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The case of (per) addietro in Old Florentine. When before was (apparently) based on back

The case of (*per*) *addietro* in Old Florentine.
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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to describe what *prima facie* seems to be a typological *rarum* in Old Florentine (i.e. Old Italian). Specifically, we address here the morphosyntax of the temporal adverbial *(per) addietro* (lit. for at-back), which was commonly used in Old Florentine texts to encode a meaning roughly corresponding to [BEFORE]. Thus, it seems to go against the accepted generalization that spatial relations of *front* and *back* regularly express, respectively, *ante-riority* and *posteriority* across languages when they are 'shifted' from *space* to *time* (Haspelmath, 1997). We will provide a simple morphosyntactic explanation of the seemingly 'exceptionality' of *(per) addietro* based on a finer-grained representation of temporal expressions and a *locality* constraint on hierarchical structure triggering *kinda*-suppletive patterns (Bobaljik, 2012; Moskal, 2013).

Keywords: temporal adverbials; spatial adverbials; morphosyntax, Old Florentine; Modern Italian; rara; suppletion

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1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to illustrate what *prima facie* seems to be a (so far unnoticed) typological *rarum* in Old Florentine and to give a plausible morphosyntactic explanation for it[1]. Specifically, we address here the morphosyntax of the temporal adverbial *(per) addietro* (lit. *(for) at-back*), which was commonly used in Old Florentine texts to encode a meaning roughly corresponding to [BEFORE]. Namely, when used spatially, *(per) addietro* expresses posterior location [BEHIND/BACK], as shown in (1), whereas, when used temporally, it seems to express anteriority [BEFORE], as in (2).

(1) nel   mare   questo cotale correre
    in-the   sea   this   such   run-inf
    innanzi   e   *addietro…*
    in-front   and   at-back

    'Such a run up and down into the see.'
    Bono Giamboni, Vegezio, a. 1292 (Fior.)

(2) I   servi   che   *per*   *addietro*
    the   slaves that   for   at-back
    in Roma si   ribellaro…
    in Rome cl-refl rebel-3pl-pst

    'The slaves who rebelled before in Rome.'
    Bono Giamboni, Orosio, a. 1292 (Fior.)

From a typological point of view, this pattern seems to go against the fairly robust generalization of Haspelmath (1997), who stated that, when an adverb encoding the spatial meaning [BEHIND / BACK] is used temporally, it consistently expresses the meaning [AFTER].

The facts are summarized in table 1.

The observation that in many genetically diverse languages the linguistic items used to talk about the location of things in space

TABLE 1

	spatial		temporal
Haspelmath (1997)	[FRONT]	›	[BEFORE]
	[BACK]	›	[AFTER]
per addietro	[BACK]	›	[BEFORE]

are also used to talk about the orientation of events in time has fascinated many researchers (cf. Anderson, 1973; Clark, 1973; Traugott, 1978; Jackendoff, 1983, 1996; Geeraerts, 1993, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Tenbrink, 2007, among many others).

Items expressing spatial relations of *front* and *back* standardly express, respectively, anteriority and posteriority across languages when they are 'shifted' from space to time (namely, before ≈ in front; after ≈ back) (cf. Franco, 2013)[2]. Haspelmath (1997: 20), relying on a sample of 55 languages, provided many examples (e.g. Japanese, German, Basque, Polish, Hebrew, Lezgian, Maltese, Hausa, etc.) of this *conceptual shift*.

He affirmed that "almost all cases" (Haspelmath, 1997: 56) follow this path, but did not give any possible counterexample. In (3) we present data from Japanese, where the word *mae* (front) is used with a temporal characterization, both with (3a) and without (3b) a deictic anchoring (cf. also Franco, 2013).

(3) (a) *Mae* ni   asonda
        front loc   play.pst
        koto ga   aru.
        fact   nom exist/have

        'We have played before.'
        lit. "(We) have the fact that (we)
        played at front."
        (Moore, 2011: 766)

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1   A preliminary classificatory or labelling clarification concerns the term Old Florentine, by which we refer to what is commonly described as Old Italian in the literature (cf. Salvi & Renzi, 2010), basing on Florentine texts of the 13/14th century.

2   Cross-linguistically, there are many different lexical sources that give rise to temporal items, other than anterior and posterior markers *based on* spatial anterior and posterior markers (cf. Haspelmath, 1997: 63-65, cf. also Barbiers, 2007; Franco, 2013). The crucial fact here is that when a language employs spatial markers to convey a (sequential) temporal meaning *before* is based on *(in) front* and *after* is based on *back*.

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(b) Satoo o   ire-ru   yori   *mae*
     sugar acc put.in-non.pst from front
     ni   sio   o   ire-ru
     loc   salt acc   put.in-non.pst

'Before putting in sugar, I put salt.'
[Japanese. Kyoko Hirose Ohara]
(Moore, 2011: 765)

Psycholinguistic researches (cf. Boroditsky, 2000 and subsequent works) support the conceptual 'closeness' and the univocal orientation of spatial and temporal relations in the lexicon[3].

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I present the relevant empirical data concerning the distribution of *(per) addietro* in Old Florentine. In section 3, I highlight a 'transitivity' constraint on the distribution of the temporal adverbial under consideration. Section 4 provides a *functionalist* explanation of the Old Florentine facts, based on a finer-grained representation of temporal expressions. Section 5 attempts a characterization of the 'suppletive' behaviour of temporal expression in the terms of an *internalist* perspective, given a locality constraint and a hierarchical organization of 'morphology' *into* 'syntax'. The conclusions follow.

2. The data: *(per) addietro* in Old Florentine

As far as the case of *(per) addietro* (and its lexical variants *per adietro*, *per adrieto,* etc.) is concerned, interestingly, the phenomenon seems to be almost exclusively circumscribed to Old Florentine (with rare occurrences from Old Tuscan), which is standardly considered (cf. Salvi & Renzi, 2010) the direct ancestor of Modern Italian, as already pointed out (cf. fn. 1). The present study is based on a survey performed on the OVI [*Opera del Vocabolario Italiano*] database (cf. http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it/). We have found 273 tokens of *per addietro* and its lexical variants.

In (4) we provide a set of examples of constructions with *per addietro*.

