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Ghost words and new discoveries in the TLIO Old Italian dictionary

Until quite recently, talking about Italian historical dictionaries essentially meant referring to three well-known works: the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, printed in five editions by the Crusca Academy in Florence between 1612 and 1923,¹ the *Dizionario della lingua italiana* directed by the writer Nicolò Tommaseo (in nominal collaboration with Bernardo Bellini) and published in the years 1865-1879,² and finally, a century later, the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* founded by the philologist Salvatore Battaglia in 1961 and directed by Giorgio Bàrberi Squarotti, who brought it to completion in 2002.³

Strictly speaking, Crusca and Tommaseo cannot really be considered historical (as Pietro Beltrami puts it, «historical lexicography is a part of historical linguistics, and this new science of the nineteenth century arrived in Italy too late to influence the design of the fifth Crusca and the Tommaseo-Bellini»),⁴ but, due to the all-important role of the national classical authors in the Italian literary tradition, they abound in quotations from Mediaeval and Renaissance authors to such a degree that they can well serve, *faute de mieux*, as historical dictionaries.

Battaglia, though historical in the intentions of its founder, in fact recycles some of the contents of its forerunners. A fair number of entries are taken from Crusca or Tommaseo, and Battaglia also shares some of their shortcomings—such as the programmatic teleologism of the entries,⁵ which sometimes causes quotations from older texts to appear under meanings that the words in question would develop only later—but is nonetheless an extremely useful research tool which no Italian scholar can do without.

In 1997, the above-mentioned dictionaries were joined by a fourth partner, the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini* ('Thesaurus of the Early Italian language', 'TLIO'), directed by the philologist Pietro G. Beltrami and compiled by a team of researchers (of which I am part) working in Florence, at an institute belonging to the Italian National Research Council, called *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* (OVI).

The differences between TLIO and the earlier dictionaries are manifold. First of all, our dictionary is built strictly on historical principles and, at present, it takes into consideration the oldest section of the existing Italian documentation, which corresponds to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries A.D.⁶ The redaction of the TLIO is based not on excerpts from selected texts but on a textual database of nearly 22 million occurrences (freely available and searchable online on our Internet site), including numerous works not known or not taken into consideration by our predecessors. This database, the *TLIO corpus*, aims at containing all published texts written in any variety of Italian before the year 1400 and does not limit itself

¹ *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, quinta impressione. Firenze: Tipografia Galileiana, 1863-1923 (the four previous editions appeared respectively in the years 1612, 1623, 1691 and 1729-1738).

² Nicolò Tommaseo – Bernardo Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*. Torino: UTET, 1865-1879.

³ *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, fondato da Salvatore Battaglia, Torino: UTET, 1961-2002.

⁴ P. G. Beltrami, *Past and Present of Italian Historical Dictionaries* (<http://dwb.bbaw.de/tagung09/>).

⁵ Implied in the words of S. Battaglia in the general introduction: «Il nostro Dizionario ambisce ad avere e a esplicare una struttura storica (...), ma è rivolto principalmente a documentare l'attuale esperienza linguistica» (vol. I, p. V).

⁶ The original plan, set out in the 1960's, was for a historical dictionary covering the modern as well as the ancient language, and a continuation is planned.

to authors using the Tuscan varieties that were later to develop and blend into what would become standard Italian. Quite the contrary. Considering the great difference between the linguistic varieties used throughout Mediaeval Italy, the TLIO could really be defined as multi-lingual.

The entries are compiled using the material collected by searching the corpus by lemmas and are extremely rich in quotations (to the point where, at times, they might be felt as being overly rich). The reason for this is that every linguistic variety in which a lemma occurs has to be adequately represented within the entry.

CANZONE s.f.

