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The Selection and Function of some Latin Particles by Thomas More in *De Tristitia Christi**

Summary – This paper analyses the possible causes of the replacement of certain Latin particles in the text of *De Tristitia Christi*, the only original Morean manuscript available. In contrast to those who have seen More’s way of proceeding as a kind of excessive and fastidious concern with the choice of a specific particle, the current analysis seeks to show that the author must have possessed a fine knowledge of the possibilities and implications of the particles he uses. The application of the theoretical framework of Functional Discourse Grammar and its distinction of levels (grammatical, textual and situational) helps to identify and explain some of the reasons underlying More’s final choices here. In addition, it is also possible to see the role that various different criteria – stylistic, communicative, lexical, etc. – play in the selections of the author, who took great care to ensure that the message he wanted to convey was indeed clearly rendered.

1. Introduction. Text Type, Objectives, Theoretical Framework and Structure of the Paper

This paper will focus on the final literary work of the author of *Utopia*. Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England during part of Henry VIII’s reign, was an eminent and multifaceted humanist: lawyer and judge, diplomat, writer in many literary genres, husband and father ...¹ At the age of 57, in July 1535, he was beheaded, after more than a year’s imprisonment in the Tower of London, his health already broken. The reason for his arrest and death sentence was his refusal to take Cromwell’s oath regarding the Act of Succession enacted in 1531, in which, among other things, the king was proclaimed Supreme Head of the Church of England, thus breaking with the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, of which Henry had previously been a fervent supporter. In turn, the

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¹ A description of More’s personality, plus a kind of biography in miniature, can be found in the letter that Erasmus of Rotterdam – a great friend and connoisseur of More – wrote in July 1519 to his fellow German humanist Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523); a translation can be found in Cabrillana, *Epigramas*, 35–45.

cause of this behaviour stemmed – to put it briefly – from the king’s desire to have his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled, in order to validate his marriage (already contracted in secret) to Anne Boleyn, and thus to produce a legitimate male successor; as we know, Anne’s place – also later condemned to death – would be taken by several other wives.

In the nearly 15 months of his imprisonment, More wrote a number of letters and various works, most of them in English; among those written in Latin is *De Tristitia*, a reflection on Christ’s moments of agony before his capture and his bodily passion. This work has many derivations, and arguably a number of intentions. A very brief summary might argue that More wanted to seek in the contemplation of Christ’s suffering his own preparation and strengthening before the death that awaited him; this leads him to serious and profound reflections on the meaning of pain and human freedom, the role of reason, the needs and characteristics of prayer, the nature and consequences of friendship, the reality of sin, and the hope of eternal happiness, among other aspects. And all this through a fine humanist exegesis of the biblical texts.

There is some debate as to why More decided to write this work in Latin rather than English, and not just in any form of Latin, but one as elegant and formal as that of the *Utopia*, in which his argumentative mind as a lawyer is never absent. Some believe that the Latin language was more suitable for the subject matter of the work, for expressing intimate reflection and for calling attention to certain impious men of the church.² Others believe – more rightly, I think – that More sought to reach a wide audience, one not very different from the humanist world itself, which had also been the target audience of his *Utopia*;³ in this sense, the work would also constitute a more general treatment of issues surrounding an appropriate and profitable way of facing situations that provoke great fear or anguish.

De Tristitia Christi, in short, culminates the life and prolific literary career of a humanist who cultivated an active interest in poetry, translation, dialogue, epistolography, essays, biography, *declamatio*, history, etc.⁴

In a previous study,⁵ some initial research was carried out on a specific point of More’s language – the use of Latin particles –, not only because this was a wholly unexplored field, but also because the changes that the author made during the process of composition and revision in the only surviving manu-

² Hallet, St. Thomas, viii/ix; Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, 741–743.

³ Martz, Last Address; Malsbary, The Latinity.

⁴ The website of the “Center for Thomas More Studies” (<https://thomasmorestudies.org>) includes a wealth of material for the study of the author, his work, and his times.

⁵ Cabrillana, Latin Particles.

script, that of his *De Tristitia Christi*, had attracted the attention of some scholars.⁶ In addition, a number of those few studies that have addressed More's use of the Latin language, basically in light of his *Utopia*, note an excessive and almost fastidious concern for usage, especially with causal and illative particles.⁷

The framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG),⁸ with its distinction of levels of analysis – grammatical, textual and non-linguistic or situational⁹ – lends itself to work in this area, constituting as it does a potentially useful tool for understanding the contribution of particles to a text. If we understand particles in their function not only of being able to establish relations between the content of various parts of a sentence, but also of (i) contributing to or determining the presentation and organisation of information in the text, and (ii) making visible the interaction and mutual relations between the speaker (the author) and the addressee in a given text,¹⁰ then a new kind of approach to the study of the particularities of More's writing is possible.¹¹

In the aforementioned paper it was only possible to deal with some of the cases of the substitution of certain particles for others; specifically, passages were analysed in which the following substitutions were detected: *sed* for *ceterum* (four times) and for *verum* (one occurrence), plus an example of *sed* replaced by *at*, used in that case only as a comparative counterpoint in one of its minor aspects, and thus leaving pending a more in-depth and global analysis of the whole text in question. It is indeed this example which figures first in the series of texts under examination in the present paper, and which corre-

⁶ E.g., Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More, 755–777*, especially 758.

⁷ Monsuez, *Le Latin*; Surtz, *Aspects*. In a different field, some partial research has been done on translations from Greek to Latin by the English humanist: Jolidon, *Traducteurs*; Rummel, *Friendly Competition*; Rummel, *The Tyrannicide*; Pawlowski, *Mis-translations*; Cabrillana, *Diálogos*, 38–45, and 46–49.