(4) (a) Quella vide   Cloreo, il
         that-f   see-3sg-past
         Cloreo art-m-sg
         quale   *per   addietro*
         rel   for   at-back
         era   stato   prete […]
         be-3sg-ipfv   be-pst-ptcp   priest

'She saw Cloreo, who was
a priest before…"
Lancia, Eneide volg., 1316 (Fior.)

(b) […]   furono   compiute
            be-3pl-pst complete-pst-ptcp-f-pl
     di   murare
     comp   wall.up-inf
     le   nuove   cerchie
     the-f-pl   new-f-pl   circle.of.walls-f-pl
     cominciate   *per   addietro*.
     started-pst-ptcp-f-pl   for   at-back

'…The new circle of walls that had been started to be built before was completed.'
Paolino Pieri, Cronica, a. 1305 (Fior.)

(c) […]   la   cittade sua,   che
            the   town   his-f rel
     per   addietro   solea
     for   at-back   use.to-3sg-ipfv
     essere di   grande popolo ripiena.
     be-inf of   big   people full-f

'…His town, that was usually full of people before.'
Bono Giamboni, Orosio, a. 1292 (Fior.)

3   To my knowledge, the only apparent counterexample to Haspelmath's generalization discussed in the literature is Aymara language spoken in the Andes, that provides a possible *across-modality* counterexample (see Núñez & Sweetser, 2006). Indeed, in their *co-speech* gesture research, Núñez and Sweetser (2006) found that Aymara speakers produce hand gestures 'forward from their body' when they talk about past events, and gestures 'towards their back' when explicating issues concerning future events. Nevertheless, Moore (2011: 767-773) has shown that Aymara people can rely on the 'right' spatial source to encode temporal anteriority and posteriority (cf. also Franco, 2013).

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(d) ha   Fortuna   risoluto
have-3sg-prs   Fortune   solve-pst-ptcp
la   nebula dell'   errore   *per*
the   fog   of-the   mistake   for
addietro da   me   sostenuto.
at-back   from   me   bear-pst-ptcp

'... Fortune has solved the mistake in which I was before.'
Boccaccio, Filostrato, 1335-36

(e) benché,   *per*   *l'*   *adietro,*
although   for   the   at-back
il   Comune   d'   Orbivieto
the   city   of   Orvieto
di   ciò   sia
of   that   be-3sg-sb
stato   contento [...]
be-pst-ptcp   satisfied

'...Although the city of Orvieto was satisfied of it before...'
Doc. Fior., 1311-50

The only possible interpretation of all the examples in (4) is approximately with a [BEFORE] meaning, or at least such a meaning is the one that would be standardly expressed with the temporal marker of anteriority *prima* ('before') in Modern Italian.

Consider for instance how Modern Italian encodes the temporal relation in a sentence directly corresponding to (4a):

(5) ha   visto   Gianni
have.prs.3sg   see.pst-ptcp   Gianni

che   prima/*(per)   addietro   era
that   before/ for   at.back   be.ipfv.3sg
stato   un   prete.
be.pst-ptcp   a   priest

'She/He saw Gianni, who was a priest before.'

The correspondence between Old Florentine *per addietro* and Modern Italian *prima* is attested in Italian etymological dictionaries (see e.g. Pianigiani, 1907), which confirm that the 'archaic' expression *per addietro* stands for *prima* or *innanzi* ('before', a word derived from Latin *in ante*, 'in front'). The preposition *per* seems to encode here an 'atelic-extent marker' in the past (cf. Haspelmath, 1997: 120ff.), whereas its most common use in contemporary Italian is with a cause or *benefactive* meaning. Notice however that the use of the preposition *per* to encode an 'extension' in time or space is quite common in Modern Italian (e.g. *sono rimasto lì per due mesi,* 'I stayed there for two months'; *ho continuato per due km,* 'I continued for two kilometers'). Observe also that, in Old Florentine, expressions in which a determiner introduces the temporal adverbial are attested as shown in (4e) [there are 5/273 occurrences of (*per*) *l'addietro* and lexical variants in the OVI database][4].

The temporal adverbial *prima*, with the meaning 'before', was widely attested in Old Florentine (hence, it was coexistent with *addietro*) and in the early stages of the language (XIII century) *prima* was commonly introduced by the stative preposition *in*, as shown in (6)[5]:

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4   Incidentally, this fact suggests a possible *double route* of structural interpretation/encoding, somewhat parallel to the one argued for by Svenonius (2006), who precisely addressed the difference between so-called *axial parts* and *relational nouns*. Specifically, Svenonius argues against the idea that axial parts, namely items like *front, beside, behind* and so on, are a subclass of (i.e. relational) nouns (cf. also Hagége, 2010: 162ff.). The presence vs. absence of determiners in the syntactic environment is one of the criteria that may be used to distinguish between axial parts and nouns. Considering the case of *per l'addietro*, however, notice that, according to Svenonius (2006: 67), axial parts can take 'idiosyncratic determiners', as shown by Roy (2006) for French. In French indeed some axial parts (e.g. *au long de,* 'along,' and *au delà de,* 'beyond') appear with an article.

5   The presence of a stative preposition before the item *prima* suggests a strong parallelism between spatial and temporal expressions. Cinque (2010: 5), assuming a layered ('cartographic', cf. par. 5 and fn. 9 below) configuration of spatial adpositions, has shown that, in Modern Italian, DP$_{place}$ can be conceivably selected by an unpronounced *stative* preposition (cf. also Holmberg, 2002; Svenonius, 2006; Kayne, 2004, among others). An analogous *layered* configuration may be hypothesized for temporal expressions, on the basis of cross-linguistic data. Vai, Bambara, Gimira, Kwaio, Korean, Lezgian, …

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(6) (a) il   colore delle   sue
       the   colour of.the-f-pl   his-f-pl
       armi,   ch'   era
       weapons   rel   be-3sg-ipfv
       candidissimo   *in   prima*, si
       snow-white-sup-abs   in   before cl-refl
       offuscoe   un   poco.
       darken-3sg-pst   a   bit

       'the color of his weapons,
       which had been snow-white be-
       fore, became a bit dirty.'
       Bono Giamboni, Vizi e Vir-
       tudi, a. 1292 (Fior.)

   (b) Bambillonia   *in   prima*   da
       Babylon   in   before   by
       Nembrot   giogante edificata [...]
       Nembrot   giant   build-pst-ptcp-f

       'Babylon, built before by
       the giant Nimrod ...'
       Bono Giamboni, Orosio, a. 1292 (Fior.)

