω ὄρᾶν, πράττεῖν μέλλει, εἴ τι ἐποιεῖ ὁ ὄνος, ἀπ' ἄφτι σὺ μέλλεις ποιεῖν*.

Our pressing claim that new, fresh evidence for linguistic change must be sought in substandard varieties, rests upon the assumption, that LC tends to be anything but neat, linear or unidirectional, and that it can not be envisaged with the narrow terms of traditional historical grammar. We are compelled to verify the adequacy of modern theories, which enable us to understand the multiple forces underlying LC and which permits us to make up satisfactory devices for predicting the direction of future change.

---

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Mitsakis (1967: 62), Wolf (1911, I: 70), Mihevc-Gabrovec (1960: 65). Brief remarks about sporadic uses of *μέλλω* as *quasi-future* are given also by Aken (1861: 19), Mutzbauer (1909: 47), Stahl (1907: 147), Aalto (1953: 102), Banescu (1915: 75), Joseph (1983a: 57-75). In my opinion the Campidanese (Sardinian) construction with *méyo*, which can denote immediate futurity (*méyo (d) e mi yrokái* 'I am about to go to bed') or the continuous present tense (*méyo (d) e fái yússu* 'I am doing that') is a structure borrowed from Greek (probably formed through the agglutination of *μέλλω* + *ἐγώ* → *méyo*).

## 2. TYPOLOGY OF NON-STANDARD, SYNTACTIC CHANGE AND RECONSTRUCTION

Judging from the scarce attention paid to syntax, traditional approaches seem to be inadequate for the examination of LC. Indeed Rosiello (1986; see also Ramat 1984: § 1) has brilliantly demonstrated that devices largely used by Junggrammatiker on the one hand, and by the Generative School on the other hand, show the unacceptable recourse to nomological-deductive heuristics. Their explanations of LC are based on the loose generalisation of laws, which according to the underlying Hempel-Oppenheim model, are deduced from regular empirical evidence (which entails a methodological *circulus vitiosus!*). Although I firmly believe that, compared with previous models, new proposals of highly restricted syntactic theories elaborated by Chomsky and other Generativists may offer alternative ways of explaining LC, a global judgement about their adequacy at present would be premature<sup>5</sup>. Instead, Typology reveals itself as a fairly promising procedure for tackling diachronic problems, because it is concerned with *inductive* strategies, which are better suited to facilitate approximated inferences about further developments. Besides, typological analysis is, in my opinion, closely related to structural theories, for both postulate certain probable directions for LC within a pre-established, well ordered or symmetrical system<sup>6</sup>. I will examine shortly three syntactic phenomena, which might contribute to shed some light on the direction of LC.

---

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1985), Radford (1983), Jaeggli (1982), Rizzi (1982). Still, the vain efforts invested by Lightfoot (1979, who argues for a mere restrictive re-analysis of previous grammars, so as not to create difficulties for comprehension between one generation and the next) reveal the actual inability of Transformational Grammar to wrestle with diachronic problems.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Coseriu (1983, 1983a, 1983b), Lüdtke (1979, 1984, 1986), Lehmann (1985), Ramat (1976, 1984, 1986: 234-244). Typological approaches assume that predictions about process of change must take place within universal actualised models (see Greenberg 1974); this restriction automatically excludes non-actualised models (which on the contrary are allowed by Generativist) and turn out to be much more realistic.

