Nedum 'let alone' and *non solum* 'not only' analysed in the humanist tradition from Lorenzo Valla to Desiderius Erasmus

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Abstract: This article conveys how the use of the Latin expression nedum *'let alone' was conceived of by Lorenzo Valla in between 1431 and 1449 and how his insights were passed on by later humanists such as Josse Bade, Hilaire Bertholf and Erasmus. Though undoubtedly thought provoking, their accounts meet with serious problems, thus pointing to the need for a more thorough investigation.*

> Abbas Septimi, homo corpulentus et pinguis, vesperi Florentiam proficiscens, interrogavit rusticum obvium, an portam se ingrediexistimaret. Intellexit Abbas an putaret se perventurum in urbem, antequam clauderentur portae. Ille vero in pinguedinem jocatus: 'Atqui,' inquit, 'currus faeni, nedum tu, portam introiret.' Poggio Bracciolini [1451]

> The abbot of Septimo, an enormously fat and bulky man, asked a peasant he met while on his way to Florence, 'Do you think I'll be able to make it through the city gate?' What he meant to ask was whether he thought he could reach the gates before closing time. Poking fun at his fatness, the peasant answered: 'By Jove, a wagon of hay could make it through the gate, let alone you!'[1]

1. Introduction

Lorenzo Valla (1405/07-1457) describes in detail when the Latin connective *nedum* 'let alone' can function in affirmative and in negative sentences (§2). Later humanists such as Josse Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1462-1535) from Ghent and Hilaire Bertholf (Hilarius Bertulphus Ledius, †1533) from Ledeberg follow his analysis, though not in all details (§3). Desiderius Erasmus (1466/1469-1536) initially adopts Valla's approach in full, but ends up   excluding affirmative *nedum*-sentences from his analysis. Even so, he offers points of departure for a coherent analysis of the use of *nedum* in both negative and affirmative sentences (§4). The article ends with our conclusion (§5).

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[1] On a par with English *let alone you*, the Dutch literator Gerrit Komrij (Poggio 1968: 27) translates *nedum tu* in the final sentence into *laat staan jij* 'let stand you'.

2. Lorenzo Valla

Valla is – as far as is known – the first person in history to have conveyed his views on the use of *nedum* in writing. He did so in his *Elegantiae* or, more precisely, *De linguae latinae elegantia libri sex* (1449). In those six 'books' concerning accurate language use, he deals with a great many niceties of Latin idiom, such as found in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) and Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (ca. 30-96 A.D.). Valla began working on the *Elegantiae* in 1431, when lecturing on rhetoric in Pavia. At the presentation of a doctoral degree certificate, he denounced the barbarous Latin used by the candidate, thus creating such an outrage that he had to pack his bags. In 1435 he settled down in Naples in the service of King Alfonso. Valla's book was first printed in 1471, in Paris, Rome and Venice.

2.1. The text

In his *Elegantiae* (liber 2, caput 55, in later editions usually referred to as caput 18) Valla discusses the semantics and syntax of *nedum* and the difference between *nedum* and especially *non solum*. For the text of the chapter, we rely on the Venice edition (Valla 1471). We have solved the abridgments and ligatures, maintained the *u/v*-spelling, the capitals and the interpunction, corrected one printer's error and added italics.

De *Nedum* et *non solum*

Nedum duobus modis periti uti solent: uno cum utranque sententiam eodem claudimus uerbo: altero cum suum utrique sententiae uerbum damus. Primo modo sic: *funderem pro te sanguinem*: *nedum pecuniam*: secundo sic: *funderem pro te sang[u]inem*: *nedum pecuniam tibi crederem*: et hoc affirmatiue. Negatiue sic. *Non perderem pro te obolum*: *nedum sanguinem*. Item *non crederem tibi obolum*: *nedum pro te funderem sanguinem*. Atque in affirmando id quod plus est: maiorisque momenti in prima parte ponendum; in negando quod minoris est. Plus enim et magis est momentosum fundere sanguinem quam pecuniam: et minus est et leuius, perdere aut credere obolum: quam perdere aut profundere sanguinem. Imperiti uero hanc dictionem accipiunt pro *non solum*: sic dicentes. *Nedum pro te laborem susciperem sed etiam mortem*. Quod sic dicendum erat. *Mortem pro te susciperem*: *nedum laborem*. Aut per *non solum*: nam contrarius modus est a *non modo* per *nedum* sic ne priora exempla conuertamus. *Non solum pecuniam pro te funderem sed etiam sanguinem*. Item, *non modo tibi pecuniam crederem*: *uerum etiam pro te sanguinem funderem*: et hoc affirmatiue. Rursus negatiue: *non modo pro te sanguinem non perderem sed nec pecuniam.* Item *non tantum pro te sanguinem non perderem sed nec pecuniam*. Item *non tantum pro te sanguinem non funderem*: *uerum ne*

obolum quidem tibi crederem. Haec est igitur differentia inter *nedum* et *non solum* siue *non modo*: siue *non tantum*: aliquando tamen reperimus hoc posterius pene pro *nedum* accipi. Cicero in officiis iii: *Huic igitur uiro bono quem Fimbria etiam non modo Socrates nouerat, nullo modo uideri potest quicquam esse utile*: *quod non sit honestum*: possemus hic dicere pro *non modo Socrates nouerat*: *nedum Socrates.* Sed *nedum* auget: praepolletque alteri parti cui adiungitur *non modo* autem aequiperat. Ideoque puto Ciceronem uoluisse equiparare Fimbriam romanum Socrati graeco: dixisseque illud *non modo* sicut in quibusdam aliis exemplis. Vt in eisdem officiis: *ad quod est adhibenda actio quaedam non solum mentis agitatio*. Et pro Plancio: *plura ne dicam tuae me lachrymae impediunt*: *uestraeque iudices non solum meae.* Hic non ausim pro *non solum* dicere *nedum*.