Addietro may be introduced by a stative preposition, too. Even if less productively than the expression with the preposition per, *in addietro* (again with a [BEFORE] flavour) is attested in Old Florentine (43 occurrences in the OVI database), as shown in (7).

 (7) (a) E   voi   avete   bene
       And   you-pl have-2pl-prs   well
       udito   *in   addietro* [...]
       hear-pst-ptcp   in   at.back

       'And you have heard well before...'
       Tesoro volg. (ed. Gaiter), XIII ex. (Fior.)

   (b) [...]   *in   addietro* tenuto
               in   at.back   consider-pst-ptcp
       buono   uomo   e   di santa   vita.
       good   man   and   of saintly   life

       '...Considered before a good
       and saintly man.'
       Giovanni Villani (ed. Mout-
       ier) a. 1348 (Fior.)

   (c) [...]   siccome   *in   addietro*
                 as   in   at.back
       i   Sabini [...]
       the-pl   Sabines

       '...as the Sabines before...'
       Piero de' Crescenzi volg.
       (ed. Sorio), XIV (Fior.)

Also consider that 'bare forms' of *addietro* (without an adjoined preposition) can be used with an analogous temporal meaning in Old Florentine, as reported below.

 (8) [...] di   che   lo   conto
       Of   which   the   exposition
       fa   menzione   *addietro*.
       make-3sg-prs   mention   at.back

       'which is mentioned be-
       fore in the exposition.'
       Tesoro volg. (ed. Gaiter), XIII ex. (Fior.)

Moreover, the *puzzling* nature of the linguistic encoding of the concept of temporal anteriority in Old Florentine can be well-represented by the presence of temporal expressions, which rely on the 'right' spatial source

Tuvaluan, Welsh, Kabardian, Basque, among many other languages, provide evidence for a stative-like PP (or Case affix) that takes a temporal expression as its complement (Franco, 2011). Just to give an example of this pattern, consider data from Tuvaluan (Besnier, 2000), an Austronesian language, spoken in Tuvalu:
(i)   Te   fakaala ne   fai   *mai   mua*   o   te   faatele.
      the   feast   Nps   do   from   front   of   the   fatele-dance
      'The feast was held before the dance.'
(ii) *i   tua*   eiloo   o   ttaua
      at   back   indeed   of   the-war
      'after the war'
      (Besnier, 2000: 358)

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(i.e. *avanti, avante*, 'in front'). Consider the examples in (9)[6].

(9) (a) […] dai denti morsi
by.the-pl teeth bite-pst-ptcp.pl
de la morte *avante*
of the-f death in.front
che fosser da l' umana
that be-3pl-sbjv-pst by the human
colpa essenti
sinfulness exempt-pl

'…Snatched by the teeth of death before they were exempt from our human sinfulness.'
Dante, Commedia, a. 1321

(b) […] sperando nella potenza
hoping in.the-f strength
degl' iddii, come
of.the-pl gods like
avanti ti dissi
in.front cl-2sg-dat tell-2sg-pst

'…hoping in the strength of gods, like I told you before.'
Boccaccio, Filocolo, 1336-38

(c) Io ho fatto
I have-1sg-prs make-pst-ptcp
uno voto per avanti, e
a vow for in.front and
oggi sono stata ad
today be-1sg-prs be-pst-ptcp to
offerirlo
offer.inf-cl.3sg.acc

'I made a vow before and today I have gone to offer it.'
Bibbia, XIV-XV (Tosc.)

3. A *transitivity* constraint on *(per) addietro*

In the examples above, *avanti* (in front) optionally preceded by an analogous (*per*, for) adpositional item 'correctly' encodes a relation of temporal anteriority and it is somewhat symmetrical to (*per*) *addietro* (hugely more diffuse in the OVI database). The relevant question now is: what triggers the unstable encoding of temporal expressions in Old Florentine? In particular, how can an item that means [BACK] apparently against Haspelmath's (1997) generalization sketched in table 1 encode *a flavour of* anteriority?

The first thing to be noted is that constructions with (*in*) *prima* and (*per / in*) *addietro* in Old Florentine differ in one crucial aspect: the former can 'take complements', while the latter is *strictly* intransitive (cf. Kurzon, 2008). I have detected 316 occurrences of *per addietro* (273) and *in addietro* (43) and their lexical variants, and in no case do these forms have an overt complement. On the other hand, with *prima*, as shown in (10), I have found many instances of *transitivity*. Consider also the examples from Modern Italian in (10c-d):

(10) (a) […] e prima della
and before of.the-f
dottrina data da' savi
doctrine given by sages

'… and before the teaching of the sages'.
Fiore di rett., red. beta, a. 1292 (Fior.)

(b) […] che i tuoi vizi
comp the-pl your sins
muoiano prima di te
die-3pl-sbjv-prs before of you

'… that your sins die before you.'
Fiori di filosafi, 1271-75 (Fior.)

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6 Forms like *avanti, avante* are clearly connected with Latin *ante* 'before (prep.)'. Latin *ante* is the source of 'before'-words for most Romance languages: Spanish, *antes (de), ante*; Portuguese, *antes*; Old French, *ainz*; Catalan, *ans (de)* (cf. Hall, 1937; Traugott, 1978). Notice that in Contemporary Italian the word *anzi* (rather, on the contrary) marginally attested in Old Florentine with a loosely temporal sense (at any rate, related to a *rather* meaning) is widely used in the compound word *anzitempo* (before/ahead of time). Actually, I have found no Romance items (at least) resembling *per addietro* in my survey.

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(c) Non   ho   mai   visto
    NEG   have-1sg-prs never see-pst-ptcp
    un   arcobaleno   prima
    a   rainbow   before
    della   pioggia
    of.the-f   rain

‘I have never seen a rainbow before the rain.’

In this respect, (*per*) *addietro* shares some similarities with deictic items such as *ago* (*fa* in Modern Italian), precisely analysed by Williams (1994) as *intransitive* prepositions, namely prepositions that do not license a complement.

Indeed, many languages have specific items to encode *deictic* temporal distance, namely the distance related to the time of speech[7]. Haspelmath (1997: 36-37) dubbed the semantic functions expressed by these items {DISTANCE-PAST} and {DISTANCE-FUTURE}. Examples from Italian are given in (11) and (12):

(11) Gianni è arrivato un mese *fa*   {DISTANCE-PAST}
     ‘Gianni arrived a month ago.’