## 3. TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO LC

3.1. *The Markedness of the Accusative Object in Indo-European*

Since the discovery of ergative constructions, many linguists have dwelt upon the possibility that Proto-Indo-European did possess such a fundamental structure, a theory to which famous names are closely related: Uhlenbeck, Birnbaum, Vaillant, Kuryłowicz, Martinet, Schmalstieg and more recently Karl Horst Schmidt<sup>7</sup>. Considering here only what might be called the typological background of ergativity (and leaving aside previous approaches, which are too specific and unilateral), we notice that more attention has been dedicated to those correlative features (*Korrelationsbündel* of Vennemann) which frequently co-occur together with ergative structures. Without entering now into a lengthy discussion (my only interest is to underline some benefits of this new framework), I would like to point out that acquisitions gained through accurate analysis of classical literature (see Villar 1983) often clash with those obtained through careful accumulation of data from present dialects or non-literary sources. Thus, Karl Horst Schmidt has repeatedly proven (1979, 1983) that some parallels between the behaviour of the so-called *casus indefinitus* and its gradual substitution by accusative markedness in neo-caucasian languages on the one hand, and the remains of a *casus indefinitus* (so vedic *āhanθ*, *parūt* = gr. *πέρονσι*) with catachrestic functions in Indo-European languages on the other hand, could support the hypothesis of an ergative Proto-Indo-European type, which would follow a similar trend. Georg Bossong, on his own, has also observed that in Neo-Iranian dialects the full ergative type is being gradually substituted by *split-ergativity* (i.e. ergative markedness only in preterital tenses, not in present ones<sup>8</sup>) and *accusative-markedness*, the latter being represented by multiple cases (genitive, dative, ablative, locative: note that these are the same cases which the *casus indefinitus* takes over in ergative lan-

---

<sup>7</sup> Vid. Schmidt (1979, 1983).

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Bossong (1984, 1985: 18), Trask (1979: 385). Interesting enough is the fact that Schmidt comes to the opposite conclusion (1983: 10): "Die bereits besprochenen Prozesse des Übergangs von E[rgativ] K[onstruktionen] > N[ominativ] K beim imperfektiven Aspekt der S[üd] K[aukasischen] S[prachen] bzw. bei der durativen Aktionsart von O[st] K Dagestansprache...führen zu der naheliegenden, obschon gegenwärtig noch unbeweisbaren Schlußfolgerung, daß sich auch im Vorindog. der Wandel von der EK zu NK zunächst im imperfektiven Präsenssystem vollzogen hat".

guages!). Finally a brief comment on the typological situation. Traditional approaches have often omitted to postulate a relationship between the origin of new markedness and the crisis of the stable word order SOV<sup>9</sup>. Actually a shift in the basic opposition ergative - accusative often promotes a concomitant effect on the whole syntactic system, insofar as it provokes a separate markedness for accusative (quite often with modifiers dislocated to the right)<sup>10</sup> and a collapse of the basic word order. Now, if we add to the facts of which we are reminded by Schmidt and Bossong the tendency to violate the basic order of constituents in some indo-european languages (see Lehmann 1978, Li 1976) and transform this into SVO, we realise that typological analysis offers a far-reaching perspective for predictions about the direction (Helmut Lüdtke: *Gerichtetheit*) of LC. The three points treated above are here summarised in schematic form ( $\pm$  means: both descriptions apply, but + X is dominant):

Typological Construction: Casus Indefinitus    Ergativity    Word Order

<i>Languages /</i>			
Proto-IE.	[ $\pm$ ergative]	[? (full)]	[+ SOV/MODF $\rightarrow$ N]
Iranian/Caucasian (South-)	[ $\pm$ ergative]	[split-ergativity]	[SOV/SVO, N $\leftarrow$ MODF]
Late IE.	[ $\pm$ accusative]	[?(split-ergativity)]	[+ SVO/N $\leftarrow$ MODF]
Romance	[+ accusative]	—	[+ SVO/N $\leftarrow$ MODF]

We should not be impressed, after all, that the pattern shown by iranian/caucasian dialects represents a typologically plausible precedent for proto-indoeuropean development, accusative markedness being the end result of a systematic shift.

<sup>9</sup> So Villar (1983) who does not include a careful examination of this matter in his well-founded theory of accusativeness; see also Bossong (1984a) for further details.