On *nedum* and *non solum*

Skilled writers tend to use *nedum* in two ways. In the one way when we close off each of the two sentences with one and the same verb; in the other way when we allot to each of the two sentences a verb of its own. In the first manner as follows: *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum pecuniam* 'I would give my blood for you, let alone my money'. In the second thus: *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam crederem* 'I would shed my blood for you, let alone lend you money'. And this affirmative. Negative thus: *Non perderem pro te obolum, nedum sanguinem* 'I wouldn't lose as much as a penny for you, let alone my blood'. Likewise: *Non crederem tibi obolum, nedum pro te funderem sanguinem* 'I wouldn't lend a single penny to you, let alone that I would shed my blood for you'. And with affirmation that which is more, and of greater momentum, must be put in the first part; with negation that which is less. After all, it is more and of greater momentum to spill blood than money. And it is less and lighter to waste a penny or lend it than to spill blood or shed it.

Unskilled writers, however, use this expression for *non solum* when saying the following: *Nedum pro te laborem susciperem, sed etiam mortem* 'Let alone would I take the suffering upon me, but even death'. Which should have been expressed as follows: *Mortem pro te susciperem, nedum laborem* 'I would take death upon me for you, let alone the suffering'. Or with *non solum* – for the manner of expression with *nedum* is opposite to that of *non modo*[2] – as follows (let us refrain from changing the examples): *Non solum pecuniam pro te funderem, sed etiam sanguinem* 'Not only would I spill my money for you, but even my blood'. And similarly: *Non modo tibi pecuniam crederem, uerum etiam pro te*

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[2] Here one would have expected *non solum*. Apparently, *non solum*, *non modo* and *non tantum* are so similar in Valla's eyes that he varies his choice of expression for stylistic reasons.

sanguinem funderem 'Not only would I lend my money to you, but I would even spill my blood for you'; this in the affirmative. Once more negative: *Non modo pro te sanguinem non perderem, sed nec pecuniam* 'Not only would I not spill my blood for you, but not even my money'. Similarly: *Non tantum pro te sanguinem non perderem, sed nec pecuniam* 'Not only would I not spill my blood for you, but not even my money'. Also thus: *Non tantum pro te sanguinem non funderem, uerum ne obolum quidem tibi crederem* 'Not only would I not spill my blood for you, but I would not even lend you a penny'.

This, then, is the difference between *nedum* and *non solum* or *non modo* or *non tantum*. And yet we sometimes find the latter to be almost as easily accepted instead of *nedum*. Cicero in *De officiis*, 3 [19, 77]: *Huic igitur uiro bono quem Fimbria etiam non modo Socrates nouerat, nullo modo uideri potest quicquam esse utile, quod non sit honestum* 'So to a man of such honesty, a type that even Fimbria recognized, not only Socrates, nothing can seem in any way expedient that is not honorable.' Instead of *non modo Socrates noverat* we could say *nedum Socrates*. But *nedum* strengthens and is more forceful than the other part it is connected with, whereas *non modo* equalizes. And that is why I think Cicero preferred to put Fimbria the Roman on a par with Socrates the Greek and said the above *non modo* in the same way in certain other cases. As in the aforementioned *De officiis*, 1 [5, 17]: *ad quod est adhibenda actio quaedam non solum mentis agitatio* 'where a certain amount of physical exertion has to be included, not only mental activity'. And Cicero *Pro Plancio*, [42, 104]: *Plura ne dicam tuae me lachrymae impediunt, uestraeque iudices non solum meae* 'Your tears prevent me from saying more, just like yours, judges, not only my own'. Here I would not dare say *nedum* instead of *non solum*.

2.2. Commentary

In the above chapter, Valla first enlarges upon *nedum*. With the help of a few examples he shows that the *nedum*-conjunct can occur without or with a verb of its own;[3] he illustrates the two options for both affirmative and negative *nedum*-examples, cf. examples (1)-(2) and (3)-(4) respectively.

(1) *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum pecuniam.*
     'I would give my blood for you, let alone my money.'

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[3] *Nedum*-conjunct stands for the conjunct headed by *nedum*. Given that *nedum* connects a conjunct preceding it with one following it, we refer to the two as first and second conjunct respectively (conjunct₁ and conjunct₂ for short). In accordance with the polarity of conjunct₁, we speak of a *nedum*-sentence as affirmative or negative.

(2) *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam crederem.*
     'I would shed my blood for you, let alone lend you money.'
(3) *Non perderem pro te obolum, nedum sanguinem.*
     'I wouldn't lose as much as a penny for you, let alone my blood.'
(4) *Non crederem tibi obolum, nedum pro te funderem sanguinem.*
     'I wouldn't lend a single penny to you, let alone that I would shed my blood for you.'

Valla subsequently discusses an important difference between affirmative *nedum*-examples such as (1) and (2), with *sanguinem* in conjunct$_1$ and *pecuniam* in conjunct$_2$, and the negative versions (3) en (4), with *obolum* in conjunct$_1$ and *sanguinem* in conjunct$_2$. The s*anguinem*- and *pecuniam/obolum*-arguments have, in other words, changed places. With affirmation, Valla notes, the weightier (or 'major') argument must be placed in conjunct$_1$, with negation it is the less weighty (or 'minor') argument that must be placed there. After all, as he reminds us, shedding blood is of greater momentum than lending money, and losing or lending a penny is of less momentum than shedding blood.

Note that Valla, all in the humanist tradition, relies heavily on examples to support his generalizations. Thus, he accounts for the distribution of the *sanguinem*- and *pecuniam/obolum*-arguments in examples (1)-(4) by appealing to our intuitive understanding that shedding blood is of greater momentum than lending money. We feel, however, that a comparison at a more detailed level – in line with current research – will ensure a better understanding of Valla's views of *nedum* than achieved so far. That is, zooming in on the level of the two arguments as such, one may note that these are, in the given context, being compared in terms of the common semantic notion that both are, say, precious to us, be it to different degrees. Thus we rank blood as the more, and money as the less precious of the two. In other words, the intuition that the willingness to give blood implies the willingness to give money hinges on the understanding that the willingness to give what is the more precious implies the willingness to give what is the less precious. And vice versa for the negative cases.