(12) Gianni arriverà *tra/in* un’ora   {DISTANCE-FUTURE}
     ‘Gianni will arrive in a hour’

In Old Italian {DISTANCE-PAST} was expressed with the same *addietro* or with a bi-clausal con-

struction involving the verb *fare* (do) or *essere* (be) in the matrix clause, as shown below in (13) and (14), respectively.

(13) Pochi   tempi *addietro*   tornando
     few-pl   times at.back   coming.back

    ‘Coming back some time ago.’
    Bono Giamboni, Orosio, a. 1292 (Fior.)

(14) Oggi   fa   l’   anno
     Today make-3sg-prs the   year
     che   nel   ciel   salisti
     that   into   sky   rise-2sg-pst

    ‘You died a year ago.’
    Dante, Vita Nuova a. 1292-1293 ca. (Fior.)

Hence, we may claim that the expression (*per*) *addietro* has solely an intransitive interpretation signalling the temporal distance of an event from the time of elocution. Nevertheless, as we have seen in (4), (5), *(per) addietro* in Old Florentine would be glossed/translated with *prima* (‘before’) and not with *fa/addietro* (‘ago’) in Modern Italian[8].

In Modern Italian, *prima* has both an intransitive value (namely, anchored to the *time/context* of elocution) as in (16) (thus matching Old Florentine *addietro*) and a transitive value, as in (17). Time measures (e.g. *ora*, now; *allora*, then; *un anno*, a year, etc.) can be (and usually

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7   Still, this is not a general property which holds cross-linguistically. In fact, many languages (e.g. Turkish, Armenian, Ancient Greek, Persian, Punjabi, among others) mark the distance from the moment of speech with the same item which marks the distance with respect to an explicitly indicated point of time (i.e. when the temporal item takes a complement). Consider the example below from Punjabi (cf. Franco, 2013, cf. also table 3 below).
   (i) a. maŋgalvaar   tõ   *páílãã*
        Tuesday from   before
        ‘before Tuesday’
     b. do   saal   *páílãã*   asĭ   Multaan gae
        two   year   before   we   Multaan went
        ‘Two years ago we went to Multaan.’
        (Punjabi, Bhatia, 1993: 206ff.)

8   In previous work on the topic of ‘temporal distance’, Vanelli (2002) argued that whereas the deictic value of the Old Florentine bi-clausal expression for ‘ago’ resulted from the compositional meaning of the single elements which formed it (in the bi-clausal construction), in Modern Italian the syntactic *transparence* is lost and the modern form has become “lexically deictic”. See also Franco (2012) for a syntactic analysis of the reconstruction [ΥΡ [ΧΡ]] > [ΧΡ] that derived the particle *fa* from the verb *fare* (to do). Notice also that *addietro* retains a temporal {DISTANCE-PAST} *deictic* meaning in contemporary Italian, sharing approximately the same distribution as particles like *fa* and *or sono* (lit. ‘now are’). See the examples in (i) below:
   (i) *Ho*   *incontrato*   *Gianni due*   *anni*   *fa/or sono/addietro*
      have-1sg-prs   meet-pst-ptcp   Gianni two   years   ago
      ‘I met him two years ago’.

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are) unexpressed and retrieved from the context/discourse (cf. Kayne, 2004). On the contrary, a temporal measure is obligatory with so-called {DISTANCE-PAST} markers of the *ago* type, as shown in (15):

(15) l'ho visto *(un mese) fa
　　'I saw it a month ago (now).'
　　　　[*deictic/ 'intransitive'*]

(16) l'ho conosciuto (un anno) prima (*d'ora)
　　'I met him (one year) earlier/before (now)'
　　　　[*context-dependent 'intransitive'*]

(17) l'ho visto prima del film
　　'I have seen it before the movie.'
　　　　[*anaphoric/'transitive'*]

We clearly need a finer-grained system of temporal expressions to account for the data presented above and we will see that such a finer-grained characterization is crucial to account for the behaviour of potential counterexamples

to Haspelmath's generalization such as the Old Florentine time adverbial *(per) addietro*, where at first sight [BEFORE] ≈ [BACK][9].

4. A finer-grained characterization of temporal distance: introducing *retrospective* (and *prospective*) values

A solution to the puzzles and difficulties outlined above may be found thanks to the following observation: in many languages, a different morpheme must be used when the reference point (i.e. *somewhere* in the future or in the past) *is not* the moment of speech. Haspelmath (1997: 36-38) employed the terms {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} and {DISTANCE-PROSPECTIVE} for these cases. In particular, the difference between *retrospective* and *past* distance expressions, and between *prospective* and *future* distance expressions can be represented by the English sentences in (18) and (19), taken from Haspelmath (1997: 98)[10].

Further notice that, interestingly, many languages employ only clausal adverbials in order to express {DISTANT PAST} functions (Haspelmath, 1997). An example of these bi-clausal constructions, which match the Old Florentine type in (15), is given here in (ii), for Babungo, a West African language.
(ii) ŋwǝ́kû. ndwǝ́ lùu ŋú'sǝ̄ bɔ̀c　　Babungo (Schaub, 1985: 169)
　　[he die] [now be years two]
　　'He died two years ago.' (lit. 'He died. It's now two years.')

9　A few words are in order on the preposition *per*, widely attested in Old Florentine texts together with the temporal marker *addietro*. Possibly *per* is generated in the temporal counterpart of PP_path (as a marker of *atelic extent*, cf. Haspelmath, 1997) in a layered adpositional phrase structure (cf. Koopman, 2000; Schweikert, 2005; Svenonius, 2006; Cinque, 2010; Pantcheva, 2010; Den Dikken, 2010, among others). For instance, in recent work, Cinque (2010: 10) has proposed a very fine-grained configuration for spatial adpositions, on the basis of cross-linguistic data, as shown in (ii):
(i)　[PPDir [PPStat [PPPlace [DegP [ModeDirP [AbsViewP [RelViewP [RelViewP [DecticP [AxPartP X° [PP P [NPPlace DP [PLACE]]]]]]]]]]]]]
Note indeed that in Old Florentine it can be separated to the temporal expression *addietro* and this is a hint of the fact that it is processed in a higher node and surfaces attached to *addietro* when the temporal expression (as common for retrospective items) is *implicit/silent* (cf. also Kayne, 2003; Cinque, 2011):
(ii)　[…]　il　　quale　per　due　　anni　addietro era　　stato　　　Capitano
　　　　the-m　rel　for　two　　years　at.back be-3sg-ipfv　be-pst-ptcp　Captain
　　　'who had been Captain two years before.'
　　　Marchionne, Cronaca Fior., 1378-85
That this idea is on the right track can be confirmed by the fact that *posteriority* in time is commonly expressed (compositionally) in Modern Italian in a way which seems quite symmetrical to the construction with *per addietro*, namely by the strings *da ora in avanti*, from now on, lit. 'from now to in front', or da *allora in avanti*, from then on (in these cases, again, temporal posteriority is *markedly* based on 'in front').