0.1 *cançon, cancion, canzone, cançon, cançone, cançoni, cançune, cançuni, canson, cansona, cansone, cansoni, canzon, canzon', canzona, canzone, canzoni, canzune, canzuni, ccançuni, chançon, chançon, chanson, chanzon, chanzona, chanzone, chanzoni.*

0.2 DELI 2 s.v. *canzone* (lat. *cantionem*).

0.3 Patecchio, *Frotula*, XIII pi.di. (crem.): **1**.

0.4 In testi tosc.: Bonagiunta Orb. (ed. Contini), XIII m. (lucch.); Brunetto Latini, *Rettorica*, c. 1260-61 (fior.); <*Egidio Romano* volg., 1288 (sen.)>; Panuccio del Bagno, XIII sm. (pis.); Giordano da Pisa, *Pred. Genesi* 2, 1308 (pis.); *Stat. sen.*, 1309-10 (Gangalandi); Simintendi, a. 1333 (prat.); Mazz. Bell., *Storia* (ed. Gorra), 1333 (pist.).

In testi sett.: Patecchio, *Frotula*, XIII pi.di. (crem.); Bonvesin, *Volgari*, XIII tu.d. (mil.); Giacomino da Verona, *Ierusalem*, XIII sm. (ver.); *Memoriali bologn.*, 1279-1300; Anonimo Genovese (ed. Cocito), a. 1311; *Stat. trent.*, c. 1340; *Parafr. pav. del Neminem laedi*, 1342; Matteo Corr. (ed. Corsi), XIV pm. (padov.?).

In testi mediani e merid.: *Poes. an. urbin.*, XIII; Jacopone (ed. Ageno), XIII ui.di. (tod.); *Stat. assis.*, 1329; Neri Moscoli, *Rime*, XIV pm. (castell.); Cucco Baglioni, XIV pm. (perug.); *Destr. de Troya*, XIV (napol.).

In testi sic.: *Poes. an. sic.*, 1354 (?).

0.5 Locuz. e fras. *canzone comune minore* **2.1**; *canzone distesa* **1.1**; *canzone equivoca* **1.2**; *canzone grande* **2.2**; *canzone mezzana* **2.3**; *canzone minima* **2.4**; *canzone minore* **2.5**; *canzone piccola* **2.6**.

0.7 **1** [Metr.] Forma lirica strofica, composta di stanze aventi la stessa formula sillabica e lo stesso schema di rime. **1.1** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone distesa*: altro nome della forma metrica della canzone (in stanze di uguale struttura, senza ripresa). **1.2** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone equivoca*: canzone che si fonda sulla presenza di rime omonime e omofone. **1.3** Forma di componimento epico in versi. **2** [Metr.] Lo stesso che ballata. **2.1** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *canzone comune minore*: lo stesso che ballata comune minore. **2.2** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone grande*: lo stesso che ballata grande. **2.3** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone mezzana*: lo stesso che ballata mezzana. **2.4** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone minima*: lo stesso che ballata minima. **2.5** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone minore*: lo stesso che ballata minore. **2.6** [Metr.] Locuz. nom. *Canzone piccola*: lo stesso che ballata piccola. **3** Qualsiasi componimento fatto di parole e musica. **4** Ciascuna delle tre parti della *Commedia* di Dante; lo stesso che cantica. **5** Fig. Discorso che viene ripetuto di continuo e in modo monotono.

0.8 Giulio Vaccaro 16.07.2008.

As you can see, the introductory paragraph to the entry CANZONE provides data such as: actual word forms present in the corpus (§ **0.1**), etymology (§ **0.2**), oldest text in which the lemma appears (§ **0.3**), geographical distribution of the texts containing it (§ **0.4**), etc.

The entries, written by the OVI editorial staff and by external collaborators, are published on the TLIO website—which constitutes the original edition of the dictionary—once they have been read and vetted by the supervisory panel. Today, the TLIO online edition contains 21,500 entries, belonging mainly to the letters A-F of the alphabet.