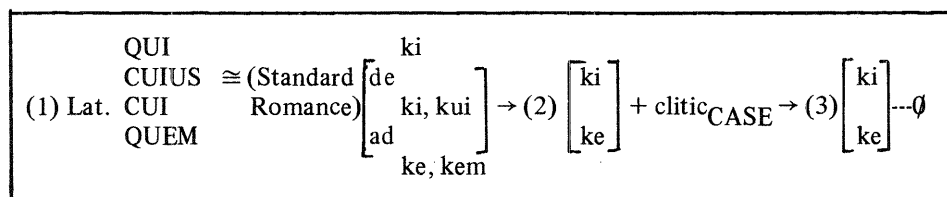
<sup>10</sup> With MODF  $\rightarrow$  N I mean modifiers placed to the left of nominal, modified syntagmas. I would like to point out here that some basic word order patterns (like that of Friedrich 1975) are taken for granted for the whole branch of Indo-European languages, albeit some of them (Osco-Umbrian, non-Classical Latin) allow significant deviations (N  $\leftarrow$  MODF, SVO etc.).

### 3.2. Relativisation in Substandard Romance: Towards a New Strategy?

Claims made by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979) concerning relativisation in Universal Grammar and interaction of relative clause formation with the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy reveal that, from a descriptive standpoint, we must reckon with three main types of construction:

- (1) inflected REL (lative) morpheme heading the embedded clause, with its markedness (case, gender, number) dependent on the coindexed nominal;
- (2) invariant REL marker with anaphoric clitic in the embedded clause (except as subject and after prepositions);
- (3) invariant REL marker without correlated marked clitic.

Now a brief reference at the non-standard situation today in Romance Languages brings to light a transparent process, which has affected a severe simplification of the latin and standard proto-system:



It is important to stress once again the fact that an examination of only literary sources, as in Classical Latin, provides us with a distorted, not wholly representative pattern, namely (1), while the inclusion of Vulgar Latin sources changes radically the picture, producing a dichotomy between (1) and (2):

(Vulgata) *cuius* non sum dignus solvere corrigiam calcamentorum *eius*<sup>11</sup>  
 (Gen. 24,42) si tu prosperas uiam meam *quam* ego nunc ingredior *in eam*  
 (Formulae Andecavenses) hominem...*quem* ego beneficium *ei* feci.

The following sentences, chosen arbitrarily (for further egs. see Blasco 1988) make clear that the present trend is to generalise the third strategy, so that prediction of LC in that direction is in my opinion quite admissible<sup>12</sup>:

<sup>11</sup> Vid. Bassols (1981: 242), Touratier (1980: 496), Ch. Lehmann (1984: 366).

<sup>12</sup> Compare the situation in Modern Greek (Joseph 1983).

- ‘the man *to whom* I have given the book’
- Popular Italian: (1) l’uomo (a) *cui* ho dato il libro  
 (2) *che* + *gli*  
 (3) *che* ---  $\emptyset_t$  (*t* = *trace* or *gap* = deletion site)
- Popular French: (1) l’homme *à qui* j’ai donné le livre  
 (2) *que* je *lui* (or *y*)  
 (3) *que* ---  $\emptyset_t$

It is interesting to observe that nowadays Sardinian does not possess inflected REL markers (see Blasco 1986 and i.p.) and that it has the tendency to speed up the generalization of structure (3) in preference to (2):

- Campidanese Sardinian (2) s ómini *ki qđi* áppu donáu su líburu  
 (3) *ki* ---  $\emptyset_t$

The preminence assigned to strategies (2) and (3) in substandard and dialectal sentences allows us to fill a gap in the documented evidence and postulate a probable direction for further change, with pattern (3) gaining ground and consolidating its position.

### 3.3. *Zaconic and Sardinian Verbal Constructions: Typology and Prediction*

I would like to finish this short contribution with an example, which should help us to assess the importance of the typological approach for the explanation and prediction of LC. As outstanding characteristic of the verbal system of *Zaconic* consists of the use of the present participle to build analytic non-marked constructions, as in the case of present and imperfect indicative:

*Zaconic*  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\ \delta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$  ‘I see’ ---  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\ \delta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon$  ‘I saw’<sup>13</sup>

It is important to note, that the constructions mentioned above do not convey any kind of *Aktionsart* (no continuous present!), but act as non-marked substitutes for the Standard Greek equivalents<sup>14</sup>. Further-

<sup>13</sup> Similarly *em baríu* (=  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\ \text{παρι}\acute{\omega}\nu$ ) ‘*έρχομαι*’, ‘I come’; vid. Deffner (1881: 41), Pernot (1934: 10); Aerts (1965: 102), Browning (1982: 32-33), Seiler (1952: 111).