10　As suggested by an anonymous reviewer other labels have been used in the literature (cf. Prior, 1967; Dowty, 1992; Higginbotham, 1995) to characterize those items which encode a temporal relation between the host time and utterance time (e.g. *deictic devices*) or another contextually given time (e.g. *relative/anaphoric devices*), that expresses a temporal meaning that may be anaphorically resolved in discourse. I adopt Haspelmath's terminology, because the present section is precisely structured as a refinement of his typological generalization.

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(18) (a) {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ᴘᴀꜱᴛ} Our son returned from the army two weeks *ago*.

(b) {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ʀᴇᴛʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} Do you remember when your brother paid us an unexpected visit, coming all the way from Chile? Fortunately, all of us were at home. Our son had returned from the army two weeks *earlier/before* (*ago*).

(19) (a) {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ} Will Switzerland exist *in* fifty years' time?

(b) {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} Tito died in 1980. Ten years *later/after* (*in ten years) Yugoslavia began to crumble.

The crucial fact is that in (18b)-(19b) the elapsed time is not (necessarily) related to the time of speech/elocution. {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} and {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ʀᴇᴛʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} values have in common with {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ} and {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ᴘᴀꜱᴛ} ones the properties of being 'intransitive' and of being somewhat anchored to the 'context' of elocution (*vs.* 'transitive' markers of 'general' anteriority and posteriority which, as we have seen in (10) with the case of *prima*, are able to introduce arguments and may encode events detached from either the time or the context of elocution).

Given this finer-grained representation, it is easy to see that the Old Florentine item *(per) addietro* can express a {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ʀᴇᴛʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} value, as clearly exemplified below in (20):

(20) [...]	fu	fatto	Podestà
was	do-pst-ptcp	mayor
Messer	Federigo d'Antioccia		la
sir	F.d'A.		the

seconda volta, perciò che *du' anni*
second time since two years
addietro era stato
at-back be-3sg-ipfv be-pst-ptcp
un'altra volta.
another time

'Sir Federigo d'Antioccia was proclamed mayor for the second time, since he had been mayor another time two years before.'
Paolino Pieri, Cronica, 1305 c. (Fior.)

Haspelmath (1997: 98-100) has found that, about in half (n. 13) of the languages of a sample of 27, the {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} morpheme was identical to the {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ} morpheme. Hence, an overt distinction {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ} vs. {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} is found in many languages of Haspelmath's sample, but there are also a number of languages (n. 14) in which this distinction is lacking. Furthermore, Haspelmath (1997: 100) has shown that {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} morphemes are also frequently identical to {ᴘᴏꜱᴛᴇʀɪᴏʀ} morphemes. Thus, he proposed the *implicational generalization* reported in (21) (cf. also Franco, 2013):

(21) *If in a language the posterior and the distance-future markers are identical, then the distance-prospective marker also takes the same form.*

In table 2, I report Haspelmath's data for {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ ꜰᴜᴛᴜʀᴇ} / {ᴅɪꜱᴛᴀɴᴄᴇ-ᴘʀᴏꜱᴘᴇᴄᴛɪᴠᴇ} / {ᴘᴏꜱᴛᴇʀɪᴏʀ} morphemes.

TABLE 2
(adapted from Haspelmath, 1997: 99)

	FUTURE	PROSPECTIVE	POSTERIOR
Albanian	pas	pas	pas
Ancient Greek	metá	metá	metá
Arabic	baʕda	baʕda	baʕda
Bulgarian	sled	sled	sled

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Chechen	-älča	-älča	t'äħa
Chinese	yǐ hòu	yǐ hòu	(guo)hòu
Croatian	do	poslije	poslije
English	in	later, after	after
Estonian	pärast	pärast	pärast
Finnish	-ssa (INESSIVE)	myöhemmin	jälkeen
French	dans	plus tard	après
German	in	später, nach	nach
Haitian Creole	nan	apré	apré
Hungarian	múlva	múlva	után
Indonesian	lagi	kumudian	sebelum
Irish	i gcionn	ina dhiaidh sin	roimh
Japanese	go ni	go ni	go ni
Latin	post/ABLATIVE	post	post
Latvian	pēc	pēc	pēc
Lezgian	SUPERELATIVE	SUPERELATIVE	güğüniz/q'uluqh
Lithuanian	po/praslinkus	po/už/praslinkus	praslinkus/po
Maltese	fi	wara	wara
Modern Greek	se	ístera apó	metá
Russian	čerez	spustja	posle
Spanish	dentro de	después	después de
Swedish	om	senare, efter	efter
Turkish	sonra	sonra/geçince	sonra

Haspelmath did not provide any data for {DISTANCE PAST} / {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} / {ANTERIOR} morphemes, but Franco (2013) has collected evidence that the claim (i.e. the implicational generalization) that Haspelmath made for items of posteriority in (21) is also legit for items of anteriority, with data from a sample of 37 languages. *Anteriority* data are shown below in table 3.