⁸ A general description of this theoretical framework can be found at <http://www.functional-discourse-grammar.org> (accessed 08/02/2023).

⁹ Cf. Kroon, *Latin Particles*, 178.

¹⁰ Clear treatments of this topic can be found in Kroon, *Discourse Particles*; Kroon, *The Relationship*; Kroon, *Latin Linguistics*; Kroon, *Latin Particles*; Rosén, *Coherence*; more partially in Risselada, *Modo* and *Sane*; Risselada, *Discourse Markers*; Risselada, *Discourse Function*; Orlandini, *De la connexion*; Schrickx, *Latin Commitment*. Schrickx offers a fairly comprehensive bibliography on Latin particles online (<http://latinparticles.userweb.mwn.de/> and <https://parerga.hypotheses.org/bibliography-of-latin-particles>; accessed 08/02/2023).

¹¹ Cf. Cabrillana, *Latin Particles*, § II; also the verification of this type of relationship and allusions to it in Martz, *Last Address*, 92, 99; Murphy, *Theo-Drama*; and Gardiner, *The Lessons*, 59.

sponds to the cases that Miller¹² notes as passages where particle substitutions take place.

Having alluded very briefly to the theoretical and methodological approach to be taken here, I will provide (§ 2) some key illustrative concepts from classical Latin. In light of these I will go on to present (§ 3) a number of cases in which More's manuscript reveals the search for the particle that seemed to him to be the most accurate for the function he believed such an element should perform. Each passage here will be contextualised in order to establish the functional level at which a particle is introduced and the role it plays, and I will seek to identify the reasons that may have led the author to make his final choice in each case.

The order of the various cases to be analysed has been established by virtue of the partial similarity between these and their progressive departure from the initial scheme,¹³ so that the following (sub-)sections are proposed:

1. *sed / at*
 - 1.1. *sed > at*
 - 1.2. *sed non > at non*
 - 1.3. *nec > at non*
2. *qua vero > verum qua*
3. *contra vero > contra tamen*
4. *et tamen > immo*

In the presentation of the text – which is followed in each case by the corresponding figure of the manuscript – the word bearing strikethrough font obviously indicates a previous choice of the author, which is replaced by the following one;¹⁴ and where it is necessary to draw attention to other aspects relevant to the explanation of each example – contrast of concepts, similarity of words used at different levels, etc. – other typographical highlights ([double-] underlining, bold, and/or italics) will also be used.

A conclusion will then bring together the most significant general findings from the study.

¹² Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More*, 758f.

¹³ See Cabrillana, *Latin Particles*, § 3.

¹⁴ The manuscript is the property of the Archives of the Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia, Spain: ACCV, Historical, *De Tristitia Christi*), which has granted permission for its use in this paper.

2. Levels of Occurrence and Function of Particles

Prior to the analysis, it will be useful to present some brief illustrative examples of the different levels of the functions of a particle, levels to which I will refer to throughout the paper:¹⁵

- “Representational level”:

(1a) *Gemebant Syracusani, sed tamen patiebantur*

“the Syracusans grumbled, **but** all the same they abided” (Cic. Verr. 2,47)

- “Presentational level”:

(1b) (Palaestrio to his master Pyrgopolinices) *moderare animo, ne sis cupidus. Sed eccam ipsam, egreditur foras*

“get yourself under control, and don’t be too eager. **But** there she is herself, coming out of the house” (Plaut. Mil. 1215)

- “Interactional level”:

(1c) *Heia vero! age dice :: At deridebitis :: Non edepol faciemus*

“Come on, out with it. **But** you two will make fun of me. No, no, upon my word” (Plaut. Epid. 262f.)

(1a) is a common example of the use of a conjunction – in this case an adversative one – by means of which a semantic relation of substitution, correction and/or interruption can be established for the two sentence segments between which it appears; this occurs in one single communicative act or “move”.¹⁶ In

¹⁵ The text and translation in (1a) appear in Pinkster, *Latin Syntax* 2, 684; those of (1b) and (1c) are from Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 86 and 336 respectively. To clarify: the chronological and textual differences between the archaic and classical Latin authors used in this discussion and the Morean prose under study are not ignored, and the use of these texts is justified, above all, in procedural terms. That is, the texts are used as a means of illustrating the concepts and levels that will be addressed in the analysis, as well as the possible values of the particles under study; as we know, comic dialogues constitute a type of text which is particularly appropriate – although not the only one – for demonstrating facts of communicative interaction. On the other hand, the knowledge and use of the classical authors and of the comic poets – in a very singular way – by More, is beyond doubt (cf. Cabrillana, *The Presence*; Cabrillana, *Echoes*, and the bibliographies therein). In addition, Miller’s judgement as to the stylistic link between More and the classics in his commentary on the use of particles is not without eloquence: “on the whole, his writing tends to be hypotactic rather than paratactic, and in this respect, at least, it can be labelled Ciceronian style rather than Senecan” (Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More*, 758); this feature is extremely evident, for example, in More’s letters (cf. Cabrillana, *Cartas I*, 25–29; Cabrillana, *Cartas II*, 33–35).

¹⁶ See Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 69f. A “move” is the largest interaction unit relevant for grammatical analysis and at the same time the minimal independent unit of discourse (Kroon,

this case, we are at the “representational” level, where the primary function of language is to “portray” or represent some (real or imaginary) world which is often, but not necessarily, outside the immediate situation of discourse.