<sup>14</sup> Many a linguist remains confused when faced with such constructions and asks for an explanation of why there is no evidence of them in classical works. Again, a look at non-standard documents shows how helpful this sort of material may be in bridging gaps. In fact Ioannes Moschos, died 619 in Rome somehow seems to prefer these analytic expressions, not always clearly distinguishable from the simple present (see Mihevc-Gabrovec 1960: 115).

more, it is worth observing that the *pre-determined* forms (the morpheme is placed before the verbal lexeme) create a symmetry in the verbal system, which used already (as does Byzantine Greek) compound forms for the perfect and future tenses. Something similar is happening in Sardinian. As I have repeatedly stated, in this romance language the pre-determined forms are gradually replacing the synthetic (or post-determined) forms and encroaching on their functions. The need to cope with an asymmetrical situation, which derives from the co-presence of analytical future and past forms alongside synthetic present forms, seems to be the inner force which fosters the ongoing substitution (no teleological solution is intended here!):

Campidanese *đđu séu biēñdi* 'I see it' (not: 'I'm seeing it!')

*íssu fía ppapēñđizíđdu* 'He ate it' (not: 'He was eating it!')

Logudorese *sóe bennēñde* 'I come' (not: 'I'm coming!')

The whole system (as presented in Blasco 1986: 125) is as follows:

Forms:	synthetic	meaning	analytic
present	L <i>bénzo</i> C <i>bénđu</i>	'I come'	<i>sóe bennēñde</i> <i>séu bennēñdi</i>
imperfect	L <i>benníada</i> C <i>benníada</i>	'He came'	<i>fíđi bennēñde</i> <i>fúđi bennēñdi</i>
perfect	L — C —	'He came'	<i>fí bbēñđu</i> <i>fú bbēñđu</i>

Now, an explanation of the LC which has taken place in the Zaconic and Sardinian cases can not rest upon the simple observation, that ingressive or continuous marked forms may once become *non-marked* and denote the mere action without any connotation<sup>15</sup>; it is more plausible to suppose that the process envisaged here is due to the need of providing all the expressions of time with a similar type of markedness, with a pre-determined markedness.

I suggest that typological comparison also permits us to predict here

<sup>15</sup> Despite this position, it is necessary to point out that this functional shift is not rare; cfr. port. *estou a ouvir, fico a ouvir* 'I hear', pop. german *Ich bin am Schreiben* 'I write' (Körner 1982).

the direction of the change, namely the deletion of the post-determined forms. Parallel evidence from Zaconic supports this hypothesis.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this short paper was to show how a coherent examination of non-standard and dialectal material may fill gaps left open by evidence gained solely from literary documentation. Furthermore, I wanted to direct attention to the possibility of applying typological approaches, based on comparison of non-standard or dialectal data, to arriving at a satisfactory answer to the complex problem of LC. I am firmly convinced, as I hope I have shown, that typology, probably more than any previous method, may help us to understand the causes of LC and to predict its direction. Indoeuropean, Greek and Romance examples seem to support this conviction.

