

Plurilingualism in Traditional Eurasian Scholarship

Thinking in Many Tongues

Edited by

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An Influential Latin Dictionary and Its Etymologies (12th Century CE) in the Linguistic Landscape of Medieval Europe

Hugutio of Pisa's Derivationes

Michele Loporcaro

In order to exemplify the practice of etymology in the multilingual landscape of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, this chapter presents some excerpts from Hugutio of Pisa's *Derivationes*, which the author—a canonist (i.e., an expert in medieval church law), born in Pisa around 1130 and appointed in 1190 bishop of Ferrara where he died in 1210—wrote, probably starting early in the 1160s.^{1,2} The work was a great lexicographical success, as witnessed by the over two hundred extant manuscripts, and had a great impact, as no lesser a writer than Dante Alighieri used it as a reference dictionary.³ The work stands in a tradition that starts with the *Liber glossarum* (once known as *Glossarium Ansileubi*), possibly written in Carolingian France between 790 and 830, a proto-dictionary which grafts Isidore of Seville's etymologies onto the tradition of glossaries of late antiquity.⁴ Composed at a time when Latin still was a naturally acquired

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- 1 Thanks to Monica Berté and Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann for their advice, without which translating Hugutio's impervious Latin would have been much harder.
 - 2 Biographical information on Hugutio can be consulted in Schizzerotto, "Uguccione (Uguicione) da Pisa." Müller, *Huguccio*, holds that our lexicographer and the bishop and canonist are two different persons, but the arguments do not seem cogent.
 - 3 Dante cites Hugutio only once in his *Convivio* (1304–1307), but the definitions provided in the *Derivationes* lie in filigree behind passages of the *Divina Commedia*, cf. Toynbee, "Dante's Latin Dictionary"; and much subsequent work, some of which is cited in fn. 23 below.
 - 4 This dating and localization ultimately goes back to Lindsay, "The Abstrusa Glossary," 126. In this line (see also Barbero, "*Liber Glossarum*," 151–152; Ganz, "The 'Liber Glossarum,'" 129–130), it has been maintained that the *Liber* was materially realized (in some monastery dependent on the abbey at Corbie in Picardy, Northern France) by disaggregating Isidore's text into a series of index cards: cf. Cardelle de Hartmann, "Uso y recepción," 493. In connection with a digital edition (Grondeux and Cinato, *Liber Glossarum Digital*), Cinato and Grondeux, "Nouvelles hypothèses," recently revert to the earlier dating by Goetz, "Der Liber glossarum," 287–288, who argued for an earlier origin in Visigothic Spain (690–750 CE), much closer to Isidore.

spoken language in common use at all levels of society, these earlier works were pure lists of more or less obscure words. Later, Latin gradually stopped being acquired natively—with a major break around 700 CE in France, as argued convincingly by J. Herman⁵—so that the teaching of Latin, still the only written language in Western Europe for centuries to come, became confronted with new demands. The new formula of the *Liber glossarum*, a broader kind of glossary adding substantial definitions to the word entries, was meant to meet such demands. Around 1040–1050, an otherwise unknown lexicographer named Papias elaborated on the same matter, producing a larger work entitled *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*, which, about one century later, Osbern Pinnock of Gloucester (1123–1200) in turn further expanded into his *Liber derivationum* (around 1150). This is the closest and major source of the work of Hugutio, who also draws on the other early dictionaries mentioned, and of course on works on etymology in the tradition from Isidore to Peter Helias (ca. 1100–post 1166).