Example (1b) is an illustration of the “presentational” level. This level does not concern the expression – as a linguistic form – of information, but rather the presentation and organisation of information: how to order it, to mark the parts considered more or less central, to elaborate or comment on a certain unit of information, to present new units of information, or to indicate the various ways that they are linked to different relational values, etc. In short, the presentational level captures the fact that the language user imposes an organisation on the language.¹⁷

Example (1c) presents an example of the “interactional” level of discourse, which has to do with the (in)coherence of a discourse unit in light of the conversational exchange that takes place between two or more interlocutors in a particular communicative situation. It tends to be more characteristic of dialogic texts. Although it would not be impossible to find *sed* in a text at this level,¹⁸ far more typical for this function is *at*, another particle than can have an adversative value.

The following scheme by Kroon clearly summarises the various levels and types of relationships to be taken into account in the framework adopted for our analysis:

LEVEL OF DISCOURSE	TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP	
	STRUCTURAL	SEMANTIC-FUNCTIONAL
representational	clause combining	semantic relations
presentational	organisation of the text	rhetorical relations
interactional	conversational structure	interactional relations

Table 1. Analytical framework for the description and classification of “connective” particles (Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 67)

Discourse Particles, 66). These units, as noted above, can be related to each other in various ways.

¹⁷ If we were to individualise the different “moves” that can be seen in (1b), we say that the “central move/act” runs from the beginning of the text to the first full stop (*moderare ... cupidus*), and that from this point onwards there is a transition to a new “move” that breaks with the one that had been developing previously.

¹⁸ E.g., Cic. Cato 65: *At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis* (“But, the critics say, old men are morose, troubled, fretful, and hard to please; and, if we inquire, we shall find that some of them are misers, too. However, these are faults of character, not of age”). Nevertheless, that use of *sed* is relatively rare and restricted to a quite specific type of rebuttal (cf. Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 217, 368).

Although the primary analysis of this paper focuses on cases of the substitution of certain particles, I believe it will be convenient – in addition to what is noted in n. 15 – to provide some examples in which the uses illustrated in (1a)–(1c) also occur spontaneously in the Morean text, without any kind of substitution. In this sense, the existence of examples such as those presented below provides further support for the awareness of the distinction of levels in the author and work under study:¹⁹

(2a) (*Nam verius a Deo sumus qui nos creavit e nihilo quam ab illo qui nos genuit homine / nempe Deo / prius ipsum creante genitorem et omnem illam ex qua geniti sumus creante prius et substernente materiam.*) *Sed sic agnovit Patrem Deum Christus ut homo. Ceterum ut Deus naturalem illum sibi novit et coaeternum Patrem.*

At nec istud absimile veri est ideo bis appellasse Patrem / ut non solum eum sibi naturalem Patrem fateretur in caelo / sed etiam nullum habuisse Patrem alium significaret in terra ...

“(For we come from God, who created us from nothing, more truly that we do from the human father who begot us, since, in fact, God created beforehand that begetter himself and since He created and supplied beforehand all the matter out of which we were begotten.) **But** when Christ acknowledged, God as His Father in this sense, He did so as a man. **On the other hand**, as God, He knows Him as His natural and coeternal Father.

And yet another reason for His calling on His Father twice may not be far from the truth: He intended **not only** to acknowledge that God the Father is His natural father in heaven, **but also** to signify that He has no other father on earth ...” (CW 14-I, 151/1–8)

In the first paragraph, both *sed* and *ceterum*, which appear at the beginning of the sentence, fulfill a parallel function at the presentational level; they are not adversative conjunctions linking different clauses, but rather markers of a change of discourse topic, of the introduction of new information: the shift is from how we speak about God to the knowledge that Christ has of God the Father from the human and divine point of view; the change of subject that accompanies the appearance of both connectors reinforces this. In a different situation – this time at the representative level – is *sed*, which occurs in the correlation *non solum ... sed etiam*, establishing a relationship between two syntactic segments (cf. Gaffiot, Dictionnaire, s.v. *sed* 2,1).

As for *at*, which here begins a sentence and indeed a paragraph, I also believe that it is placed at the presentational level, since it has the role of organising

¹⁹ For a parallel illustration on the use of *immo*, cf. *infra*, § 3.4.

the information while also marking the beginning of a new unit of information: to present another reason, one which is different from previous ones.²⁰

Let us now consider an example – (2b) – where perhaps the fact that *at* operates frequently at the presentational level can be seen even more clearly:²¹ in this case, it neatly marks the presentation of a new unit of information – in contrast to the previously presented view (i.e., “it is not prejudicial to the faith to believe that Christ’s pain was less than of that of some martyrs”) – the view that More himself takes in light of reading the biblical text:

(2b) *Cuius modum ut nemini satis compertum / ita citra praeiudicium fidei credi posse censent infra quorundam martyrum poenam substituisse. At mihi certe praeter vulgatam opinionem ecclesiae quae Hieremiae verba de Hierusalem decenter ad Christum applicat / ... / vel hic locus vehementer suadet ut credam / nullius unquam martyris supplicium / cum passione Christi / ipsa poenarum acerbitate comparabile.*

“And since no one can know this measure with certainty, they hold that it is not prejudicial to the faith to believe that Christ’s pain was less than of that of some martyrs. **But as for me**, apart from the widespread opinion of the church which fittingly applies to Christ Jeremiah’s words about Jerusalem ..., certainly I find that this passage also provides very convincing reasons to believe that no martyr’s torments could ever be compared with Christ’s suffering, even on this point of the intensity of the pain.” (CW 14-I, 231/3)

Let us turn to a case of another of the particles analysed here – *verum* – which does not function as an adversative conjunction but operates at the presentational level:

(3) *Acute quidem ista beatissimus Augustinus ut omnia. Verum qui diversam viam secuti sunt / his opinor non visum probabile / quod Christus ...*

“Subtle indeed this reasoning of the most blessed Augustine, as he always is; **but I imagine** that those of the opposite persuasion do not find it at all likely that, after Christ ...” (CW 14-I, 301/1)

This text begins a paragraph after a literal quotation from Augustine, and does so by commenting on Augustine’s reasoning. The function of *verum* here,²² again at the starting point of the sentence, is not that of an adversative connector (cf. Gaffiot, Dictionnaire, s.v. *verum* 1, 2), but that of marking a reac-

²⁰ A discussion on the interactive use of *at* will be provided below (§ 3.1).