The next issue Valla turns to is a comparison of *nedum*-sentences with sentences involving *non solum* (including *non modo* and *non tantum*), illustrating the use of *non solum* c.s. with examples used earlier for *nedum*. Comparing the two sentence types, Valla notes that *nedum* and *non solum* c.s. are used in opposite ways. He begins by showing how the two can c.q. cannot be used. Rejecting the use of *nedum* in front position, as in (5), he contrasts this with its correct use in (6) and that of *non solum* in (7).

(5) *Nedum pro te laborem susciperem, sed etiam mortem.*
   'Let alone would I take the suffering upon me, but even death.'
(6) *Mortem pro te susciperem, nedum laborem.*
   'I would take death upon me for you, let alone the suffering.'
(7) *Non solum pecuniam pro te funderem, sed etiam sanguinem.*
   'Not only would I spill my money for you, but even my blood.'

For Valla sentence (5) is incorrect, this in contrast with sentence (6), where *nedum* interconnects $conjunct_1$ and $conjunct_2$, with the major argument (*mortem*) occurring in the former and the minor one (*laborem*) in the latter. *Non solum* can occur sentence-initially, as in sentence (7). Here we find the minor argument (my money) in $conjunct_1$ and the major one (my blood) in $conjunct_2$. The order of the arguments in terms of major versus minor in (7) is, in other words, opposite to that in sentence (6). In sentences with a negative first conjunct that feature *non solum*, *non modo* or *non tantum*, such as (8) and (9) below, the major argument precedes the minor argument. This argument order is the same as in sentence (6), but opposite to that in sentence (7).

(8) *Non modo pro te sanguinem non perderem, sed nec pecuniam.*
   'Not only would I not spill my blood for you, but not even my money.'
(9) *Non tantum pro te sanguinem non funderem, uerum ne obolum quidem tibi crederem.*
   'Not only would I not spill my blood for you, but I would not even lend you a penny.'

Valla ends the above discussion by concluding: 'This, then, is the difference between *nedum* and *non solum* or *non modo* or *non tantum*'. This conclusion is summarized in Schema 1.

	polarity $conjunct_1$	rank of argument $conjunct_1$	rank of argument $conjunct_2$
nedum	affirmative	major	minor
	negative	minor	major
non solum c.s.	affirmative	minor	major
	negative	major	minor

Schema 1. *Nedum* en *non solum* c.s. in affirmative and negative contexts

So far, Valla's evidence is limited to home made examples. As a result, *nedum* and *non solum* c.s. appear to convey the same meaning, differing only in that they are used in opposite ways. Valla's next step is to extend his evidence to certain authentic examples; these enable him to bring to light an important difference between the two expressions. Two of them (from Cicero's *De officiis*, 3 [19, 77] and *Pro Plancio*, [42, 104] respectively) are repeated below.

(10)   *Huic igitur viro bono quem Fimbria etiam non modo Socrates noverat, nullo modo videri potest quicquam esse utile, quod non sit honestum.*
        'So to a man of such honesty, a type that even Fimbria recognized, not only Socrates, nothing can seem in any way expedient that is not honorable.'

(11)   *Plura ne dicam tuae me* [*etiam*] *lachrymae impediunt, uestraeque iudices non solum meae.*[4]
        'Your tears [also] prevent me from saying more, just like yours, judges, not only my own.'

The conjuncts headed by *non modo* in (10) and by *non solum* in (11) fill the slot so far reserved for the *nedum*-conjunct. With regard to (10), Valla observes, we could also say *nedum Socrates noverat* instead of *non modo Socrates noverat*. However, doing so would, he points out, affect the interpretation of the sentence. That is, *nedum* strengthens and is more forceful than the other part it is connected with, whereas *non modo* puts the two parts on a par with each other. Valla's interpretation of *nedum*'s function as strengthening can be understood as follows. Given that *nedum* is meant to ensure that what is stated by conjunct$_1$ implies what is stated by conjunct$_2$, it follows that *nedum* strengthens in the sense that conjunct$_2$ makes a more forceful statement than conjunct$_1$. Using *nedum*, that is, compels one to compare Fimbria and Socrates in terms of, say, wisdom, ranking the first as having the lesser and the second as having the greater wisdom of the two. Thus the (pragmatic) logic underlying the *nedum*-statement in the relevant version of (10) is the following: given that, of two persons, the one with the lesser wisdom is wise enough to recognize what 'a man of such honesty' stands for, it follows that this applies with even greater certainty to the person with the greater wisdom. Put differently, the statement about Socrates makes a more forceful truth claim than the one about Fimbria. And that is, according to Valla, why Cicero opts for *non modo* in (10): he wants to put Fimbria the

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[4] Most editions of Cicero's address to the court have *etiam* in this passage. The first Valla-edition known to us that includes *etiam* here is Valla (1526: fol. 26^r); this edition will come up for discussion at a later stage.

Roman on a par with Socrates the Greek; the conjunction *non modo* (or one of its variants) involves, in other words, the coordination of two (logically) independent, and as such equal statements. Using *nedum* in (11) instead of *non solum* is, Valla lastly points out, no option: that would, or so he implies, force one to interpret the tears of the men Cicero is addressing as playing a role (in the process of stopping him from saying more) that – compared to his own – is of lesser importance.[5] That, of course, would never do.