The success of the work faded out with the end of the Middle Ages, as is witnessed by the fact that it was never printed, contrary to both its predecessor, Papias's *Erudimentum*, of which four incunable editions were published in northern Italy between 1476 and 1496, and to its later competitor, which ousted it, viz. Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon* (1286), printed at the very dawn of the Gutenberg era, possibly by Johannes Gutenberg himself, in Mainz in 1460.⁶ The latter's success was favored by its strictly alphabetical order, which improved on Papias, who was the first to use this criterion (though he considered only the first three letters of each word). Alphabetical ordering, though it had previously been adopted at times in Greek glosses, had never been applied strictly in Latin antiquity, nor earlier in the Latin Middle Ages.⁷ Hugutio—taking a step backwards with respect to Papias—orders his matter by the initial letter only, which grants him the liberty to start his dictionary from the word *auctor* (author). Also, it is fair to say that Hugutio's work fell victim to the condemnation issued by leading humanists such as Lorenzo Valla (in the preface to Book 11 of his *De Linguae Latinae Elegancia*, 1444) against Isidore and his continuers.⁸

5 Herman, "End of the History of Latin," 375. See the discussion in the introduction to Chapter 2.7.

6 Even Isidore's *Etymologies* reached the age of the new medium, as it was printed repeatedly ever since the fifteenth century (see Chapter 2.7, fn. 4).

7 On the rise of alphabetical ordering in Latin lexicography, see Daly and Daly, "Some Techniques," 237. Miethaner-Vent, "Das Alphabet," 96 argues that Papias renounces applying the "mechanical alphabet" (i.e., strict alphabetical order) due to the problems posed by vacillation in orthography: for instance, he spells *aenormis* "enormous" instead of Classical Latin *enormis*, putting it under Æ-. Only the restoration of the classical orthography in the humanism made consequent application of the alphabetical order possible.

8 See the introduction to Chapter 2.7.

Since the *Derivationes* are a dictionary, they could have been addressed just as well in Part 3 (Lexicography). Their inclusion in this chapter on etymology is justified by what has been said on the role played by Isidore's *Etymologies* in the rise of this textual genre: etymological discussion paved the way for the expansion of word lists into dictionaries, together with the "derivation" method, implying that lexical families were addressed as a whole, discussing words that shared the same root (or that appeared to do so, given the established knowledge of the time).

The dependency of Hugutio's etymological analysis on earlier sources can be exemplified by his discussion of a paramount instance of prescientific etymology, that of *vulpes*, earlier *volpes*, "fox." Hugutio repeats an acronymic etymology, first attested in Varro, *L.L.* 5.20 ("Volpes, ut Aelius dicebat, quod volat pedibus" [*Volpes* "fox," as Aelius used to say,⁹ because it *volat* "flies" with its *pedes* "feet"]¹⁰), via Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.2.29:¹¹

Vulpes dicta, quasi volupes. Est enim volubilis pedibus, et numquam rectis itineribus, sed tortuosis anfractibus currit, fraudulentum animal insidiisque decipiens.

Foxes [*vulpes*] are so named as if the word were *volupes*, for they are "shifty on their feet" [*volubilis* + *pes*] and never follow a straight path but hurry along tortuous twistings. It is a deceitful animal, tricking others with its guile.¹²

Hugutio's more articulated treatment is located under the entry *volvo* "to turn" (U 45.7), and focuses on the word's internal structure to establish the "derivation," analyzing the word as a compound:

Item componitur cum pes et dicitur hec vulpes -pis, idest quasi volupes, est enim volubilis pedibus.

9 Varro is here citing his teacher, Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus (154–74 BCE).

10 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, trans. Kent.

11 Note that the *vol-* strings contained in Latin *volare* "to fly," on the one hand, and *volubilis* "revolving, changing," on the other, happen to be homophonous but go back to two distinct Indo-European roots, respectively **g^welhy-ie/o-* "to raise arms, throw" vs. **wel-u-* "to wind" (*EDL* 687–690). Needless to say, *vulpes* actually comes from still another Indo-European root.

12 *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 253.

And it [i.e., *volvo*] enters composition with *pes* “foot” and one says *vulpes -pis*, as though the word were *volupes*, since it is “shifty on its feet.”