²¹ The non-dialogical nature of the Morean text makes it difficult to observe uses of *at* at the interactional level; in fact, a significant number of the 42 occurrences in *De Tristitia* develop their function at the presentational level.

²² The choice of *verum* by More will be discussed in § 3.2.

tion by More to the possible statements of those who do not agree with the content of the quotation under comment.

3. Analysis

3.1. *sed* / *at*:

- *sed* > *at*
- *sed non* > *at non*
- *nec* > *at non*

(4) *adversus tam immensam animae procurandam frugem / inter tot dispositas pestilentis hostis insidias / in tanto pereundi periculo / non expergiscimur ad orandum / sed somnia speculantes / mandragorae indormimus.*

Sed At *illud nobis assidue memorandum est quod non simpliciter Christus iussit surgere sed surgentes iussit orare. Neque enim sufficit surgere nisi surgamus ad bonum. Alioquin enim haud paulo minus peccet / si quis tempus perderet ignava somnulentia / quam si tempus per malitiam vigilem / sedulo flagitiis impenderet.*

Sed At *nec orare quidem iubet / sed etiam cum orandi necessitate / docet quid orare debebant. 'Orate,' inquit, 'ne intretis in tentationem.'*

“in spite of the immense loss of spiritual benefits, in spite of the many traps set for us by our deadly enemy, in spite of the danger of being utterly undone, we do not wake up to pray but lie in a drugged sleep watching the dream-visions induced by mandragora.

But we must continually keep in mind that Christ did not command them simply to get up, **but** to get up in order to pray. For it is not enough to get up, if we do not get up for a good purpose. If we do not, there would be far less sin in losing time through slothful drowsiness than in devoting waking time to the deliberate pursuit of malicious crimes.

Then, too, He does not merely order them to pray **but** shows them the need for it and teaches what they should have prayed for: ‘Pray,’ He says, ‘that you may not enter into temptation.’” (CW 14-I, 309/1; 309/6)²³

²³ The texts and translations here are from Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, in the Yale edition, although in most cases the spellings of the Latin words correspond to the updated forms to be found in the concordances on the website of the “Center for Thomas More Studies” (<https://thomasmorestudies.org>): <https://thomasmorestudies.org/concordance/> (accessed 08/02/2023). I have preferred not to offer a personal translation so as not to condition the interpretation of the text. Texts will be cited in the usual way when using the Yale edition: in this case, “CW 14-I”, followed by the number of the page on which the text appears and the line of the particle under analysis.

tion as a connecting particle with specific characteristics.²⁸ Thus, contrary to what many textbooks have argued, it is possible that *at* can have an interactional/interactive use (5a), a representational use (5b)²⁹ and a presentational use (5c):

(5a) *eloquere* :: *At pudet*

“Go on, tell me. :: **But** I’m ashamed to” (Plaut. Cas. 911)

(5b) *tempore illi praecepto, at hi numerum avium regnum trahebant*

“... the only party laid claim to the kinship from priority, **but** the other from the number of birds” (Liv. 1,7,1)

(5c) *Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri verbo alius alii varie ad-sentiebantur. At M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententiam huiusce modi orationem habuit: ‘...’*

“After Caesar had finished speaking, the rest briefly expressed adherence to one or another of the various proposals. **But** M. Porcius Cato ... spoke to the following purport: ‘...’” (Sall. Catil. 52,1)³⁰

The first of these examples, which constitutes the interactive use of *at* – the predominant one for this particle –, is more typical of dialogue or dialogical texts. In (5b), *at* is usually understood as a variant of the adversative conjunction *sed*, being stronger than the latter, although this point needs to be clarified.³¹ Alongside this representational use, there is another sphere of action of *at*, illustrated in (5c), in which *at* introduces a change of discourse topic, effecting a presentational, organisational use of the text; this use has a fundamental presence in contexts of monologue narrative discourse, which is essentially the type of text we are dealing with in the present analysis.

In this type of presentational use, it is important to note that the new topic which *at* introduces almost always coincides with a frustration of expectations,³²

²⁸ Certainly, Ogilvie, *Horae Latinae*, 54 was already aware of these particularities, although his claim lacks nuances: “*At* is sometimes used as a particle of transition, but only when surprise or emotion is indicated.”

²⁹ Here I do not explore the fully representative nature of these types of cases or their greater affinity with presentational usages; in any case, the differentiation between the three types is not always absolutely clear and should rather be understood as a distinction of degree.

³⁰ Examples and translations taken from Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 333f.

³¹ Thus, for example, Pinkster, *Attitudinal*, 197, classifies *at* among the “pure connectors”; in turn, in his latest book (*Latin Syntax 2*, 1175) he notes the following: “the typical use of *at* ‘but’ is to mark a strong objection in a dialogical text, in a dialogue, ... However, *at* is also used to mark a sharp contrast in general, ... In Tacitus it is also used as a merely transitional device ...”