The above makes it clear why a change in the polarity of the initial conjunct of the *nedum*-construction goes hand in hand with the contrasting arguments exchanging places: *nedum* causes these arguments to trade places so that in either case the content of the *nedum*-conjunct, conjunct$_2$, is properly included in, hence implied by that of conjunct$_1$. Now the *non solum*-construction (or the *non modo*- or *non tantum*-variant), which involves, as we have seen, the coordination of two conjuncts stating truth claims independently of one another, exhibits a similar trading of argument-positions relative to a change in polarity (regardless whether *non solum* heads conjunct$_1$ or conjunct$_2$). There is another similarity between the two constructions, one concerning the distribution of *etiam* ('even' or 'also'): this expression may not occur in either the *nedum*- or the *non solum*-conjunct itself, but in what we will call their 'co-conjunct' it is often explicitly present, and never out of place anyway. We suggest, therefore, that the *non solum*-construction also involves some kind of comparison, be it that the comparison does not, as in the *nedum*-construction, function at the level of truth. As we see it, the statement expressed by the *non solum*-conjunct serves as a standard of expectation that allows the speaker/writer to present what is expressed by its co-conjunct in a special light. In the case of example (10), for instance, Cicero conveys that Fimbria, given that he has an insight of a depth that only a man as wise as Socrates could be expected to achieve, must be seen as an extraordinarily wise man. Next consider example (9), *Non tantum pro te sanguinem non funderem, uerum ne obolum quidem tibi crederem*, which differs from (10) not only in that it is negative but also in that the two conjuncts are contrastive. Here one is made to understand that, in light of the fact that an unwillingness to spill one's blood for someone is, as such, what one would expect, the unwillingness to lend someone as much as a penny is not at all what one would expect. It is the comparison, in other words, that makes one see such an unwillingness as utterly excessive. Essentially the same applies to the positive version of (9), i.e. example (7), *Non solum pecuniam pro te funderem, sed etiam sanguinem*, where the *non solum*-construction only makes sense if

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[5] Notice that the *nedum*-variants of (10) and (11), despite being affirmative, require a minor argument in conjunct$_1$ and a major argument in conjunct$_2$. Apparently, Schema 1 does not tell the whole story as far as *nedum* is concerned.

the arguments appear in reversed order: now the standard of comparison is the willingness to give money to someone and what rates as unexpected is the willingness to go as far as giving one's blood. To conclude this discussion of the workings of the *non solum*-construction we end with a brief, but general characterization: a statement that is set off against a *non solum*-statement gives rise to implications that it need not give rise to in isolation.

There is, finally, one other difference in Valla's data concerning the use of *nedum* and that of *non solum* c.s., a difference that he draws no attention to. In the case of a negative conjunct headed by *non solum* c.s. its co-conjunct contains its own negative marker, both when it is and when it is not accompanied by a verb of its own, cf. examples (8) and (9) respectively; whenever the *non solum*-conjunct is affirmative, its co-conjunct is affirmative as well. Matters are different where *nedum* is concerned: in all Valla's *nedum*-examples, cf. (1)-(4), conjunct$_2$ lacks a negation marker of its own, regardless whether conjunct$_1$ is affirmative or negative, and regardless of whether conjunct$_2$ contains a verb of its own. There is general consensus among later humanists with regard to the data involving *non solum* c.s.; however, concerning the *nedum*-data there turn out to be differences in opinion. It is such differences that we will concentrate on in the following sections.

3. Bade and Bertholf

There are a great many *Elegantiae*-editions. In §3.1 below we look at some of the editions in which the editors are specifically concerned with *nedum*: Jouennaux (1492), Bade's *epitome* on *nedum* in Valla (1501) and Jouennaux & Bade (1508). In §3.2 we look into the diagram summarizing Bertholf's views on the use of *nedum* in Valla (1526).[6] In §3.3, lastly, we compare Valla's examples (3) and (4) with the negative forms that Bade and Bertholf propose instead.

3.1. Bade's epitome on nedum

Bade's epitome on *nedum* in Valla (1501),[7] which precedes Valla's own *nedum*-analysis,

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[6] Aside from many manuscripts, more than 150 editions have, from 1471 onward, been published according to the census of IJsewijn & Tournoy (1969, 1971); among others, Valla (1526) is missing from their list.

[7] Bade taught *bonae litterae* in Valence and Lyon, where he eventually became a proofreader and texteditor, e.g. of the *Comoediae* of Publius Terentius Afer, this together with Jouennaux in 1493. Around 1500 he went to Paris, where he settled as printer-editor in 1503 and later on became a professor as well. He also made name as a poet (cf. Janssen & Marynissen 2013).

shares the latter's main views on *nedum* and *non solum* c.s. (outlined in section 2.2 above), but follows its own direction where *nedum*-sentences are concerned in which conjunct$_1$ is negative and conjunct$_2$ has a verb of its own. That is, the pattern of Bade's two affirmative *nedum*-examples and Valla's, cf. (1) and (2) in §2.2, is exactly the same. This is also true of the first negative *nedum*-example he presents, but in the second Bade has added *non* in conjunct$_2$, cf. (12) and (13) respectively.

(12)   *Non exponerem pro te pecuniam, nedum sanguinem.*
        'I would not give up my money for you, let alone my blood.'
(13)   *Non subirem pro rebus mundanis tormenta, nedum vitam non exponerem.*
        'I would not submit to torments for the sake of worldly matters, let alone that I
        would give up my life for them.'

With regard to (13) Bade comments: *inueni sublatum illud secundum non: vt sit nedum vitam exponerem quod sublatum non oportuit* 'I noticed that second *non* to have been left out, as if what was left out ought not to be present in *nedum vitam exponerem*' (Valla 1501: fol. 26^v).

     We will return to this issue later, first drawing attention to the treatment of *nedum* in Jouennaux (1492), an abridged version of Valla's *Elegantiae* with comments by Jouennaux.[8] Intended as a text-book for university students, the book provides the Latin examples with French translations. Note that Jouennaux, for want of a specific French expression covering the sense of *nedum*, uses *non pas seullement* ('not merely') in (15) and (17) to translate *nedum* in (14) and (16) respectively.