Plurilingualism, in this dictionary and its etymologies, manifests itself along two main dimensions. On the one hand, it appears in the presence of Greek—as exemplified in some of the entries excerpted in the following—surely due not to first-hand knowledge (one example of faulty Greek is provided in fn. 21), but rather to its metabolization in the cultured lexicon of Latin.¹³ On the other hand, one has to keep in mind that in twelfth-century Italy, Latin had long ceased to be a language spoken in everyday usage but, as in the whole of Europe, it still was—and continued to be for quite some time—the only language for all institutional and formal purposes (writing, teaching, science, etc.). The *Derivationes* mirror this diglossic situation in several ways, as they were later used as a reference dictionary by authors who started to write in the vernacular, such as Dante, but who could not yet rely on Italian dictionaries, which became available only in the sixteenth century. Also, several entries contain the earliest documentation of vernacular words unknown to Latin, often highlighted through the formula *quod vulgo dicitur* (which is said commonly/popularly). This is also exemplified in some of the following entries.

13 Isidore of Seville—though not proficient in Greek himself—played a key role in this metabolization (cf. Chapter 2.7).

Latin Text

Excerpted from Ugucione da Pisa [Hugutio], *Derivationes*, critical edition, ed. Enzo Cecchini, Guido Arbizzoni, Settimio Lanciotti, Giorgio Nonni, Maria Grazia Sassi, and Alba Tontini (Florence: Sismel Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004).

Excerpt 1: Prologus (2.3–4)

1. Cum nostri protoplasti suggestiva prevaricatione humanum genus a sue dignitatis culmine quam longe deciderit ac triplicis incommodi, scilicet indigentie, vitii et ignorantie, non modicam coartationem sumpserit, triplex huic triplici incommodo nobis a Deo suggeritur remedium, scilicet commoditas, virtus et scientia. 2. Nam indigentie molestiam commoditas, vitii corruptionem virtus, ignorantie cecitatem expellit scientia, ad quam quidam longe accedentes, panniculum ab ea diripiendo sibi totam nupsisse credentes, et si quandoque eam in quadam parte possideant, more tamen bestiarum degentes non modo predictam triplicem miseriam aliqua virtute non redimere ut sic honestarum artium exercitio ad pristinae decusationis celticum honorem aliquantillum valeant promoveri, sed etiam singulis diebus cumulare conantur. 3. Nam nec dentium exstantias elimare, nec balbutientium linguarum vituliginis abradere, nec ingenii tarditatem excitare, nec madide memorie obliviam corripere vel negligentiam redarguere, nec maledicta punire, nec sordes ac vitia repellere, sed potius in vitiorum volutabro pro voluti pecuniam congerere ac congeste inservire vel etiam honestis officiis omissis lacunam corporis ingurgitare nituntur; quorum doctrinam, vitam mortemque iuxta extimandum est. 4. Nos vero altius procedentes, ne, si talentum a Deo nobis concessum in terram infoderemus, patenter furti argui possemus, quod nature beneficio nobis denegabatur per famam extendere laboravimus, ut universe carnis generalitas illam licet tenuem una cum corpore ne utiquam dissolveret. 5. Opus igi-

14 No complete translation in any language is available to date.

15 The legal term *praevaricatio* meant “collusion” in Classical Latin and comes to mean “(original) sin” in Christian Latin.

16 It. *suggestivo*, like Eng. *suggestive* lacks any negative connotation today, which was, however, still present in eighteenth-century Italian, when the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* glossed *suggestivo* (and late Latin *suggestivus*, not attested in Classical Latin) as “Che ingannevolmente trae altrui di bocca ciò, che non avrebbe detto” (That deceptively draws from someone else’s mouth what they would not have said). *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 4th ed., 4: 807.

17 *Protoplastus*, -ī (< Gk. πρῶτόπλαστος), “the one who was molded first,” a scriptural word for Adam (and Eve).

English Translation¹⁴

By Michele Loporcaro and Laura Loporcaro.