TABLE 3
(Franco, 2013: 256)

	PAST	RETROSPECTIVE	ANTERIOR
Abui	afe	el	el
Albanian	parë	para	para
Armenian	aṙaǰ/valuc	aṙaǰ	aṙaǰ

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Catalan	fa	abans	abans
Cavineña	(-kware) beru	beru	beru
Croatian	prije	prije	prije
Czech	před	před	před
English	ago	before/earlier	before
Estonian	tagasi	enne	enne
Finnish	sitten	ennen	ennen
French	il y'a	avant	avant
German	vor	vor	vor
Hungarian	ezelőtt	azelőtt	előtt
Italian	fa/or sono/addietro	prima	prima
Japanese	mae ni	mae ni	mae ni
Kashmiri	brõh	brõh	brõh
Kolyma Yukaghir	tudā	tudā	kieje
Korean	cen-ey	icen-ey	icen-ey
Lezgian	wilik	wilik	wilik
Ma'di	ɛzɛ'	gbù	gbù
Madurese	lamba'	gella'	sabellunna
Malayalam	munpə	munpə	munpə
Maltese	ilu	qabel	qabel
Modern Breton	zo	a-raok	a-raok
Mosetén	poroma-win	poroma-jike	poroma
Ndyuka	pasa	fosi	fosi
Persian	piš	piš/qæbl æz	piš/qæbl æz
Punjabi	páílãã	páílãã	páílãã
Spanish	hace	antes	antes
Turkish	önce	önce	önce
Udihe	anana	anana	zulie-ni/-te
Vaeakau-Taumako	huamua	huamua	huamua
Wardaman	burrugawi/buljuwi	guji	guji
Warrongo	ganba	ganba	ganba
Yurakaré	shinama	shinama/ushta	shinama/ushta
Zialo	aysa	aysa	aysa/tùwò
› Old Florentine	*addietro*	*(per/in) addietro*	*prima*

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In table 3 we can see that matching Haspelmath's implicational generalization in (20), if in a given language the {ANTERIOR} and the {DISTANCE PAST} morphemes are lexicalized with the same item, then the {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} morpheme also takes the same form. This pattern, namely the representation of all the three values with the same morpheme, seems to be quite frequent (actually, the most common) in worlds' languages.

Comparing table 2 and table 3, we can also see that there are other specular patterns in the representation of *posteriority* and *anteriority* across languages (cf. Franco, 2013). The other attested patterns are indeed the following:

(a) There are languages in which {DISTANCE FUTURE} = {DISTANCE-PROSPECTIVE} ≠ {POSTERIOR} morphemes (e.g. Hungarian, Lezgian) and, symmetrically, there are languages in which {DISTANCE PAST} = {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} ≠ {ANTERIOR} morphemes (e.g. Kolyma Yukaghir or, precisely, *Old Florentine*).

(b) There are languages in which {DISTANCE FUTURE} ≠ {DISTANCE-PROSPECTIVE} ≠ {POSTERIOR} items (e.g. Finnish, Irish) and, symmetrically, languages in which {DISTANCE PAST} ≠ {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} ≠ {ANTERIOR} items (e.g. Madurese).

The crucial ban, either in the *future* or in the *past*, is against {DISTANCE FUTURE} = {POSTERIOR} ≠ {DISTANCE-PROSPECTIVE} and/or {DISTANCE PAST} = {ANTERIOR} ≠ {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE}.

Given these empirical facts, we have to consider a further descriptive issue, crucial for the present discussion. In a number of languages, the spatial directional adverb 'back' is used for the {DISTANCE PAST} function (cf. Haspelmath, 1997: 93). Just to give an example, consider the data in (22) from Evenki.

(22) (a) Tar   beje   ilan-ma   tyrgani-1-va
        that   man   three-acc   day-pl-acc
        amaski   suru-che-n.
        back   go.away-pst-3sg

   'That man left three days ago.'

(b) Esikeken   erne-re-p,
    and.now   come-nfut-1pl.inc
    si-de   suru-mu-d' e-nni   amaski.
    you-clt   go.away-vol-prs-2sg   back

   'We have just come, and/but you (already) want to go back.'
   Evenki (Nedjalkov, 1997: 186)

Interestingly, also English in (23) and Modern Italian in (24) can lexicalize {DISTANCE PAST} in the same way as Evenki. Modern Italian can use for {DISTANCE PAST} purposes the same lexical item, *addietro,* which *prima facie* seems to encode the meaning *before* in Old Florentine.

(23)   three years ago ≈ three years back

(24)   tre anni fa ≈ tre anni addietro
        'three years ago.'

Actually, this *grammaticalization path*, namely the shift from [BACK] to [AGO] (cf. Heine & Kuteva, 2002: 49), can be a potential problem for Haspelmath's generalization (i.e. an item meaning *back/behind* acquires a [+deictic] before flavour) and Haspelmath (1997: 93) himself argued that

> the most interesting point about this use of 'back' is that it contrasts strikingly with the use of 'before' or 'in front' for expressing the same semantic function. Clearly, in this case the image of the observer moving forward in stationary time is predominant.

Actually, recalling again the fact that *(per) addietro* is necessarily anchored to the context/discourse but not necessarily connected to the time of elocution, with the fine-grained (tripartite) interpretation of temporal expressions reported above, we can argue that when endeavoured with a BEFORE 'flavour' it is nothing else than a {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} marker (see table 3, cf. example (20)).

Now, if we assume that Haspelmath's generalization (cf. table 1) holds only for markers of general {ANTERIORITY/POSTERIORITY} (cf. again table 2

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and table 3), possibly as a reflex of a universal cognitive constraint, we may therefore argue that nothing prevents a {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} morpheme from being expressed by means of a word meaning [BACK], just as happens for {DISTANCE PAST} morphemes in a number of languages (possibly due to a 'context sensitive' interpretation). In other words, the ban [BACK] ≈ [BEFORE] is cross-linguistically restricted to items of general anteriority only.

(Per) addietro merely represents an instance of a pattern in which the {ANTERIOR} morpheme is different from the {DISTANCE RETROSPECTIVE} morpheme, which is in turn equal to the {DISTANCE PAST} morpheme. This is an attested pattern in the temporal domain of 'anteriority' (as shown in table 3) and an analogous pattern is also attested in the domain of 'posteriority', as shown, for instance, by the cases of Hungarian and Chechen, where {POSTERIOR} is different from {DISTANCE PROSPECTIVE} which is the same as {DISTANCE FUTURE} (cf. Franco, 2013).

With such an explanation, Haspelmath's generalization now circumscribed to the domain of general ANTERIORY and POSTERIORITY is safe.

Crucially, in Franco's sample, there are no items signalling [BACK], which are able to lexicalize a marker of general anteriority (i.e. an item with a transitive value).

Hence, *(per) addietro* is only an apparent counterexample to Haspelmath's generalization, made more exceptional by the fact that Modern Italian takes a 'specular' path and expresses {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE} with the item *prima*, which is the specific morpheme for *general anteriority* both in Old Florentine and in Modern Italian.