(14)   *Profunderem pro te vitam, nedum pecunias.*
        'I would give my life for you, let alone sums of money.'
(15)   *Je mettrois ma vie pour toy non pas seullement mon argent.*
(16)   *Assem tibi non dabo nedum aureum tibi sum prestaturus.*
        'I will not give you a copper coin, let alone that I will give you as much as a gold
        coin.'
(17)   *Je ne te donneray pas une maille non pas seullement ung escu ou a grant peine
        donc un escu.*

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[8] See Guy Jouennaux (1492: fol. 20^r). Guido Juvenalis Cenomanus 'from Le Mans' died around 1505-07.

In a posthumous edition, Jouennaux (1508), Bade adds (18) as a Dutch translation for (14) and, replacing (16) by (19), translates the latter into Dutch as in (20). Note that (19), Bade's version of (16), differs from the latter in that it contains *non* in conjunct$_2$, this in line with the example he gave in Valla (1501), cf. (13) above. Note furthermore that Bade translates *nedum* in (14) and (19) with the help of different Dutch expressions, *niet alleene* (literally 'not only') in (18), and *ic late staen* ('I let stand') in (20). Assuming that Dutch *ic late staen* could, at the time, only be used in front of a finite clause, we suggest that Bade had no other option than to resort to *niet alleene* in (18) as the translation coming closest to the meaning of *nedum* in (14). The *let alone*-translations of both (18) and (20) are intended to reflect their *nedum*-originals as closely as possible.

(18)   *Ic soude sturten mijn leven oft bloed voer hu: niet alleene mijn geld.*
        'I would spill my life or blood for you, let alone my money.'
(19)   *Assem tibi non dabo nedum aureum tibi non sum praestaturus.*
        'I will not give you a copper coin, let alone as much as a gold coin.'
(20)   *Ic en sal hu niet eenen pennijnc gheven ic late staen dat ic hu enen gulden soude gheven.*[9]
        'I will not give you a penny, let alone that I would give you a guilder.'

In summary, where *nedum*-sentences are concerned in which conjunct$_1$ is negative and conjunct$_2$ contains a verb of its own, Bade differs from Valla with respect to the presence (Bade) or absence (Valla) of a separate negative marker in conjunct$_2$. Notice, incidentally, that there is a remarkable discrepancy between Jouennaux's (16), our English translation of (19), and even Bade's *ic late staen* version of (19) on the one hand, and Bade's Latin form (19) on the other: only the latter includes the negative marker Bade insists should be present in the *nedum*-conjunct of the type of sentences that (19) is an instance of. In light of such discrepancy, Bade's 'improvement' views may well seem dubious. Even so, he is not, as the following subsection will show, alone in them.[10]

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[9] Bade's *ic late staen* in Jouennaux (1508) is the oldest attested use of the expression that later developed into *laat staan* (cf. Janssen & Van der Leek 2009).

[10] Jan de Spouter (Johannes Despauterius, ca. 1480-1520) from Ninové also uses *non* in conjunct$_2$ in *hic scientiam non sibi comparat nedum virtutem non colit* 'he acquires no knowledge, let alone that he exercises virtue' (1513: fol. c5^v).

3.2. Bertholf's schema of nedum, non solum *etc.*

In Valla (1526) Bertholf presents,[11] in the form of a diagram reproduced below, a summary of what he considers to be the essential aspects of the syntax and semantics of *nedum* seen in connection with those of *non solum*, *non modo*, *non tantum*, *non abest* and *adeo*.
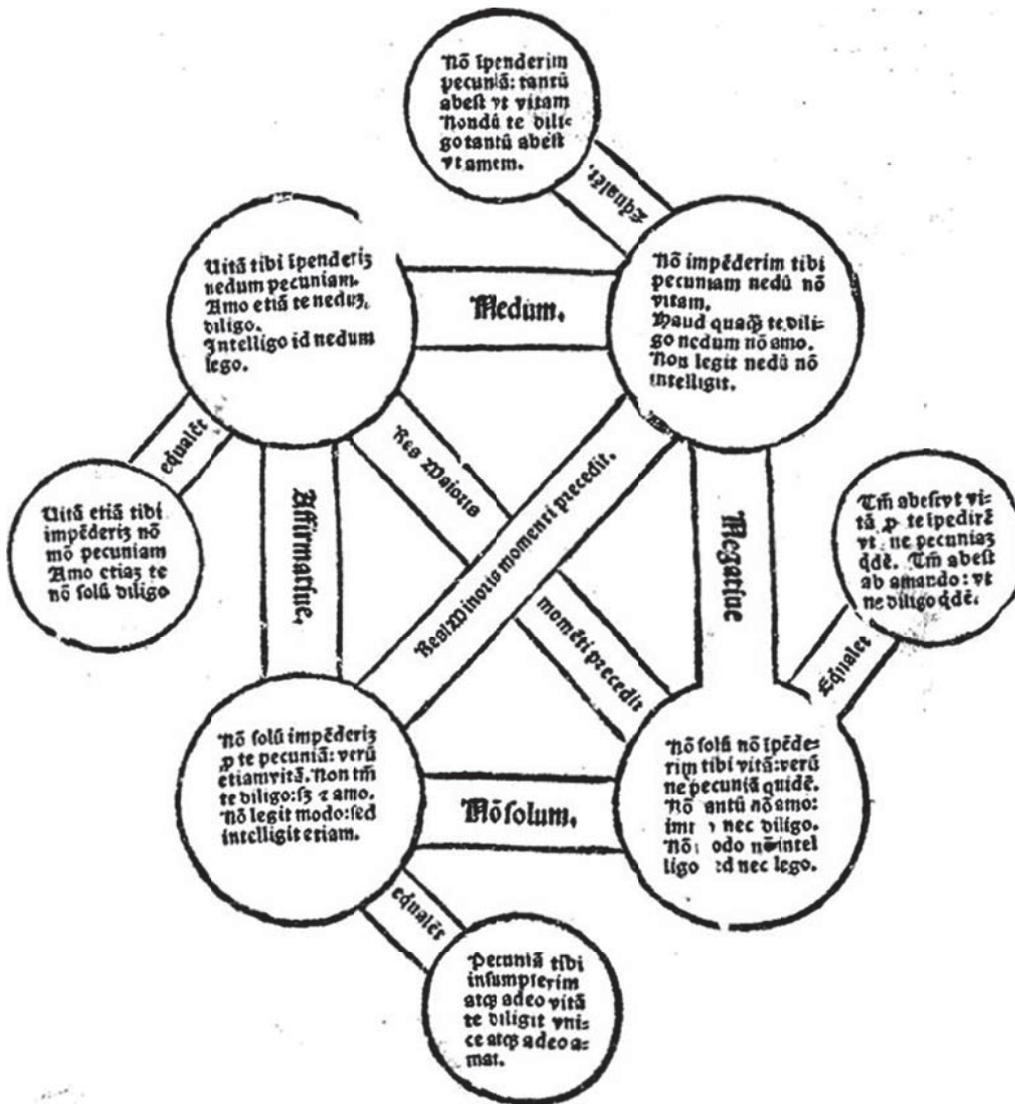