Excerpt 1: Prologue

1. After mankind had fallen down, far removed from the height of its dignity by the original sin¹⁵ incurred, upon suggestion,¹⁶ by our first ancestor,¹⁷ and took upon itself the not slight constriction of a triple discomfort, that is of indigence, vice and ignorance, remedy to this triple discomfort is suggested by God, that is adaptability, virtue and knowledge. 2. For adaptability dispels the discomfort of indigence, virtue the corruption of vice, knowledge the blindness of ignorance. But some who approach knowledge from afar and, by tearing a shred of cloth from its garments,¹⁸ believe that she gave itself entirely to them, and, if at some time they possess it in some part, yet they spend their time like beasts and not only do not try to redeem the above mentioned three-way misery with any virtue in order to be able to progress this way just a little bit by the exercise of honest arts towards the noble honor of ancient adornment,¹⁹ but they even strive day by day to increase that misery. 3. Indeed, they neither strive to smooth tooth outgrowths, nor to scrape off the vitiligo of stuttering tongues, nor to prod the laziness of intelligence, nor to stop the forgetfulness of a slippery memory or to reproach negligence, nor to punish slander, nor to repel meanness and vice, but rather, wallowing in the mud of vice, they strain to accumulate money and to attend to that which they have accumulated, or even, having left aside honest occupations, aim to fill the bodily cavity by gorging themselves. These people's knowledge, life and death do not really make any difference. 4. But we who tend towards a higher goal, in order for us not to be patently alleged with theft would we bury underground the talent that God bestowed on us, have strived to extend through fame what had been denied to us by the benefit of nature, so that the general destiny of all human flesh might not dissolve it, however faint it may be, together with the body. 5. We

18 This may be reminiscent of philosophy's torn dress in Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* 1.24–25: “Eandem tamen vestem violentorum quorundam sciderant manus et particulas quas quisque potuit abstulerant” (But violent hands had ripped this dress and torn away what bits they could). Boethius, *Theological Tractates*, 133–135.

19 In this Medieval textual tradition, the ethnic adjective *Celticus* (Celtic) has come to mean “noble,” as witnessed by Hugutio himself (C 128.2; “celticus -a -um idest nobilis”). *Decusatio* (adornment) is post-classical Latin too. Since it is the adornment of language which is at stake here, it may not be idle to mention that Grammatica, the character that says “I” in Osborn’s dictionary, is introduced (*Prologus* 5) as *celtica ... femina* (Celtic; i.e., noble, woman). Osberno, *Derivazioni*, 6.

tur divina favente gratia componere statuimus, in quo pre aliis vocabulorum significationum distinctiones, derivationum origines, ethimologiarum assignationes, interpretationum reperientur expositiones. Quarum ignorantia latinitas naturaliter indiga quadam doctorum pigritia non modicum coartatur. 6. Nec hoc tantum ut cenodoxie vitream fragilitatem lucri faciamus, adimplere conabimur, quantum ut omnium scientie litterarum invigilantium communis inde utilitas efflorescat; nec cuivis descendat in mentem, nos in hoc opere perfectionem insinuatim polliceri, cum nichil in humanis inventis ad unguem inveniatur expolitur, licet aliis de hac eadem re tractantibus quadam singulari perfectione haud iniuria videri possimus excellere. 7. Nam hic parvulus suavius lactabitur, hic adultus uberius cibabitur, hic perfectus affluentius delectabitur, hic gignosophiste triviales, hic didascalii quadruviales, hic legum professores, hic et theologie perscrutatores, hic ecclesiarum proficient gubernatores, hic supplebitur quicquid hactenus ex scientie defectu pretermisum est, hic eliminabitur quicquid a longo tempore male usurpatum est.

8. Si quis querat huius operis quis autor, dicendum est quia Deus; si querat huius operis quis fuerit instrumentum, respondendum est quia patria pisanus, nomine Uguitio quasi eugetio, idest bona terra non tantum presentibus sed etiam futuris, vel Uguitio quasi vigetio, idest virens terra non sibi solum sed etiam aliis. 9. Igitur Sancti Spiritus assistente gratia, ut qui est omnium bonorum distributor nobis verborum copiam auctim suppeditare dignetur, a verbo augmenti nostre assertionis auspiciu sortiamur.

Excerpt II: G 26 (2.51f.)