Once we accept that Haspelmath Generalization involves only markers of general anteriority/ posteriority, *per addietro* is perfectly licit as a marker of {DISTANCE-RETROSPECTIVE}. Support to our claim is also given by the fact that its use was subject to a *transitivity constraint* (i.e. it could not take an *unrestricted* DP complement, contrary to markers of general anteriority, as shown above in section 3).

This functionalist explanation is possibly adequate enough to account for the Old Florentine facts, but I think that theoretical advancements on *lexicalization* allow us to provide a formal (i.e. *internalist*) characterization of the phenomena illustrated above.

Such a formal interpretation is presented in the following section.

5. Suppletion and locality in the temporal domain

The use of 'more specific' items to express {RETROSPECTIVE/PAST} (and/or {PROSPECTIVE/ FUTURE}) features in some languages may be interpreted as an instance of *suppletion* in the temporal domain. Suppletion is standardly defined as the association of a single lexical item with two (or more) phonologically unrelated forms (e.g. go vs. went), where the choice of forms is dependent on the morpho-syntactic context (Hippisley et al., 2004; Veselinova, 2006; Bobaljik, 2012; Moskal, 2013). As an instance of a *tripartite* suppletion pattern, consider the comparative / superlative morphology from Middle Persian and Italian in (25), where we have three distinct forms for three distinct functions (labelled here *default*, *comparative* and *superlative*, cf. Bobaljik, 2012).

(25) (a) xōb weh/wah-īy pahl-om/pāš-om *Middle Persian*
(b) buono migliore ottimo *Italian*
good.default better.comparative best.superlative

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In order to formally explain the temporal patterns in table 2 and table 3, I will assume, following the recent literature (cf. Bobalijik, 2012; Moskal, 2013), that suppletion is governed by hierarchical structure and 'restricted' by locality.

Evidence that a *kinda* suppletive mecha-

nism may be at work in the temporal domain in a number of languages is given by those patterns in which anterior/posterior *bases* are instead 'regularly' suffixed/prefixed by specific, usually deictic, morphemes[11]. Consider, for instance, the case of Hungarian in the *past* (cf. Kenesei et al., 1998).

(26)	DISTANCE PAST	RETROSPECTIVE	ANTERIOR
	ez-előtt	az-előtt	előtt
	ago	before/earlier	before

In (26), *előtt* means 'before' (either spatially or temporally), *ez* means 'this', while *az* means 'that'. *Ezelőtt* can only mean 'ago', due to the use of the proximal demonstrative *ez*. Crucially, both retrospective and distance past have a deictic/context sensitive value overtly expressed by the (distal/proximal) demonstrative: they can be decomposed respectively into {that-before} (with the use of the distal demonstrative *az*), and into {this-before}. A similar regular pattern is at work for [ANTERIOR] values in Mosetén, an isolate language spoken in Bolivia, where the word *poroma* ('before') can be combined with the particle *jike*, a past-tense marker, to obtain a retrospective value or with the completive marker *win*, to obtain a distance-past 'ago' value (Sakel, 2004: 364; cf. table 3).

Assuming broadly Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993 and subsequent works) as a framework, I argue here that syntactic structure is the input to morphology, which in turn has to provide phonological material *via* Vocabulary Insertion. Then, a crucial assumption is that *Vocabu-*

lary Insertion proceeds cyclically and locally, from the lowest element in the structure outwards (cf. Embick, 2010; Bobaljik, 2012; Moskal, 2013). We will see that such a model allows a principled explanation of the *suppletive* behaviour of the temporal items consider in this work[12]. In Distributed Morphology, suppletion is treated as *contextual allomorphy*, namely (bundles of) features have a context-free default exponent, but more specific contexts may trigger the insertion of a different element (Chung, 2009; Bobaljik, 2012; Moskal, 2013). In other words, Vocabulary Insertion may be underspecified, and thus may compete to realize a given node. Such competition is resolved by the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky, 1973), with the effect that more specific elements take precedence over more general ones. Furthermore morphological operations are constrained to act under strict conditions of locality[13]. An example of the rough mechanism discussed above is given in (27), for comparatives and superlatives *suppletive* items (Bobaljik, 2012).
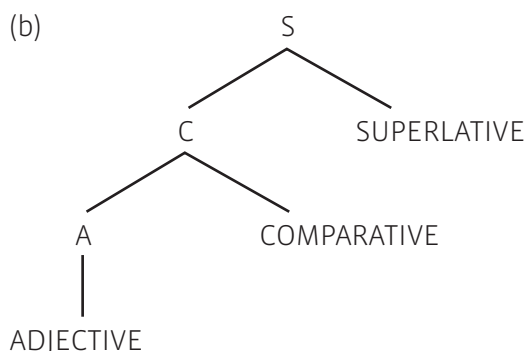
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11 This fact can be interpreted as a reflex of Kiparsky (1973)'s Elsewhere Condition.
12 Franco (2013) proposes a different explanation to the temporal facts illustrated in this paper, couched in the framework of Nanosyntax, a different branch of the broad enterprise of *Realization Theory* (Koenig, 1999; Haugen & Siddiqi, 2013), namely the *nebulosa* of those frameworks that assume a (late) insertion of phonology into the syntactic derivation (Anderson, 1992; Halle & Marantz, 1993; Starke, 2009, cf. also Manzini & Savoia, 2007 for an alternative lexicalist perspective). Distributed Morphology assumes that the insertion of phonological material happens at terminal nodes. On the contrary, Nanosyntax (Starke, 2009; Caha, 2009) assumes that insertion can happen at non-terminal (i.e. phrasal) nodes. Actually, this is the crucial difference between Distributed Morphology and Nanosyntax.
13 The idea is precisely that a morpheme y may condition allomorphy/suppletion for the morpheme x only if x and y are sufficiently local. Formally, we may define locality, following Bobaljik (2012), in these terms: y may condition allomorphy for x in the environment in (ia) but not that in (ib), where a maximal projection intervenes.
(i) (a) $x \dots [_{f^\circ} \dots y$
     (b) $*x \dots [_{fP} \dots y$

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(27) (a)   [[[ADJECTIVE] COMPARATIVE] SUPERLATIVE]

(b)

```
                          S
                        /   \
                       /     \
                      C       SUPERLATIVE
                    /   \
                   /     \
                  A       COMPARATIVE
                  |
                  |
              ADJECTIVE
```

Bobaljik (2012) has shown that such representation (in which comparative and superlative morphologies hierarchically 'contains' the adjectival root) correctly predicts that a pattern in which only the comparative (e.g. **good – better – goodest*) is suppletive is virtually unattested in his sample of ca. 300 languages. Bobaljik labelled this impossible pattern of lexicalization an *ABA pattern.