#### REFERENCES

- Aalto, P. (1953): *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitivs im Griechischen*, Helsinki (Akademia).
- Adams, J.N. (1976): "A Typological approach to Latin Word Order", *IF* 81 (1976): 70-99.
- Aerts, W.J. (1965): *Periphrastica. An investigation into the use of ἔωμαι and ἔχων as auxiliaries or pseudo-auxiliaries in Greek from Homer to the present day*, Amsterdam (Hakkert).
- Aken, A.F. (1861): *Die Grundzüge der Lehre von Tempus und Modus im Griechischen, historisch und vergleichend aufgestellt*, Rostock (Stiller'sche Hof-Buchdruckerei).
- Bassols de C., M. (1981): *Sintaxis latina*, 2 vols., Madrid (CSIC).
- Bănescu, N. (1915): *Die Entwicklung des griechischen Futurums von der frühbyzantinischen Zeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Bukarest (Königl. Hofbuchdruckerei F. Göbl Söhne).
- Blasco Ferrer, E. (1984): *Storia Linguistica della Sardegna*, Tübingen (Max Niemeyer).
- (1986): *La Lingua Sarda Contemporanea. Grammatica del Logudorese e del Campidanese*, Cagliari (Della Torre).
- (1986a): "Tipologia e posizione di una lingua romanza minoritaria: il caso del sardo", *AGI* 71 (1986): 81-134.
- (1988): "Italiano popolare a confronto con altri registri informali. Verso una tipologia del substandard", in Holtus, G. - Radtke, E. (eds. 1988): *Sprachlicher Substandard II*, Tübingen (Max Niemeyer).

- (i.p.): *Manuale di Dialettologia Sarda: I Introduzione e Antologia di Testi Dialettali. II Grammatica Storica su Base Dialettale*, Tübingen.
- Bossong, G. (1984): "Ergativity in Basque", *Linguistics* 22 (1984): 341-392.
- (1984a): *Review of: Villar (1983)*, *Lingua* 62 (1984): 239-247.
- (1985): *Empirische Universalienforschung. Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den neuiranischen Dialekten*, Tübingen (Gunter Narr).
- Browning, R. (1982<sup>2</sup>): *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Călboli, G. (1978): "Die Entwicklung der klassischen Sprachen und die Beziehung zwischen Satzbau, Wortstellung und Artikel", *IF* 83 (1978): 197-261.
- Chomsky, N. (1981): *Lectures on Binding and Government*, Dordrecht (Foris).
- (1982): *On the Generative Enterprise*, Dordrecht (Foris).
- (1985): *On Knowledge of Language*, Dordrecht (Foris).
- Coseriu, E. (1983): "Linguistic Change does not exist", *Linguistica nuova ed antica* 1 (1983): 50-63.
- (1983a): "Adam Smith and the Beginnings of Language Typology", *Historiographia Linguistica* 10 (1983): 1-12.
- (1983b): "Sprachtypologie und Typologie von sprachlichen Verfahren", in *Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Sprachtypologie und Textlinguistik, Festschrift für Peter Hartmann*, Tübingen (Gunter Narr) 1983: 269-279.
- Deffner, M. (1881): *Zakonishe Grammatik*, Berlin (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung).
- Durante, M. (1981): *Dal latino all'italiano moderno. Saggio di storia linguistica e culturale*, Bologna (Zanichelli).
- Friedrich, P. (1975): *Proto-Indoeuropean Syntax. The Order of Meaningful Elements*, Montana (Montana College of Mineral Sciences and Tecnology).
- Goodwin, W.W. (1889): *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, London (Macmillan).
- Greenberg, J. (1974): *Language Typology. A Historical and Analytic Overview*, The Hague-Paris (Mouton).
- Holtus, G. - Radtke, E. (eds. 1986): *Sprachlicher Substandard*, Tübingen (Max Niemeyer).
- (eds. 1988): *Sprachlicher Substandard II*, Tübingen (Max Niemeyer).
- Jaeggli, O. (1982): *Topics in Romance Syntax*, Dordrecht (Foris).
- Joseph, B.D. (1983): *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive. A Study in Areal, General and Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- (1983a): "Relativization in Modern Greek", *Lingua* 60 (1983): 1-24.
- Keenan, E. - Comrie, B. (1977): "Noun phrase accessibility and universal Grammar" *Linguistic Inquiry* 8 (1977): 63-99.
- (1979): "Data on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy", *Language* 55 (1979): 333-351.