1. **GARRIO**²⁰ -ris verbosari, gaudere, blandiri, iocari. Proprie tamen est multa verba dicere, sordide loqui, 2. et hinc **graculus**, non, ut quidam dicunt, quia gregatim volent, cum sit manifestum eum ex vocis garrulitate sic nuncupari: est enim loquacissimum avium genus et vocibus importunum; 3. et hinc **garrulus** -a -u quasi graculus; proprie garrulus dicitur qui vulgo verbosus appellatur,

20 Main entries are boldfaced and in capitals, while subentries are just boldfaced.

21 The Greek loanword *gymnosophista* "(naked) philosopher, gymnosophist," in medieval Latin shifts its meaning to indicate a "teacher," as witnessed by Hugutio himself (G 54.6): "gignosophista -ste, idest doctor, magister in gignasio." This is reported at the entry "GIGNOS grece, latine dicitur nudus," a corruption of Gk. γυμνός.

22 The two interpretations of the name rely respectively on Lat. *euge* "well done!" (a Hellenism) and *vigeo* "I am strong."

23 Departing from alphabetical order, after this *Prologus* the dictionary starts with the entry *augeo*, which in turn contains as a first derivative *autor* (i.e., *auctor*, compare It. *autore*),

therefore decided, with the favor of God's grace, to compose a work in which first of all one will find the distinctions of word meanings, the origins of derivations, the attributions of etymologies, the expositions of interpretations. Due to ignorance of them, the Latin language, naturally poor, is seriously restricted, because of a certain laziness of the learned. 6. And we will not try to accomplish this solely to gain the glassy frailty of vainglory, but rather so that from this, common utility may blossom for all who attend to the humanities. And nobody should think that in this work we surreptitiously promise perfection, since nothing can be found in human inventions which is completely polished, although it may seem, not unjustly, that because of an unusual degree of perfection, we excel others treating the same subject. 7. Here the baby will be nursed more gently, the adult be nourished more abundantly, the educated person be delighted more generously, here the teachers of the trivium [the three core liberal arts],²¹ here the teachers of the arts of quadrivium, here professors of law, here even the investigators of theology, here those in charge of the churches will profit, here whatever so far has been neglected because of some defect of knowledge will be restored, here whatever has been used improperly for long will be eliminated.

8. If anyone asks who the author of this work is, they should be told it is God; if one asks who the instrument of this work has been, it should be answered that it was a man whose homeland is Pisa, whose name is Uguccio, as if the word were *eugetio*, that is "good land" not only for those who are now, but also for those who will be, or Uguccio, as if the word were *vigetio*, that is "verdant soil" not only for himself, but also for others.²² 9. Hence, with the assistance of the Holy Spirit's grace—so that He who is the distributor of all good things may deign to provide us increasingly with abundance of words—we take the beginning of our demonstration from the word *augmentum* "augment, increase."²³

Excerpt II: G 26 (2.511f.)

1. **GARRIO** -ris "to chatter, rejoice, allure, play." But strictly speaking it means "to say many words" or "speak badly," 2. and hence **graculus** "jackdaw," not—as some people say—because they fly in flocks (*gregatim*), since it is clear that it is named after the garrulity of its call: indeed, for it is the most talkative species and importunate in its calls; 3. and hence **garrulus** -a -u "loquacious" as if the word were *graculus*; garrulous is the proper word for a person who is commonly called verbose. When happiness befalls such people they neither can nor will

whose discussion was influential in the culture of the Middle Ages and which is cited by Dante, *Convivio* IV.vi.1–5; cf. e.g., Picone, "Dante e Uguccione," 271; Ascoli, "Reading Dante's Readings," 137.

accedente letitia nec valens nec volens tacere. Et est sumptum nomen a graculis avibus que importuna loquacitate semper strepunt nec umquam quiescunt. ...

13. Item a guttur **gurdus** -a -um ineptus, stultus, inutilis ... ; et hic **gulus** -li genus navigii pene rotundum ad modum gutturis; 14. et hic **gustus** -us -ui, unus de V sensibus corporis; unde **gusto** -as -vi, et hinc **gustito** -as frequentativum: gustare est libare, quod vulgo dicitur **assaiare**.

Excerpt III: I 26 (2.598f.)