³² Cf. Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 351.

be this a strong or weak one, so that its presence may entail the presentation of (very) surprising facts or events, relevant contrasts, sudden or unexpected turns of events, incidents or dramatic pictures: in short, any kind of information that either constitutes or is presented as being particularly striking or surprising in view of the preceding information and context; often, therefore, there is not merely a change of topic – which may not even be necessary – but rather this frustration of expectations. The impression of interaction that can be sensed in most of these uses of *at* on the presentational level³³ is not between characters appearing in the narrative, but between the author of the narrative and its addressee at the moment of sending and receiving the information.

Let us now look a little more closely at example (4) above. More has argued that thinking about small matters, when these are related to worldly realities, keeps us awake, but that when one prays, and despite the enormous advantages of doing so, one falls asleep more easily. At this point in the text, *at* – *At illud ...* – gives way to a certain change of discourse topic and, of course, of the referent and subject of the following sentence: from an implicit *nos* in *indormimus*, we move on to *Christus* to refer henceforth to what Christ advised, and not to what we usually do; he urged us to get up to pray, and indeed not only when getting up or when staying awake. There is, therefore, no conjunctive relation of adversativity between two realities at the same level,³⁴ one in the preceding sentence and the other in the sentence initiated by *at*; rather, there is a change of referentiality, which certainly entails a change in the expectations that the preceding affirmation allows us to establish. In the same way, the second *at* – *At nec ...* – continues with this change of referentiality: in addition to advising Christ to get up to pray, his recommendation includes a clear purpose, that is, to help us not to fall into temptation.

In short, it is a presentational use of the particle, not without a certain emotional force: one gets the impression that with *at*, More wants to spur the reader to consider the routine that (s)he usually follows in prayer. Here, I believe, is the point of union with the pre-eminent interactive value that has been attributed to *at*, and not so much to *sed*.³⁵ Gardiner's observations in this regard are particularly relevant here:³⁶ “Homiletic impulses, didacticism, *awareness*

³³ Not entirely unrelated to its primordial interactional use, as Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 364 shows.

³⁴ Something that does indeed occur through the conjunction *sed* that is present between the sentences *iussit surgere* and *iussit orare*, as well as between *orare quidem tantum iubet* and *docet quod orare debebant*.

³⁵ Cf. n. 26.

³⁶ Gardiner, *The Lessons*, 259 (Italics mine).

of and interaction with its audience, such highly rhetorical literary devices as irony and paradox, *complexity of argument and style*: all these characteristics of *De Tristitia* bespeak a work entirely consistent with the rest of More's life-long dedication not merely to the inner workings of the self but to 'the whole corps of Christendom'.³⁷ However, even though the reason for the lexical *variatio* alluded to at the beginning of the discussion of this example might seem sufficient to justify the substitutions, two scenarios must be taken into account in the explanation proposed here: (i) although a simpler explanation might justify a given choice, this does not imply that other possibilities (that may have been involved in that choice) should be discarded, since this might simplify what is in fact a more complex reality; (ii) it is more than likely that the explanation proposed here is consistent with the fact that More, in this work in particular, will have been very attentive to the lines of reasoning and the concatenation of ideas, and thus will have paid great attention to the use of these particles.³⁸

Let us look at a new case of substitution of *sed* for *at*, in a passage that includes negation:

(6) *Sed haec est hora et potestas brevis tenebrarum. Et qui vadit in tenebris nescit quo vadit / neque vos videtis, neque scitis quid facitis / eoque precabor et ipse, ut, quod in me designatis, ignoscatur vobis. Sed nō At non ignoscetur omnibus / nec omnes excusabit caecitas. Nam ipsi vobis tenebras facitis. Ipsi lumen exstinguitis. Ipsi primum vobis, / post et aliis, / oculos ambos effoditis, / ut caecos caeci ducatis, / donec ambo cadatis in foveam ...*

"**But** it is the hour and the brief power of the darkness. A man who walks in the dark does not know where he is going. You also do not see or know what you are doing, and for that reason I myself will pray that you may be forgiven for what you are scheming to do to me. **But not everyone will be forgiven.** Blindness will not be an excuse for everyone. For you yourselves create your own darkness, you put out the light, you blind your eyes first and then the eyes of others so that you are the blind leading the blind until both fall into a ditch ..." (CW 14-I, 541/5)

³⁷ In another sense, and with regard to the dramatic play that can be perceived in *De Tristitia*, cf. Murphy, Theo-Drama.

³⁸ I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for this observation, and it is indeed consistent with what emerges from Miller's very comprehensive study (Complete Works of Thomas More, 695–785).