Diagram 1: The use of *nedum* and *non solum* (Valla 1526: fol. 25[v])

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[11] Bertholf, who died of the plague in Lyon along with his family, was former secretary of Erasmus (Bierlaire & Bietenholz 1995: 141-142). Erasmus, holding him in esteem, puts him on stage in his *Ciceronianus* and in his *Colloquia*, to wit in the *Diversoria* 'Inns' and the *Synodus grammaticorum* 'A meeting of grammarians'.

Diagram 1 portrays the use of *nedum* and *non solum* as this is summarized in Schema 1 in §2.2. At each corner of the square there is a big circle containing three sentences, one in which conjunct₂ does not, and two in which it does have a verb of its own; the first examples in the four circles correspond, contentwise, to one another; the same applies to the second and third examples. The circles at the top are linked by a bar indicating that both contain *nedum*-examples, while those at the bottom, linked by a bar labelled *non solum*, both contain one *non solum*-, one *non tantum*-, and one *non modo*-example. The bar linking the top- and bottom-circles at the left indicates that both contain affirmative examples, while the one linking the top- and bottom-circles at the right points to their both containing negative examples.[12]

Below we have arranged eight examples from Bertholf in what might, loosely speaking, be called minimal pairs, each a-sentence and b-sentence involving *nedum* and *non solum* c.s. respectively. (21) and (22) feature sentences containing one verb- and two verb-examples respectively, and so do (23) and (24). The examples in (21)-(22) and in (23)-(24) are, lastly, affirmative and negative, respectively.

(21)   a   *Uitam tibi impenderim nedum pecuniam.*
             'I would even give my life for you, let alone my money.'
        b   *Non solum impenderim pro te pecuniam: verum etiam vitam.*
             'Not only would I give my money for you but even my life.'
(22)   a   *Amo etiam te nedum diligo.*
             'I even love, let alone respect you.'
        b   *Non tantum te diligo: sed et amo.*
             'Not only do I respect you, but I also love you.'
(23)   a   *Non impenderim tibi pecuniam nedum non vitam.*
             'I would not give my money for you, let alone my life.'
        b   *Non solum non impenderim tibi vitam: verum ne pecuniam quidem.*
             'Not only would I not give my life for you, but not even my money.'
(24)   a   *Haud quaquam te diligo nedum non amo.*
             'I do not respect you at all, let alone that I love you.'
        b   *Non tantum non amo: immo nec diligo.*
             'Not only do I not love you, I do, in fact, not even respect you.'

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[12] The examples in the smaller circles in Diagram 1 are of no concern to us in this article.

Looking at Bertholf's Latin examples, it is immediately clear that it is in complete agreement with Schema 1 in §2.2: the argument order in each of the *nedum*-sentences is the reverse of the argument order in the *non solum*-sentences that they form a minimal pair with. Apart from this, there is a striking novelty in Bertholf's analysis in that for each minimal pair made up of a *nedum*- and a *non solum*-sentence, the second conjuncts of both always have the same polarity.

All in all, three dissenting views regarding the absence c.q. presence of a negation marker in the second conjunct of *nedum*-sentences have been under review, that of Valla, of Bade and of Bertholf. In the following section, we will go into the question what might be behind such curious differences in opinion.

3.3. Same sense, different forms

Despite the structural differences, pointed out above, regarding the absence or presence of a negative marker in the second conjunct of *nedum*-sentences with a negative first conjunct, opinions diverge, it is quite clear, as far as form, not as far as interpretation is concerned. That is, Valla's statement 'Sed *nedum* auget: praepolletque alteri parti cui adiungitur *non modo* aequiperat.' is commonly accepted, if not explicitly (Bade), then at least implicitly (Bertholf).

Valla, we assume, sees the reinforcing power of *nedum* as applying at the level of interpretation. That is, when conjunct$_1$ is affirmative, the effect of *nedum* on conjunct$_2$ is that its content is understood as affirmed with greater certainty than the content of conjunct$_1$ is; when conjunct$_1$ is negative, we find the same pattern, but applied to negation: now *nedum* reinforces one's interpretation of the content of conjunct$_2$: it is understood to be denied with greater certainty than the content of conjunct$_1$ is. So much is, in any case, in conformity with the pattern exhibited in Valla's examples (1)-(4). Bertholf's analysis, on the other hand, reveals complete parallelism between *nedum*- and *non solum*-sentences as far as the formal absence and presence of negation is concerned. That is, not only within *non solum*-sentences but also within *nedum*-sentences do both conjuncts formally share the same polarity (either negation is absent in both, or negation is present in both). *Nedum*, in this view, 'praepolleret' the explicitly affirmative or negative second conjunct to greater affirmative or negative heights respectively. Bade's position is in the middle of Valla's and Bertholf's: when the second *nedum*-conjunct contains no verb of its own, its interpretation depends on the polarity of the first conjunct; when it does contain a finite verb of its own, it is interpreted in terms of its own explicit polarity.