1. Hec **YCON** -nis et hec ycona -e et hec yconia -e, idest imago vel signum, et est ycon personarum inter se vel eorum que personis accidunt comparatio, scilicet cum figuram rei ex consimili genere conamur exprimere, ut (Verg. *Aen.* 4.558) “omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque” et cetera; 2. unde hec **yconisma** -e, idest imago, figura sine pectore ad caput, et hec **eco** indeclinabile, quasi yco, sonus aeris vel vallium vel rupium vel montium, idest sonus redivus, quia est imago et representatio vocis. Dicunt tamen quidam quod **eco** saxum est quod, humane vocis sonum captans, etiam verba loquentium imitatur, et dicitur sic quia, ad vocem respondens, alieni efficitur imago sermonis; sed potius videtur hoc evenire natura locorum, sicut convallium et cetera. 3. Unde hic **economus** -mi, idest dispensator proprie familie, unde hec **economia** -e, dispensatio, et **economicus** -a -um, dispensativus, unde hec **economica**, scientia qua instruimur in dispensatione proprie familie; et dicitur **economus** ab **eco**, quod est sonus redivus, quia ad eius sonum et vocem tota familia debet ordinari. 4. Vel potius dicitur **yconomus** ab **ycon**, quod est imago vel signum, et **noma**, quod est lex, vel norma, quod est regula. Inde **yconomus** quasi signatilis lex vel regula, quia ad eius signum et legem vel regulam tota familia debet dispensari; et inde hec **yconomia**, et cetera.

24 The whole passage is taken verbatim from Isidore's *Etymologies* 12.7.45 (§ 2) and 10.G.114 (§ 3), where two distinct derivations are reported, which go in opposite directions; i.e., “Graculus, a garrulitate nuncupatus” (The jackdaw *graculus* is named for its garrulity), in the former, as opposed to “Garrulus ... Sumtum nomen a graculis avibus” (The term is taken from the bird called jackdaw), in the latter passage. The two words are indeed unrelated: the name of the jackdaw, like other Indo-European words such as English *to croak*, *crow*, etc., is most probably onomatopoeic, while the adjective *garrulus* derives from *garrire* “to chatter” < PIE ^s*ǵeh₂r-ie/o-* ‘to shout’ (EDL 255 and 268).

25 This is the very first occurrence of the Italian *assaggiare* “to taste, try,” otherwise attested in Italian texts since the late thirteenth century, which stems from Late Latin *exagiare*, attested in an inscription from Leptis Magna (late fifth/early sixth century).

26 *Icona* “image,” a feminine noun stemming from Gk. εἰκῶν via the accusative εἰκόνα, as well as its synonymous *iconia* occur in Medieval Latin texts, and so does, if more rarely, *icon*, -is, a direct transposition of the Gk. neuter noun. As for orthography, it must be kept in mind that early in the current era, Old Greek [e:], [e:], [oi] and [y] (spelled <ει, η, οι> and

be quiet. And the name is taken from the birds called *graculi* “jackdaws,” which always chatter with their importunate loquacity and are never quiet. ...²⁴

13. Also, from *guttur gurdus* -a -um “inept, foolish, useless” ... ; and *gulus* -li, a kind of vessel almost round in the shape of a throat; 14. and *gustus* -us -ui, one of the five bodily senses; whence *gusto* -as -vi, and from here *gustito* -as frequentative: *gustare* is “to nibble/taste,” which one popularly says *assaggiare*.²⁵

Excerpt III: I 26 (2.598f.)