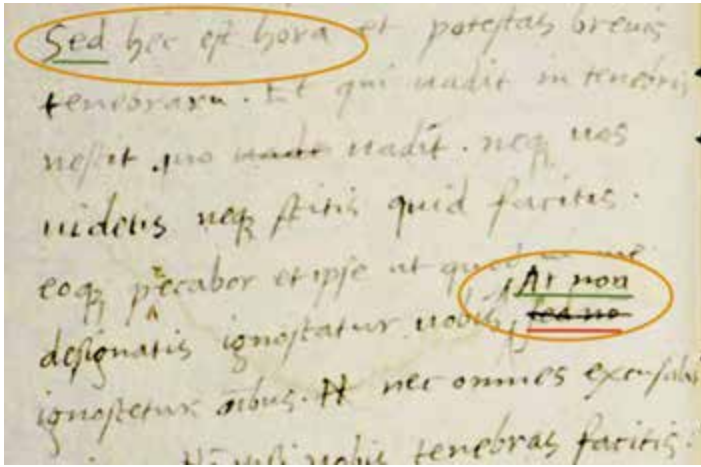


Figure 2, ex. (6): CW 14-I, 541/5

This text is part of a longer speech that More places in the mouth of Christ himself, and in which we can recognise – with greater or lesser formal fidelity – some evangelical expressions.³⁹ One of the most remarkable aspects of this substitution is that *at* expresses more adequately than *sed* an objection and a strong contrast between what is affirmed in the previous context and what appears after *at*:⁴⁰ there is a clear correction of the expectations that may have arisen from hearing from Christ that he will pray for forgiveness for those (*vobis* – you) who plot evil deeds against his person but this will not affect everyone (*omnibus* – not everyone), since the blindness that characterises many people may be voluntary, conscious, and provoked by themselves (*nam ipsi vobis tenebras facitis. Ipsi lumen exstinguitis*); forgiveness is for those who are blind without being fully aware of and/or responsible for this, and who do not realise the consequences of their actions (*neque vos videtis, neque scitis quid facitis*). In addition to this, what is most significant in this example is that the correction is not made on the same sentence level; if this were the case, we would have expected a formulation similar to the following: “I will pray that you may be forgiven **but** I will not [pray] that all may be forgiven”; however, what is presented is a relevant contrast affecting two different levels: “I will pray that you

³⁹ Thus, for example: *Et qui vadit in tenebris nescit quo vadit* (Ioh. 12,35); *neque vos videtis, neque scitis quid facitis* (Luc. 23,34); *ut caecos caeci ducatis, donec ambo cadatis in foveam* (Matth. 15,14).

⁴⁰ Cf. Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, *ad loc.*; and ThLL II, s.v. *at*, 993,11ff.: “particula proprie est *obiciendi*, ..., ideoque maiorem vim (ἤθος vel πάθος) habens quam *sed* aliaeve adversativae.”

may be forgiven. **but** [the reality is that] not everyone will be forgiven ...". That is, the information is (or is presented as) particularly striking or surprising in view of what is expressed in the preceding context, something typical of the presentational use of *at*. On the other hand, the emotional charge of *at* is greater than that of *sed*⁴¹ and this helps to underline the drama of what is being said to Christ's hypothetical interlocutors, i.e., not everyone will be forgiven.

There are two further reasons, albeit of a different nature, which also serve to justify the substitution: (i) as mentioned above, *sed* has already appeared a little earlier, at the beginning of the text selected for the example, so that the repetition of the same connector would be less elegant; (ii) the ThL itself (s.v. *at*, 1001,53–78) presents *at non* in first place among the *iuncturae frequentiores* of this element. We do not have the ThL lemma of *sed*, but the information provided by the OLD on this particle refers to its frequent combination with *enim* (s.v. *sed*, 5) or *tamen* (s.v. *sed*, 6).

As can be seen, the author has thus taken into account variables of different orders and has successfully combined them to achieve an expression that fits the discursive values of the chosen particle, as well as the canons of ornamentation and the lexical models of classical Latin.

Let us move on to the final example we will analyse in which *at* appears as the negated particle, which in this case is chosen instead of *nec*:

(7) *Itaque mortem illam amarissimam / animae ratio voluntati Patris oboediens consentit, ferre / dum (ut hominem se monstraret) corporis eam sensus exhorret. Oratio eius ad vivum utrumque simul expressit: "Pater," inquit, "si vis, transfer calicem istum a me. Verum tamen non mea sed tua voluntas fiat."*

*Nee **At non verbis** tamen ista tam luculenter expressit / quam **factis**. Nam quam non refugerit eius ratio tam horrendum supplicium / **sed** oboediens Patri fuerit usque ad mortem / mortem autem crucis / series passionis edocuit.*

"Thus the reasoning power of His soul, in obedience to the will of the Father, agrees to suffer that most bitter death, while at the same time, as proof of His humanity, his bodily senses react to the prospect with revulsion and dread. His prayer expresses vividly both the fear and the obedience: 'Father,' He says, 'if you are willing, take this cup from me. Yet not my will but yours be done.'

His deeds, however, present this dual reaction even more clearly than *His words*. That His reasoning faculties never drew back from such horrible torture **but** rather remained obedient to the Father even to death, even to the death of the cross, was demonstrated by the succeeding events of the passion." (CW 14-I, 221/5)

⁴¹ Cf. previous note.

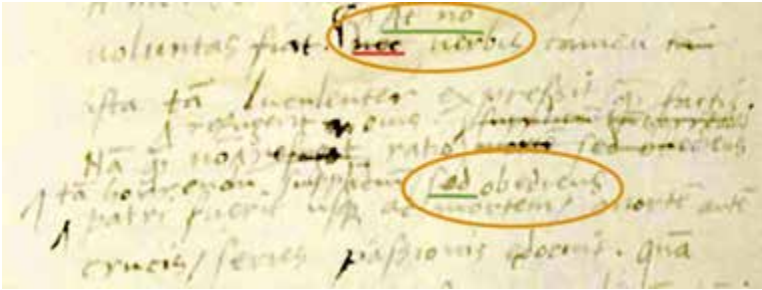


Figure 3, ex. (7): CW 14-I, 221/5

Miller notes that the change from *nec* to *at non* – together with the paragraph separation – contributes to the increased sense of contrast between the preceding section on Christ’s words (*verbis* – His words) and the following one on His deeds (*factis* – His deeds).⁴²

Even if this is true, I believe that what can really be seen here is an interactional use of *at*: direct speech has been reproduced from a character – Christ – who is spoken about, and whose message is taken up by the addressee in a particular way,⁴³ who in this case is the author of the *De Tristitia* himself. There is then a reaction to what has been said by the interlocutor involved – i.e. Christ – so that the sentence which opens with *at* indicates an objection to a previous communicative act or “move”,⁴⁴ expressing the opinion of someone else with a new reactive “move” in the interaction:⁴⁵ it is not so much – or only – the newly reproduced words that evidence the enormously striking attitude of Christ and how this has an impact on the interlocutor, but rather – and fundamentally – the consideration of his way of acting.⁴⁶

The existence of *at non* as *iunctura frequens* has already been mentioned in the previous example. There is no such lemmas (*non*; *nec-neque*) in the ThLL at the moment, but one can turn to the OLD to see the other particles with which

⁴² Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, *ad loc.*

⁴³ Note the translation by Miller: “However, ...”.