Unfortunately for Bertholf (and in lesser degree for Bade), there is no evidence from authentic Latin examples corroborating the formal negation patterns they want to impose on the second conjunct of certain *nedum*-sentences.

4. Desiderius Erasmus

Erasmus made an abridged version of Valla's *Elegantiae* in three versions: the first, written around 1489, appeared in an unauthorized edition in 1529, the second got lost, while the third, authorized version, *Paraphrasis, seu potius Epitome*, appeared in 1531 (Heesakkers & Waszink 1973). The *nedum*-epitome in this third version will be looked into in §4.1.

4.1. The text

Erasmus' *nedum*-epitome from the Freiburg edition (1534: fol. 48[r-v]), is presented below, edited as Valla's text in §2.1.

Nedum penè est idem quod *non solum*, sed non uno modo eis utimur.

Non modo, et *non solum* (quae idem ualent) semper in priore parte orationis ponuntur, ut *Non modo te diligo, uerumetiam fratris loco amo. Non solum pecuniam uerumetiam uitam pro te impenderem. Nedum* ferè semper in fine ponitur, ita tamen, ut si oratio sit negatiua, id quod minus est ponatur in principio, et maius in fine: sin affirmatiua, contrario modo fiet, ut *Non solum laborem pro te susciperem, uerumetiam mortem. Non crederem tibi obulum, nedum uitam meam*: *non solum non crederem tibi uitam, uerum ne obulum quidem*. Est item alia differentia inter *nedum* et *non solum*: *Nedum* iungit partes inaequales: *non solum*, aequales. Vnde et hac causa, *non solum*, nonnunquam in orationis fine reperitur. Cicero. *Plura ne dicam tuae me lachrymae impediunt, uestraeque iudices, non solum meae*. Hic non recte dicetur, nedum meae. *Nedum* nusquam ponitur, nisi in oratione negatiua.

Nedum is well-nigh the same as *non solum*, but we do not use them in the same manner.

Non modo and *non solum* (which have the same meaning) are always put in the first part of the sentence, as in *Non modo te diligo, uerumetiam fratris loco amo* 'Not only do I respect you, I even love you as a brother'. *Non solum pecuniam uerumetiam uitam pro te impenderem* 'Not only my money but even my life would I offer for you'. *Nedum* is almost always put at the end, but in such a way that the minor part is put in the beginning when the sentence is negative, and the major part at the end, but when the sentence is

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affirmative, it works the other way round, as in *Non solum laborem pro te susciperem, uerumetiam mortem* 'Not only would I take the suffering upon me, but even death'. *Non crederem tibi obulum, nedum uitam meam* 'Not even a penny would I entrust you with, let alone my life'. *Non solum non crederem tibi uitam, uerum ne obulum quidem* 'Not only would I not entrust you with my life, but not not even with a penny'. There is yet another difference between *nedum* and *non solum*: *nedum* joins unequal parts, *non solum* equal parts. That is why *non solum* is sometimes also found at the end of the sentence. Cicero [*Pro Plancio* 42, 22]: *Plura ne dicam tuae me lachrymae impediunt, uestraeque iudices, non solum meae* 'Your tears prevent me from saying more, just like yours, judges, not only my own'. Here it would not be right to say *nedum meae*. *Nedum* is put nowhere, unless in a negative sentence.

4.2. Commentary

Apart from Valla's observation that conjunct$_2$ may appear in fully specified or elided form, Erasmus' epitome comprises, on the face of it, the central points of Valla's *nedum*-analysis: (i) the affirmative or negative use of *nedum*, (ii) the momentum of the content of each of the conjuncts, (iii) the reverse positioning of their lexical content, and (iv) the stricter restriction on *nedum*'s position in the sentence than that of *non solum* c.s.

Erasmus differs from Valla on one important point, however. In his closing statement he contends that *nedum* cannot be used in any other than a negative sentence. However, that contention flies in the face of his specifications concerning the use of *nedum* in both affirmative and negative sentences. There he compares how *nedum* can be used in the two sentence types with the way in which *non solum* c.s. can be used in them. Conspicuously absent in his sample sentences is, however, one exemplifying the use of *nedum* in an affirmative sentence. In the unauthorized edition of his text, Erasmus (1529: fol. 56^r), there is such a sample sentence: *Mortem pro te susciperem, nedum laborem*. Is there, then, a connection between its absence in the present text and the closing statement that *nedum* is only used in negative sentences? That is extremely likely, since that closing statement is, in its turn, conspicuously absent in the unauthorized version containing the above affirmative *nedum*-example. Apparently, Erasmus changed his mind about the use of *nedum* in affirmative sentences in between the first and third edition of his Valla text. That is also clear from his *De copia*. His 1512-edition (fol. 18^{r-v}) contains *nedum*-example (25), but in the *De copia*-editions from (1526) onward (cf. Erasmus 1988: 93) the sentence contains *non modo* instead of *nedum*, see (26).

(25)   *Vitam etiam tibi impenderim: nedum pecuniam.*
          'I would even give my life for you, let alone my money.'
(26)   *Vitam etiam tibi impenderim, non modo pecuniam.*
          'I would even give my life for you, not only my money.'

This replacement constitutes an independent indication that *nedum*-constructions with an affirmative first conjunct are later on rejected by Erasmus. had he perhaps come to realize that, somehow, there was something not right about number (2) of Valla's four *nedum*-examples, i.e. the one in which both conjunct$_1$ and conjunct$_2$ are affirmative, while the latter has a finite verb of its own? Below we reintroduce Valla's examples (1)-(4), now accompanied by English translations that allow one to see their meaning in a clearer and, in fact, different light. In the case of examples (1) and (3), this means that the English translations add, in brackets, what is not formally present in conjunct$_2$ and yet part of our understanding of that conjunct. Matters are more complicated in the case of example (2). Here we present two alternative English versions. The first, (2)(i), presents conjunct$_2$ in its full, uncontracted form. Curiously enough, this translation yields an English sentence that is incoherent (indicated by #). The second version, (2)(ii) does, due to its including *not* in conjunct$_2$, yield a coherent English sentence. Only in the case of example (4) does the original English translation remain the same as before.