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The compilation of a dictionary of a ‘dead’ language can be a very stimulating enterprise as well as a constant source of frustration. On the one hand, it is stimulating because when working from a textual corpus, one knows that the bulk of the texts that one is analysing actually constitutes more or less everything that is left of the language in question. Therefore,

one's work, if carried out properly, is going to be satisfyingly exhaustive. On the other hand, it is frustrating, since one knows all too well that many questions will be left unanswered and many entries undefined, possibly for ever.

However, as far as I am concerned, the positive aspects of the job outnumber the negative ones, and I feel that my colleagues and I are in a privileged position, since, by exploring the TLIO corpus, discovery of unknown words or uses is not an infrequent phenomenon, which makes our work at once pleasant and worthwhile. However, the fact that the database puts all lexical items on the same level also creates its own set of difficulties, as the task of discerning actual elements of Old Italian from ghost words or scribal or editorial errors rests squarely on our shoulders.

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Before I proceed any further, I ought to point out that Old Italian is not quite as dead a tongue as are, for instance, Old English, *Althochdeutsch* or *Ancien français*. The 14th-century Florentine language of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio and their less famous colleagues is still perceived as akin to modern standard Italian, and the classical authors of the past are in need more of a commentary or a paraphrase than of a translation. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the feeling—enhanced by the persistent conservatism of the literary language—that Old and Modern Italian were really the same stimulated a widespread fashion for publishing texts from the so-called ‘good century’ (*il buon secolo*) as examples of ‘fine language’ to be studied and imitated for vocabulary and style. Some of these more or less self-styled editors were real philologists, while others merely followed the time-honoured practice of ‘reducing the text to a better reading’ (*ridurre a miglior lezione*), which often entailed not only the modernization of spelling and punctuation, but also occasional changes in morphology and syntax. Today, checking editions of this kind against the original manuscripts sometimes yields unexpected results when unfamiliar forms or endings are found to have been normalised by well-meaning scholars of the past.

Today the TLIO corpus is made up of 1,978 texts, containing almost 22 million (21,817,929) occurrences. Of these, 190 texts, with almost 8 million occurrences, are translations from other languages, mainly Latin, but also French and (in a couple of cases) Occitan and Castilian. For these translations (or *volgarizzamenti*, as they are traditionally referred to) the main problem lies in ascertaining the status of certain unfamiliar words and structures: are they occasional adaptations, errors or actual features of Old Italian usage?

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One of the words I want to discuss today is the noun *commaginazione*, which is present in the first four editions of the Crusca dictionary, in Tommaseo, in Battaglia and in TLIO. The documentary evidence is the same in all seven cases, as the word occurs only once, in a 13th-century Florentine translation of three Latin treatises by Albertanus of Brescia (composed in 1238, 1245 and 1246), edited in 1610 by Bastiano de' Rossi, a prominent member of the Crusca academy:⁷

Lo verace amatore è distenuto di continua commaginazione della cosa, ch'egli ama
(‘the true lover is detained by the continuous thought of the thing that he loves’)

⁷ *Tre Trattati d'Albertano giudice da Brescia* [...] scritti da lui in lingua latina, dall'anno 1235 in fino all'anno 1246 e traslatati ne' medesimi tempi, in volgar fiorentino; riveduti [...] dallo 'Nferigno Accademico della Crusca, Firenze: Giunti, 1610, p. 27.

In the Crusca dictionary the word is defined simply through two synonyms *pensiero* and *immaginazione* ‘thought’ and ‘imagination’ (the fourth edition adds the adjective ‘fixed’ to the second word), which Tommaseo combines into ‘a lively imagined thought’ (*pensiero vivamente immaginato*), while Battaglia prefers ‘an intense and fertile imagination’ (*immaginazione intensa e fertile*) and TLIO ‘fertile and fervent imagination’ (*fertile e fervida immaginazione*). Tommaseo, however, shows some hesitation about the word’s real existence, commenting very wisely that «the ms. ought to be checked to see if there is an error».