- Körner, K.H. (1982): "deutsch für Inländer: 'er war (den Brief) am Schreiben' und 'Was ich noch gesagt haben wollte' ", in Detering, K. - Schmidt-Radefeldt, J. - Sucharowski, W. (eds. 1982): *Sprache beschreiben und erklären*, Tübingen (Max Niemeyer), 1982: 147-156.
- Lehmann, Ch. (1984): *Der Relativsatz. Typologie seiner Strukturen. Theorie seiner Funktionen. Kompendium seiner Grammatik*, Tübingen (Gunter Narr).
- Lehmann, W. (1978): *Syntactic Typology. Studies in the Phenomenology of Language*, Hassocks (Harvester Press).
- (1985): "Typology and the Study of Language Change", *Diachronica* 2 (1985): 35-51.
- Li, Ch. N. (ed. 1976): *Subject and Topic*, New York (Academic Press).
- Lightfoot, D. (1979): *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- Lüdtke, H. (ed. 1979): *Kommunikationstheoretische Grundlagen des Sprachwandels*, Berlin-New York (De Gruyter).
- (1984): "Ansätze zu einer Theorie des Sprachwandels auf syntaktisch-morphologischer Ebene", in Besch, W. - Reichmann, O. - Sonderegger, S. (eds. 1984): *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, I, Berlin-New York (De Gruyter), 1984: 752-762.
- (1986): "Esquisse d'une théorie du changement langagier", *La Linguistique* 22 (1986): 1-46.
- Meillet, A. (1930, it. transl. 1976): *Lineamenti di storia della lingua greca*, Torino (Einaudi).
- Mihevc-Gabrovec, E. (1960): *Etudes sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos*, Ljubljana (Univerza V. Ljubljani Razprave).
- Mitsakis, M. (1967): *The language of Romanos the Melodist*, München (C.H. Beck).
- Mutzbauer, C. (1909): *Die Grundlagen der griechischen Tempuslehre und der homerische Tempusgebrauch*, Strassburg (Karl J. Trübner).
- Pernot, H. (1934): *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte tsakonien*, Paris (Klincksieck).
- Plank, F. (ed. 1979): *Ergativity. Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, London-New York (Academic Press).
- Radford, A. (1983): *La Sintassi Trasformatzionale*, Bologna (Il Mulino).
- Ramat, P. (ed. 1976): *La tipologia linguistica*, Bologna (Il Mulino).
- (1984): *Linguistica tipologica*, Bologna (Il Mulino).
- (1986): *Introduzione alla linguistica germanica*, Bologna (Il Mulino).
- Rizzi, L. (1982): *Issues in Italian Syntax*, Dordrecht (Foris).
- Rosiello, L. (1986): "Spiegazione e analogia: dai Neogrammatici ai Generativisti", in *Un periodo di storia linguistica: I Neogrammatici*, Atti del Convegno della SIG Pisa (Giardini), 1986: 23-51.
- Schmidt, K.H. (1979): "Reconstructing Active and Ergative Stages of Pre-Indo-European", in Planck (ed. 1979): 332-345.
- (1983): *Kaukasische Typologie als Hilfsmittel für die Rekonstruktion des Vorindogermanischen*, Innsbruck (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft).

- Seiler, H. (1952): *L'aspect et le temps dans le verbe néo-grec*, Paris (Les Belles Lettres).
- Stahl, J. (1907): *Kritisch-Historische Syntax des griechischen Verbuns der klassischen Zeit*, Heidelberg (Carl Winter).
- Touratier, Ch. (1980): *La relative. Essai de théorie syntaxique*, Paris (Klincksieck).
- Trask, R.L. (1979): "On the Origins of Ergativity", in Plank, F. (ed. 1979): 384-404.
- Várvaro, A. (1984): *La parola nel tempo. Lingua, società e storia*, Bologna (Il Mulino).
- Villar, F. (1983): *Ergatividad, acusatividad y género en la familia lingüística indoeuropea*, Salamanca (Theses et Studia Philologica Salmanticensia).
- Warner, R.W. (1980): "Word Order in Old Latin. Copulative Clauses", *Orbis* 29 (1980): 251-263.
- Wolf, K. (1911-12): *Studien zur Sprache des Malalas*, München (Akademie).