1. **YCON** -nis and *ycona* -e and *yconia* -e,²⁶ that is image or sign, and *ycon* is the comparison of persons with each other or of the traits which happen to belong to persons, namely when we try to express a figure of an object with something of a similar kind, as in Verg. *Aen.* 4.558 “omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque” (in all similar to Mercury, and voice and color) etc.; 2. whence **YCONISMA** -e,²⁷ that is image, a figure without a bust under the head, and **ECO** “echo,” indeclinable, as though the word were *yco*,²⁸ the sound of air or valleys or cliffs or mountains, that is a sound that returns, because it is the image and representation of voice. Some say in fact that the echo is a stone which, capturing the sound of human voice, imitates even the words of those who speak, and it is so called because, as it responds to a voice, the image of somebody else’s speech arises; but this seems to happen rather due to the nature of the places, such as valleys etc. 3. Whence **ECONOMUS** -mi, that is the bursar of his own family, whence **ECONOMIA** -e “economy,” that is “distribution/administration,” and **ECONOMICUS** -a -um “economical,” *dispensativus* “regulative,” whence **ECONOMICA** “economy,” the science which instructs us in distributing the goods in one’s family; and one says *economus* from *eco* “echo,” that is a sound that returns, because the whole family must be organized at his sound and voice. 4. Or one rather says *yconomus* from *ycon*, that is image or sign, and *noma*, that is law, or *norma*, that is rule. Thence *yconomus* is as though it were a law or rule obeying to a sign, because the whole family must be administered based on his sign and law or rule; and thence *yconomia*, and so on.²⁹ 5. *Ycon* enters

⟨v⟩ respectively) had merged into [i]. This explains the use of graphical ⟨y⟩ for [i], often in words with a Greek flavor.

27 Gk. εἰκόνημα, -ατος “image,” a neuter noun reanalyzed as a class one feminine *yconisma*, -e.

28 From here on, Ugucione adjusts the spelling in order to suit the etymology: thus, non-existing *yco* is spelled this way to support the asserted link of “echo” with “image.”

29 *Œconomia* (from Old Greek οἰκονομία, a derivative of οἶκος “house”) and derived words were normally spelled with *e*- in Medieval Latin, but Ugucione uses *y*- here to adjust it to the “etymology” from *ycon*. Curiously, this produces a spelling that is in line with the pronunciation of οἰκονομία in Byzantine and modern Greek (see fn. 26).

5. Ycon componitur cum pros, quod est ad, et dicitur hoc **prosicum** -ci, idest adimagnatio vel signum, unde Martianus “fisculatis extorum prosicis viscera loquebantur.” Quidam legunt prosicum pro prima parte extorum, a proseco -as, sed hoc melius in sequenti distinguetur.

Excerpt IV: L 10 (2.642)

1. **LAGOS** grece, latine dicitur cursus vel velocitas, unde apud Grecos lepus vocatur lagos vel lageos, quia velociter currat. 2. Et hinc quedam vitis dicitur **lageos** grece, leporina latine, quia velociter currat ad maturitatem, ut lepus; vel quia vinum eius venas hominum cito transit. 3. Et hec **lagois**, quedam avis habens leporinam carnem, et quidam piscis eadem ratione dicitur lagois, unde Oratius (*sat.* 2, 2, 22). 4. Et hoc **laganum**, quoddam genus cibi quod prius in aqua coquitur, postea in oleo frigitur; et sunt lagana de pasta quasi quedam membranule, que quandoque statim in oleo friguntur postea melle condiuntur, quandoque prius in aqua coquuntur postea in oleo friguntur: Illa vulgo dicuntur crustella, ista lasania; et dicuntur sic, quia suavia sunt ad comedendum ut caro leporina.

30 Late Latin *prosicum* (responsum), “*Responsum*, apud Laurentium in Amalthe. ex Papia.” Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, t. 6, col. 539b.

31 The word *adimagnatio* seems to be a nonce formation.

32 Martianus Capella (flourished sixth century CE), *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*. 19: “fisculatis extorum prosiciis, uiscera loquebantur ...” (By the separation of entrails [of slaughtered animals], the viscera declared ...). Harris Stahl, Johnson, and Burge, *Martianus Capella*, 8. The quotation, in the same form as in Hugutio, occurs in Osbern. F xl 5, Osberno, *Derivazioni*, 270; and, with “phisiculatis,” in S xxii 24, 634.