Tommaseo’s scruples, however, were unfounded: the form *commaginazione* is indeed present not only in Bastiano de’ Rossi’s 1610 edition, but also in a number of the mss. used by him: other mss. of the same version read *im(m)aginatione* or *ymaginatione*, as also does a contemporary Pisan translation of Albertanus. The problem is that the original Latin phrase (a quotation from the *Regulae amoris* by the 12th-century writer Andreas Capellanus) actually reads *Verus amans assidua sine intermissione coamantis ymaginatione detinetur* ‘the true lover is continuously detained by the thought of his loved one’, a fact which makes it highly probable—almost certain—that *commaginazione* originated as a scribal error. My late mentor Arrigo Castellani, in a still unpublished work, convincingly hypothesised a misreading of the initial letter *y* of *ymaginatione* as the customary tachygraphic sign similar to the number 9, meaning *cum* or *con*.

COMMAGINAZIONE s.f.

0.1 f: *commaginazione*.

0.2 Da *immaginazione*. || Cfr. **0.5**.

0.3 F *Trattati di Albertano* volg., c. 1300 (fior.): **1**.

0.4 Non att. nel corpus.

0.5 La forma, presente in alcuni mss. del volgarizzamento, sarebbe secondo Castellani, *Albertano da Brescia* una parola-fantasma dovuta all’interpretazione errata della lettera iniziale di *ymaginatione* come il segno abbreviativo 9 ‘con’ (cfr. Albertano, *De amore*, II, 2: «Verus amans assidua sine intermissione coamantis ymaginatione detinetur»).

0.7 1 Fertile e fervida immaginazione.

0.8 Giulio Vaccaro 28.05.2009.

1 Fertile e fervida immaginazione.

[1] **F** *Trattati di Albertano* volg., c. 1300 (fior.), *De amore*, cap. 10: lo verace amatore è distenuto di continua **commaginazione** della cosa ch’ama. || *Albertano* (Giunti 1610), p. 27.

Misunderstandings concerning abbreviatory signs are actually a common phenomenon, so this is not an isolated case. According to the Crusca, Tommaseo and Battaglia, followed by Cortelazzo and Zolli’s Italian etymological dictionary, the oldest example of the word *cooperazione* ‘cooperation’ would seem to occur in a commentary to Dante’s *Divine Comedy* written by the Pisan Francesco da Buti in the years 1385-1396, but the mss. show that this is really due to a misreading of the sign similar to a 7, meaning *et* ‘and’, as 9, meaning *con* or *co-*: the ms. text of Buti’s commentary does not read *attività, cooperazione* ‘activity, cooperation’ but simply *attività et operazione* ‘activity and operation’, and the Latinism ‘cooperation’ makes its first Italian appearance only in the 17th century, as the corresponding Battaglia entry shows.

COOPERAZIONE s.f.

0.1 f: *cooperazione*.

0.2 Da *cooperare*.

0.3 f Francesco da Buti, 1385/95: **1**.

0.4 Non att. nel corpus.

0.6 N Prob. voce fantasma (v. **1** [1]). L’es. cit. è passato a TB e a GDLI.

0.7 1 L’unione della propria opera a quella d’altri, allo stesso fine.

0.8 Giulio Vaccaro 04.06.2009.

1 L'unione della propria opera a quella d'altri, allo stesso fine.

[1] f Francesco da Buti, 1385/95: Piglia essere dalle influenze de' corpi celesti, che giù ministrano, a tale attività, **cooperazione**. || Crusca (1) s.vv. *attività e cooperazione*. Prob. forma fantasma nata per erronea lettura del segno abbreviativo (*et*) come (*con*); cfr. Francesco da Buti, *Purg.*, 1385/95 (pis.), c. 17, 13-24, pag. 395.26: «pillia essere da le influenze dei corpi celesti, che giù ministrano a tale lume attività et operazione».

A question that lingers, however, is that even after we have ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt that the forms *commaginazione* and *cooperazione* are errors due to misreadings, it cannot be denied that they have lived a long life of their own. Is it really correct to consider them simply ghost words? Perhaps so, but according to the TLIO editing policy, they still deserve entries of their own, if only to put things right and make the situation clear.