Indeed, the combination of a nested structure, locality and the elsewhere logic to root allomorph selection easily explains the non-existence of *ABA lexicalizations: given that the comparative is 'contained' in the superlative, the comparative suppletive allomorph of an adjectival root will necessarily block the default allomorph of that root in a higher node, due to locality constraints (cf. Moskal, 2013 for similar assumptions for suppletive nouns and pronouns, and Caha, 2009 for an analogous interpretation of (im)possible case patterns). Hence, the *ABA pattern, namely the *recycle* of default root in the superlative is ruled out.

The crucial fact here is that the *ABA pattern described by Bobaljik can be easily translated in the domain of temporal expressions. Indeed, Haspelmath's implicational generalization and the facts reported in table 2 and table 3 can be interpreted in the terms of an *ABA constraint. A possible representation is given below[14].

(28) (a) [[[ANTERIOR] RETROSPECTIVE] DISTANCE PAST]
     (b) [[[POSTERIOR] PROSPECTIVE] DISTANCE FUTURE]

With the representation in (28) we assume a configuration in which {RETROSPECTIVE / PROSPECTIVE} values are sandwiched between {DISTANCE PAST / DISTANCE FUTURE} and {ANTERIOR/POSTERIOR} slots. This interpretation is justified by the fact that {RETROSPECTIVE/PROSPECTIVE} elements have in common some features with both *deictic* and general *posterior/ anterior* ones, as shown by the possible nested structure represented in (29). In particular {RETROSPECTIVE/PROSPECTIVE} items share with *bare/default* {ANTERIOR/POSTERIOR} values the property of being not anchored to the time of elocution and share with {DISTANCE PAST/FUTURE} values the property of being context sensitive, namely, in a very broad sense, they are not detached to the temporal context of the discourse, e.g. retrospective items can lexicalize a meaning roughly corresponding to [THEN].

---

14   Notice that Bobaljik (2012) found that not only *ABA patterns, but also *AAB patterns (of the type *good – gooder – best*) are unattested in the domain of comparative morphology. Nevertheless, AAB patterns, which are quite common for temporal expressions (e.g. Catalan *abans – abans – fa* in the past; Croatian *poslije – poslije – do* in the future), are found elsewhere. For instance Bobaljik himself shows that *German ablaut patterns* {present – participle – preterite} allow the AAB pattern (see also Caha, 2009 for many instances of AAB patterns within the domain of *case syncretism*). Without entering into technical details, Bobaljik's explanation is that an element in the hierarchy actually can represent a *bundle of features*, occupying a single morphosyntactic node (and not two distinct slots). More broadly, however, Bobaljik recognizes the (partial) independence of *ABA (consistently unattested) and AAB (attested in some domains) patterns.

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(29)   DISTANCE PAST/FUTURE {+ deictic}

ß   RETROSPECTIVE/PROSPECTIVE {+ context sensitive / - anchored to time of speech}

α   ANTERIOR/POSTERIOR {- anchored to time of speech}

√ ANTERIOR/POSTERIOR
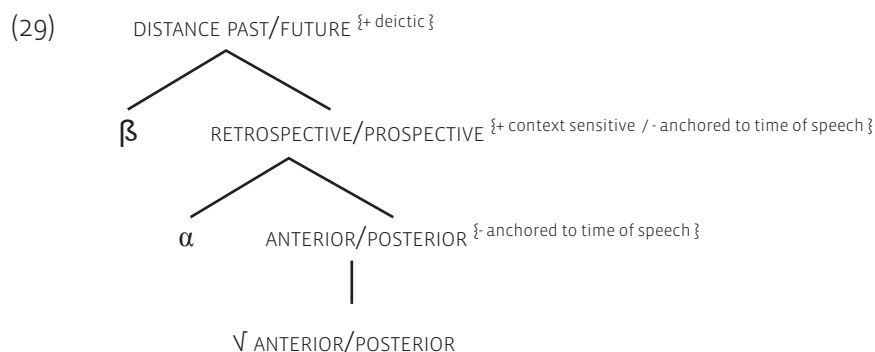
Without entering into technical details not strictly relevant for the present discussion at every (terminal) node dominating the root (α, ß) a more specific (*features' coopted*) item can be inserted.

Locality prevents the use of the same item for {ANTERIORITY/POSTERIORITY} and {DISTANCE PAST/DISTANCE FUTURE} ones, once that a 'suppletive' form has been employed for {RETROSPECTIVE/PROSPECTIVE} items, while nothing present double suppletive patterns (see e.g. Modern Greek in table 2) with three distinct items employed in three distinct environments (just as it happens with comparative/superlative suppletion, as shown in (25)). Hence, the sensitivity to deictic features (and to the moment/context of speech) seems to be crucial to trigger suppletive patterns in the domain of temporal (distance) expressions.

For what concerns specifically Old Florentine, *addietro* would be inserted in the node α (instead of the default anteriority root *prima*) due to the pressure of a +deictic environment. The same +deictic (or, more precisely, context sensitive) environment is responsible in a number of language for the insertion in retrospective and/or distant past nodes of items originally conceived with the meaning [BACK] in the spatial domain. On the contrary, *bare* anteriority cannot be subject to such a lexicalization pattern.

6. Conclusion

Given the data reviewed in section 2 and the theoretical discussion provided in section 4, we have shown that *(per) addietro* in Old Flo-rentine is only an apparent counterexample to Haspelmath's generalization illustrated in section 3 (once we accept that it involves only markers of general anteriority/posteriority), because its use is subject to a *deictic constraint* (i.e. it cannot take an *unrestricted* DP complement, contrary to markers of general anteriority). Then, the 'locality condition' on Vocabulary Insertion introduced in section 5 is the *innermost* reason of Haspelmath's *implicational generalization* in (21).

We have provided a simple morphosyntactic explanation of the seemingly 'exceptionality' of *(per) addietro* based on a finer-grained representation of temporal expressions and a *locality* constraint on hierarchical structure triggering *kinda*-suppletive patterns along the lines of Bobaljik (2012) and Moskal (2013).

7. Acknowledgements

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