⁴⁴ Kroon, Discourse Particles, 66, as mentioned in (1a, n. 16 above), defines “move” as the major unit of interaction relevant for grammatical analysis and, at the same time, the minimal independent unit of discourse; the dependency between discourse units can be of different types: to offer an explanation, a justification, a clarification, a context, etc. Thus, for example, in the text of (5a) there would be two “moves”, each constituted by the intervention of the two interlocutors: *eloquere* :: *At pudet* (“Go on, tell me. :: But I’m ashamed to”, Plaut. Cas. 911).

⁴⁵ Cf. Kroon, Discourse Particles, 334, 344.

⁴⁶ Once again, the search for a lexical *variatio* could not be ruled out; on this alternative, cf. *supra*, commentary on ex. (5).

nec most frequently combines: apart from its known role in various correlations (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 7, 8a/8b), the dictionary reports the occurrence of *neque enim* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9a), *neque vero* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9b), *neque tamen* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9c), *neque quidem* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9d), *neque etiam* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9e) and *neque adeo* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 9f). Moreover, the combination with another negative form is recognised as giving rise to a strongly positive affirmation *nec non* (OLD, s.v. *neque*, 10), and not a negative one, as is the case here.⁴⁷

A final consideration has to do with an issue that arose in the analysis of previous examples: the fact that it appears in a context close to *sed* – in its function as an adversative conjunction at the clausal level – constitutes a further argument for not using the same connector in the place where *at* has been chosen.

3.2. *Qua vero* > *Verum qua*

Having analysed the cases in which *at* was used as a substitute for other possible particles, conjunctions or adverbs, let us now move on to those occasions in which *vero* is used as a common denominator, this time as a substituted element.

(8) *Christus igitur huiusmodi de causis sic orandi salubre nobis exemplum praeiuit. ~~Quia~~ Sed ab ipso tamen longius afuit / talis orandi necessitas / quam caelum distat a terra. Neque enim, qua deus erat / minor erat quam pater. Qua deus erat / sicuti potestas eadem / sic et voluntas / eadem erat cum patre. ~~Qua vero~~ Verum qua fuit homo / potestas infinito minor / sed a Patre tradita tandem omnis ei potestas est in celo simul et terra. Voluntas vero ut non eadem illi cum patre quatinus homo fuit ita patris voluntati sic omnino conformis ut nulla in re dissentiens reperiretur.*

“There are some of the reasons, *then*,⁴⁸ why Christ provided us with this salutary example of prayer, **not that** He Himself was in any need of such prayer—*nothing could be further from the truth*. **For, insofar as He was God**, He was not inferior to the Father. **Insofar as He was God**, not only *His power* but also *His will* was the same as the Father’s. **Certainly, insofar as He was man**, His power was infinitely less, *but* then all power, both in heaven and on earth,

⁴⁷ Consulting other dictionaries of Medieval Latin, Neo-Latin or Renaissance Latin has not provided significant data regarding the particles studied in this paper. On the other hand, this apparent digression on the most frequent possible *iuncturae* is included because it is pertinent to gauge the possibilities of equating *nec* and *at non*: substitution is an *iunctura frequens*, something that does not occur in the case of the substituted particle, which presents other types of common unions. More’s substitution is thus more solidly supported.

⁴⁸ A likely alternative to this translation of Miller, suggested by one of the reviewers of this article, would be “These are some of the reasons, then, ...”.

was finally given to Him by the Father. **And though** His will, *insofar as He was man*, was not identical with the Father's, *still* it was in such complete conformity with the will of the Father that no disagreement was ever found between them." (CW 14-I, 219/1-9)