33 Gk. λαγώς (Ion. λαγός) means “hare,” not “(a) run” nor “speed.” The artificial creation of these meanings by metonymia becomes clear in the light of *Etymologies* 17.1.23: “Lepus, levipes, quia velociter currit. Unde et graece pro cursu λαγώς dicitur” (The hare, as if the word were *levipes* “swift foot,” because it runs swiftly. Whence in Greek it is called λαγώς, because of its swiftness). *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 248. Thus, Isidore established the relation, though in turn “L’explication d’Isidore par *pro cursu* est elle-même inexplicée” (Isidore’s explanation through *pro cursu* is itself unexplained), as Jacques André puts it. Isidore de Séville, *Étymologies*, Book 12, ed. André, 55.

composition with *pros*, that is *ad* “to,” and so one says **prosicum** -ci “answer,”³⁰ that is “imagination-to”³¹ or sign, whence Martianus [Capella wrote] “fisculatis extorum prosicis viscera loquebantur.”³² Some read *prosicum* in the sense of the first part of the entrails, from *proseco* -as “to cut off,” but this will be better distinguished in the following.

Excerpt IV: L 10 (2.642)

1. **LAGOS** in Greek, one says in Latin *cursus* “run” or *velocitas* “speed,”³³ whence among the Greeks the hare is called *lagos* or *lageos*,³⁴ because it runs quickly. 2. And from here a sort of vine is called **lageos** in Greek,³⁵ *leporina* in Latin,³⁶ since it grows [lit. runs] fast to ripeness, like a hare; or because the wine made out of it passes swiftly through the people’s veins. 3. And the **lagois**, a sort of bird whose meat is as tasty as the hare’s, and a sort of fish is also called *lagois* “grouse” for the same reason, whence Horace (*sat.* 2, 2, 22).³⁷ 4. And the **laganum**, a certain type of food which is first cooked in water, then fried in oil; and the *lagana* are made of dough like a kind of small membranes, which, at times as soon as they are fried in oil are then seasoned with honey, at times are first boiled in water and then fried in oil: the former are called popularly *crustella* “fritter,” the latter *lasaniana* “lasagna”; and one calls them so (i.e., *lagana*), because they are as delicious to eat as hare meat.³⁸

34 Gk. λάγειος “leporine” is the derived adjective, not a variant of the noun λαγώς.

35 This is the Gk. adjective λάγειος “of hare,” not otherwise documented to refer to a species of vine.

36 *Leporina* as a vine’s name does not seem to be otherwise attested in (Medieval) Latin. The only occurrence of this word as a name for a plant is in Isidore, *Etymologies* 17.9.43, but it concerns a kind of grass that “is also called ‘hare-like’ (*leporina*) because it sends out a supple stalk.” *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 352.

37 As a fish name, it is a hapax in Horace’s passage cited by Hugutio, where it occurs in a series with *ostrea* “oysters” and *scarus* “parrotfish.” For the ancient commentaries (*scholia*) to Horace, *lagois* seems to have been familiar as the name of a bird, rather than that of a fish.

38 The passage contains the earliest occurrence of some Italian words. While *lagana* in Classical Latin is the plural of *laganum*, “a kind of unleavened cake made of flour and oil” (from Gk. λάγανον), here the word has become a feminine singular, which denotes a thin dough: formally, *lagana* is still the name of “lasagne” (a layered pasta dish) in the dialects of southern Italy (e.g., Calabrian *lágana e ciceri* “lasagne and chickpeas”). Here, *lagana* are subdivided, according to preparation, into *crustella* “fritter” and *lasaniana*. Neither is a Latin word, and the latter is the earliest attestation of Italian *lasagna*, which dictionaries usually date to the early fourteenth century, when it first occurred in Italian texts. Cf. Riessner, *Die Magnae derivationes*, 135–136. The word is in turn of Greek origin, stemming ultimately from Gk. λάσανον “cooking pot,” borrowed into Latin as *lasānum*, whose derivative **lasānia* is the immediate source of *lasagne*.

Abbreviations and Symbols

col.	column
<i>EDL</i>	de Vaan, Michiel. <i>Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages</i> , Leiden: Brill, 2008.
Lat.	Latin
<i>L.L.</i>	Marcus Terentius Varro, <i>De lingua Latina</i>
Gk.	Greek
PIE	Proto-Indo European
t.	tomus
<i>sat.</i>	Horace, <i>Satires</i>
<i>Verg. Aen.</i>	Virgil, <i>The Aeneid</i>
<	etymological derivation
*	reconstructed form

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