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One of the most problematic texts in the TLIO corpus is the translation of the incendiary political treatise by Marsilius of Padua, *Defensor pacis*, composed in 1324. The Florentine version from 1363 was made not from the original Latin text—which, having been condemned by the Pope (whose power Marsilius wanted to limit) might have been difficult to find, or dangerous to keep in one's possession—but from an intermediate French version, as it is explained at the very beginning of the ms. text:

Al nome di dio amen.

Questo si chiama il libro del difenditore della pacie e tranquillità trasslatato di francesco in fiorentino l'ano MCCCLXIII.

When the translator found himself in difficulty (which happened rather often, as the Latin text is complicated), he simply copied the French word, perhaps with the intention to revise the text later on. The practice of double translation, though, sometimes produces monsters (just like the sleep of reason), and the *Il Libro del difenditore della pace* contains a fair number of *hápax legómena*, regularly recorded in the TLIO. One of these is the curious verb *aristotolizzare* 'to Aristotelize', manifestly coined from the name of the Greek philosopher.

ARISTOTOLIZZARE v.

0.1 *aristotolizzando*.

0.2 Da *Aristotele*.

0.3 *Libro del difenditore della pace*, 1363 (fior.): **1**.

0.4 Att. unica nel corpus.

0.6 N Si tratta in realtà di una voce fantasma: cfr. *Defensor pacis*, I, 13, 2: «impossibilium est civitatem aristocratizantem, id est secundum virtutem gubernatam...».

0.7 1 Signif. non accertato.

0.8 Rossella Mosti 30.04.2003.

1 Signif. non accertato. || Ma cfr. **0.6 N**.

[1] **G1** *Libro del difenditore della pace*, 1363 (fior.), diz. 1, cap. 13, par. 2, pag. 71.4: E questa è lla reghola de' diritti e profitti comuni dati con comandamenti chiamati leggie, però che questa cosa è impossibile la città **aristotolizzando**, cioè a ddire governando secondo virtù, «non essere bene disposta e ordinata per leggie», com'elli è detto nel IIIJ di Puliticha, nel VII chapitolo...

The quotations given in the entry—in the example and in the introductory paragraph—are sufficient to explain the conundrum: the words 'as it is said in the fourth of Politics' (*com'elli è detto nel IIIJ di Puliticha*) refer to the fourth book of Aristotle's *De Politica* (Πολιτικά), and the whole paragraph 2 of chapter 13 of the first 'discourse', as indeed much of Marsilius's reasonings throughout the *Defensor pacis*, derives from his readings of Aristotle. The verb used in the Latin text, *aristocratizare*, explained by Marsilius himself as 'to govern according to virtue', evidently proved too much for the translator, who does not seem to have been too familiar with the word 'aristocracy', which he wrote in five different ways (*aristocracie*, *aristocricia*, *aristotorcia* and *aristrocia*). Here is his definition:

L'altra maniera, che nnoi chiamamo aristotorcia, è ssingnoreggiamento attenperato, nel quale singnoreggiamento onorabilità sola al comun profitto e ssecondo la volontà de' suggiети e consentimento.

(‘the other [type of government], that we call *aristotorcia* is a temperate government in which the honorable class rules alone for the common benefit and in accordance with the will and consent of the subjects’)

The unwieldy *aristocratizare* thus became *aristotolizzare*, a word which might actually have survived and bloomed, had the ms. of the Florentine translation not been buried in a library instead of gaining new readers and generating further copies.

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As I said earlier, Old Italian is commonly perceived as being essentially the same language as modern standard Italian. This sometimes causes misinterpretations about the relative importance of certain synonyms, as we tend to consider today’s ‘normal’ expressions, when present in the mediaeval language, as having been normal there as well.