(1)   *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum pecuniam.*
       'I would give my blood for you, let alone (that I would not give) my money (for you).'
(2)   *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam crederem.*
       (i)   #   'I would shed my blood for you, let alone that I would lend you money.'
       (ii) 'I would shed my blood for you, let alone that I would not lend you money.'
(3)   *Non perderem pro te obolum, nedum sanguinem.*
       'I wouldn't lose as much as a penny for you, let alone (that I would lose) my blood (for you).'
(4)   *Non crederem tibi obolum, nedum pro te funderem sanguinem.*
       'I wouldn't lend a single penny to you, let alone that I would shed my blood for you.'

The pattern that emerges, is clear as far as examples (1), (3) and (4) are concerned: the polarity of conjunct$_1$ is the reverse of the polarity of conjunct$_2$. Note that the form of *nedum*-sentence (2) is the odd man out: the word-by-word English version is incoherent, nor does (2) conform to the pattern the other three *nedum*-sentences exhibit. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that Valla's example (2) is not a correct Latin sentence

and should be reformulated as *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam non crederem.*[13] Given this adaptation, the incoherence problem is solved and the general principle on which the use of *nedum* is based is straightforward: the *nedum*-construction requires that its two conjuncts be interpretable in terms of reverse polarities.

The following affirmative *nedum*-sentence from – no less – Erasmus' *De copia* appears to be an exception to this principle.

(27)   *Ingenium quoque senectus deterit, nedum corporis vigor perpetuo duret.*
         'Old age weakens even the human mind, let alone that bodily strength would
         endure forever.'

In this sentence, *nedum* does not get replaced by *non modo* or a related expression in later editions (see Erasmus 1988: 94). This sentence, in which both conjuncts are affirmative, appears to be an exception to the above *nedum*-principle; in fact it is not, be it that the principle needs to be refined. It is not the negative or affirmative character of conjunct$_2$ that is crucial; what is crucial is that conjunct$_2$ is, content-wise, in opposition with conjunct$_1$. This is the case in (27), due to the fact that *weaken* and *endure* have opposite meanings, as the following, less handsome translation confirms: 'Old age weakens even the human mind, let alone that bodily strength would not weaken in time.'

      That Erasmus, as a student of language, rejected the use of *nedum* in sentences like (2) was, we conclude, fully justifiable; that he, as a user of language, fully accepted sentences like (27) turns out to be equally justifiable.

5. Conclusion

Studying the use and meaning of *nedum* and *non solum* c.s. in pairs of semantically similar sentences, enables Valla not only to get across how closely connected the two expressions

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[13] We know of one Latin example, from Cicero's *De petitione consulatus,* 6, 21, in which conjunct$_1$ is affirmative and conjunct$_2$ negative, cf.:

    Minimus beneficiis homines adducuntur ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis,
    <u>nedum</u> ii quibus saluti fuisti, quos tu habes plurimos, <u>non</u> intelligant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi
    non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini umquam fore.
    'Even by very small favours men are persuaded to think they have sufficient reason for
    supporting a candidate, <u>let alone</u> that anyone that you have saved – and there's a great many
    of them – would <u>not</u> realize they would never be trusted again if they do not, at this your hour
    of need, comply with your wishes.'

are according to him, but also to pinpoint what, in his view, the subtle semantic difference between them is: '*Nedum* iungit partes inaequales: *non solum*, aequales', in the words of Erasmus. Bade, disagreeing with the form of Valla's negative *nedum*-example *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam crederem*, proposes Latin variants with an explicit *non* added to the *nedum*-conjunct. Our *let alone*-translations, as well as Bade's own *ic late staen*-version, point in another direction: Valla's negative *nedum*-sentence is correct Latin, Bade's is not, and that goes for Bertholf's negative *nedum*-examples as well. Erasmus, in his turn, is suspicious about Valla's affirmative *nedum*-sentences, ending up, wrongly so, by rejecting them. All this, as well as our understanding of a fair number of two-verb affirmative *nedum*-examples from classical Latin, leads us to identify Valla's example (2) as incorrect Latin and to suggest replacing it by (28), a form that includes *non* in its second conjunct. A comparison of (28) and Valla's negative example (4) brings the following pattern to light: in each case the two conjuncts, considered independently of *nedum*'s contribution, make conflicting truth claims.

(28)   *Funderem pro te sanguinem, nedum tibi pecuniam non crederem*
        'I would shed my blood for you, let alone that I would not lend you money.'
(4)   *Non crederem tibi obolum, nedum pro te funderem sanguinem.*
        'I wouldn't lend a single penny to you, let alone that I would shed my blood for you.'

We conclude from this that *nedum*'s function is to resolve this conflict. That is, rather than reinforcing the truth claim made by the second conjunct, *nedum* dismisses it as irreal because of what can be mentally concluded from the truth claim made by the first conjunct.[14] To illustrate what we mean, let us go back to the punch line of Poggio's joke quoted at the beginning of this article. In line with our views on *nedum*'s import, this says: 'By Jove, a wagon of hay could make it through the gate, let alone that you could not get through'. The peasant thus jokingly tells the fat abbot that it cannot possibly be the case that he could not make it through the gate, since the fact that a wagon of hay can get through, unambiguously implies that the abbot can too, with the greatest of ease.

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[14] In this analysis, the meaning of *nedum* in negative sentences is no different from that in affirmative sentences, this as opposed to earlier analyses, including – at least by our book – Goldstein (forthc.). We are preparing an article, *Nedum revisited* ('working title'), in which the theoretical implications of our views on the matter will be presented in detail.

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