As an example, I have chosen the noun ‘friendship’ and the adjectives ‘difficult’ and ‘easy’, all three so universal that even those with only a smattering of Italian will know that the respective terms for these are *amicizia*, *difficile* and *facile*. All three are present in the TLIO corpus, each with several occurrences:

amicizia (*amicicia, amicitia, amicitie, amicizia, amicizie*) 202 occ.

difficile (*deficile, difficil, difficile, difficili, difficilima, difficilissimo, difficille, dificile, dificille*) 83 occ.

facile (*facile, facille, facili*) 21 occ.

Amicizia obviously derives from its Latin counterpart AMĪCĪTIA, but the overall picture is made problematic by the fact that, according to the sound laws, from Latin AMĪCĪTIA we would expect **amicezza*, as short stressed Ī and the group -TI- between vowels regularly pass to /e/ and /ts/. Furthermore, the discrepancy vis-à-vis the other Romance languages is similarly problematic: French *amitié*, Provençal and Catalan *amistat*, Spanish *amistad* and Portuguese *amizade* all postulate a Vulgar Latin form *AMĪCĪTAS, -TĀTIS. Italian *amicizia* would therefore seem to be a learned, Latinate term.

Which, then, was the normal Old Italian way of saying ‘friendship’? According to the TLIO corpus, it was a cognate to French *amitié* and Spanish *amistad*, namely *amistà* (also *amistade*, *amistate*: in Old Italian, words with the ending *-ade/-ate* alternate freely with the corresponding apocopate forms), which occurs in texts of every type and geographical origin.

amistà (*amestade, amestate, amistà, amistad, amistade, amistadhe, amistadi, amistae, amistai, amistat, amistate, amistati, ammistati*) 1789 occ.

As a consequence, the traditional explanation present in all existing etymological dictionaries of It. *amistà* as a loanword from Old Provençal *amistat* proves unlikely. It really seems that we are dealing with an autochthonous term derived directly from the local variety of Latin. In compiling the entries for the terms *amistà* and *amicizia*, I therefore felt compelled to insert in the latter a short commentary which you can see at the number **0.6** in the entry AMICIZIA s.f.:

0.6 N In it. ant., il termine generico e normale per esprimere il concetto di ‘amicizia’ era *amistà*: il sinon. *amicizia* va considerato un latinismo.

(‘in Old Italian, the generic term for ‘friendship’ was *amistà*: the synonym *amicizia* must be considered as a Latinism’)

Commentaries of this kind are not obligatory according to TLIO policy, but it is clear that where it is possible to state a definite fact about Old Italian usage, this may freely—and profitably—be done.

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As to *facile* and *difficile*, the circumstances are similar to those regarding *amicizia*, as the generic terms for ‘easy’ and ‘difficult’ seem to have been *agevole* and *malagevole*. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that in texts translated from Latin originals, the adjectives *facilis* and *difficilis* are usually rendered as *agevole* and *malagevole* rather than as *facile* and *difficile*:

[4] Bono Giamboni, *Vegezio*, a. 1292 (fior.), L. 3, cap. 23, pag. 137.4: I cavalieri colle catafratte, cioè colle corazze, per lo guernimento dell’arme dalle fedite sono sicuri; ma per gl’impedimenti che sono pesanti, sono molto **agevoli a pigliare**, e stannone molti in pregione, e sono migliori nelle battaglie, quando i cavalieri, o i pedoni sono sparti, o vero se dinanzi sono posti colle legioni mescolati. || Cfr. *Veg. Mil.* 3, 23: «Catafracti equites [...] propter inpedimentum et pondus armorum capi faciles».

In addition, the forms present in the TLIO corpus make the traditional etymology for *agevole* as a learned loan from Mediaeval Latin *agibilis* ‘which can be done’ highly improbable, corroborating instead the theory of a derivation from the noun *agio* ‘ease’. This has been pointed out by the author of the TLIO entry, as can be seen at the number **0.2**.

AGÉVOLE agg.

0.1 *agevile, agevilissima, agevol, agevol’, agevole, agevoli, agevolissima, agevolissimo, agevile, agevole, agevoli, agivole, asevelle, asevre, assevelle*.

0.2 Da *agio*. || Cfr. GDT, p. 21: «Il grafema <sc> [[degli antroponimi *Ascivile* e *Ascievilis* att. in doc. lat. toscani del 1147, 1183 e 1194]] indica chiaramente una pronuncia fricativa, non affricata [...]; fatto, questo, che ci consiglia di non accettare senz’altro il giudizio del *LEI* [I 1297]: “il semi-dotto it. *agevole* (...) risale al lat. mediev. *AGIBILIS* ‘che si può fare’ (...). L’evoluzione semantica non esige un accostamento all’it. *agio* (< lat. *ADIACENS*) come propongono Migliorini-Duro” (della stessa opinione sono il *DELI*, il *DEI* e Olivieri *Diz. etim.*, mentre il Devoto propende per un incrocio tra i due etimi). La derivazione da *agio* mi sembra anzi l’unica possibile, a meno che non si preferisca pensare a un adattamento del fr. ant. *aisible* ‘comodo, facile’ (che però non pare attestato prima del sec. XIV: vd. *FEW*, XXIV, p. 147)».

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An example of a word hitherto unnoticed by Italian lexicographic tradition is the adverb *dispiù*, formed from *più* ‘more’ with a prefix whose value appears uncertain, as Italian *dis-* usually has a privative, negative or reversing force, like its English counterpart. The form is absent from all dictionaries known to me, and the strangeness of its composition is such that two eminent philologists, d’Arco Silvio Avalle and Arrigo Castellani, when encountering it in two 13th century manuscripts, one in verse (*però non sono dispiù amati* ‘but they are not more loved’) and the other in prose (*Ma più dispiù disse un altro filosofo... ‘furthermore, another philosopher said...’*), unaware of the existence of each other’s findings, both thought of an error and decided not to accept it in the critical editions on which they were working.

However, one of the texts in the TLIO corpus not considered by other dictionaries, the statute of the Sardinian minerary town Iglesias, written in the Pisan dialect before 1327, contains a similar form, *dispiò* (*perché li decti incanti si vendano dispiò* ‘so that the public sales

may be more favourable’). Since the Old Pisan form for *più* is *pió*, the correspondence seems convincing.

Considering these three examples, I decided to combine them in one entry: the identification of the lemma *dispiù* was further corroborated by the existence of two other adverbs—both present in the Battaglia dictionary—*dismiglio* and *dismeno*, with the same meaning as *meglio* ‘better’ and *meno* ‘less’.

DISPIÙ avv.

0.1 *dispiò*; **f:** *dispiù*.

0.2 Da *più*.

0.3 **F** *Trattati di Albertano* volg., 1275 (fior.): **1**; *Stat. pis.*, a. 1327: **1**.

0.4 Att. unica nel corpus.

0.7 **1** In modo o misura maggiore.

0.8 Pär Larson 08.03.2006.

1 In modo o misura maggiore.

[1] **F** *Trattati di Albertano* volg., 1275 (fior.), Cap. 9, par. 52: Ma più **dispiù** disse un altro filosofo ke disse ke li no(n) co(n)ti sono da schifare come nemici (e) no(n)n è da fidare i(n) loro ançi ke l’uomo li co(n)gnosca. || Ms. BNCF ILIV.111, c. 20va.

[2] **F** *L’altrieri fù in parlamento*, XIII (tosca.), 40: «Assai donne marito ànno / che da loro sono forte odiati; / de’ be’ sembianti lod’ànno, / però nom sono **dispiù** amati» || Arveda, p. 57.

[3] *Stat. pis.*, a. 1327, L. 1, cap. 54, pag. 68.44: Et che si possa dare borsi a l’incanti de li diritti de la Università di Villa predicta, della peccunia del Signore Re, sì come è usato, senza alcuno bando, perchè li decti incanti si vendano **dispiò**; non obstante alcuno Capitulo che di ciò contradicesse.