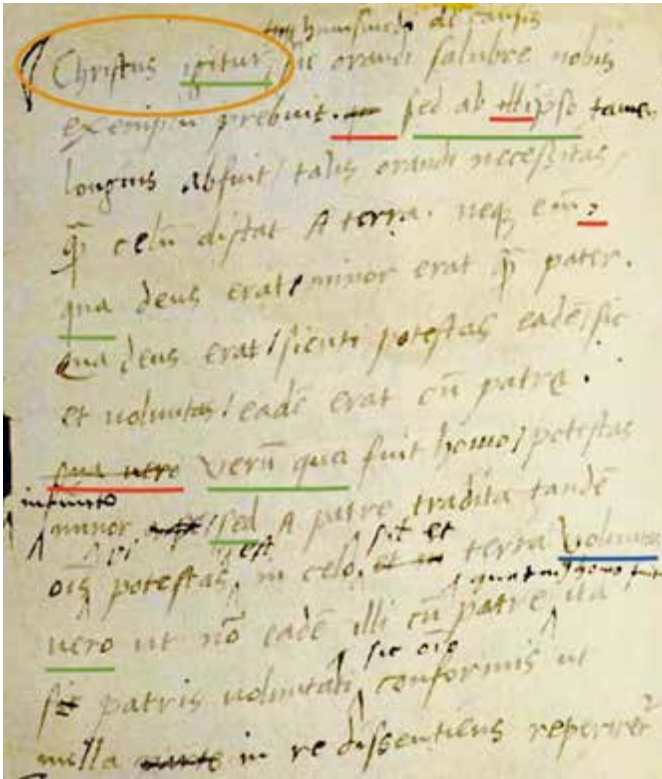


Figure 4, ex. (8): CW 14-I, 219/1-9

As we have said, the use of this example in this part of the analysis is motivated basically by its relative proximity to the type of contexts examined in the preceding section where *at* is the protagonist particle. However, in reality the text in (8) above constitutes a mosaic of particles in play, in which at least two cases of substitution appear in the manuscript. Consequently, it seems far more logical to analyse the various issues here in the order in which they appear.

The initial enclitic *igitur* effects the thematic transition that occurs in the discourse:⁴⁹ the author has been talking about the need for and importance of prayer, especially in difficult times, and now he begins to enumerate certain reasons why Christ wanted to leave us a very concrete and notable example of

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g., Pinkster, *Latin Syntax* 2, 1209.

prayer, such as the prayer said at the Mount of Olives prior to his passion. In the first place, the intention is to make it clear that this prayer was not an unavoidable necessity for Christ, and this is emphasised by the substitution of the probable colourless and neutral *quod*⁵⁰ – whose antecedent would be *exemplum* – for [*sed*] *ab ipso* (note also the substitution of the likely pronoun *illo* for the more emphatic *ipso*); that expression further emphasises the distance which is intended to be placed between Christ's hypothetical need for prayer and his real lack of need for it. The graphic comparison of the distance between heaven and earth, together with the presence of a probably contrastive *tamen*,⁵¹ contribute to emphasise that, in reality, the reason why Christ wished to leave us his example of prayer was not his own need for it.

Then, by means of *enim*, the key element in the argumentation, More will set out a series of facts to prove what he claims, and in doing so will appeal to the approval of his interlocutor/reader in terms of these arguments;⁵² formally, he uses a construction that we might call correlative with *qua*;⁵³ this lemma is not available in the ThL but its frequently attested scope for correlation can be seen in the OLD (s.v. *qua*, 5a and 5b), and perhaps more clearly still in

⁵⁰ That is Miller's conjecture and reconstruction (Complete Works of Thomas More, *ad loc.*). Certainly, other possibilities cannot be ruled out: More might refer to the entire preceding sentence (= *Id. quod*), or he might have had in mind the important clauses with *Qua* that occur immediately thereafter, and might then have realised that he had to add a sentence before he could move to the *qua*-sentences; or he might have had another way of completing the sentence in mind: this is perhaps a case in which the emendation was not added after an entire sentence had been noted down, but one that was made on the spot, immediately after he had written the first word, or had begun to write it down. On the other hand, it is also possible that here – as probably in the cases of (4), (6) and (7) – we are dealing with a text with a second correction: thus, the deletion of *qu-* and *ill-* could have happened at the first stage, and the addition of *tamen* at a second stage; that is, *tamen* could be a secondary addition. However, one expert scholar, Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, 752, thinks that most of the revisions that More made were carried out after he had written a paragraph or even more, thus while he was writing it and not by revising whole sections *a posteriori*. In fact, Miller continues, “the Valencia holograph provides no evidence that he read over and further revised whole sections. It is impossible to say whether some revisions were made during actual composition or at a later time, but many (probably most) of them had to be made at the actual time of writing.”

⁵¹ Cf. Rosén, Coherence, 356.

⁵² Cf. Kroon, Discourse Particles, 171–209. Although due to limitation of space it is not possible to deal with this aspect here, it does not seem necessary to assume – as the ThL does (s.v. *enim*, 573, 18ff.) – that *enim* is sometimes equivalent to consecutive connectors such as *igitur* and *ergo* (“so [that]”).

⁵³ I employ this label here in a general and broad sense, which can be deduced more from certain uses of the word analysed in various dictionaries than from its prevalent use or its true nature.

Lewis – Short, *Lexicon* (s.v. *qua*, IIb),⁵⁴ or in Gaffiot, *Dictionnaire* (s.v. *qua*, 3b).⁵⁵ The desire to continue this correlative structure, in order to give some emphasis to the crucial point in the reasoning and the last element in the structure – turning it into a kind of *tricolon auctum* –, is itself precisely one of the reasons that may have made the writer rethink and replace the initial *qua* *vero* with *verum qua*.

One might ask whether this parallelism in the structure could not be achieved with the original *qua vero*. The most convincing answer has to be no, since this would not achieve the formal parallelism that has been generated, given that *vero* must appear in the enclitic position, and what the author seems to be looking for here is the contiguity of *qua* with essential elements that appear in each sentence, such as the subject and the verb. Let us see this more graphically in the comparison of the two possible schemes:

- (9a) *qua deus erat* / ... *Qua deus erat* / ... *Qua vero fuit homo*
 (alternative possibility)
- (9b) *qua deus erat* / ... *Qua deus erat* / ... *Verum qua fuit homo*
 (Morean text)

It is also striking that the emphasis carried by the third member of the parallelism is accompanied by an inversion in the order of the subject and verb, and a change of verb tense (*deus erat* ... *deus erat* ... *fuit homo*); it is precisely this formula chosen by More that helps in not weakening the contrast introduced between the divine nature of Christ – present in the first two elements of the structure – and the human nature – which emerges in the third.

It is now necessary to mention the fact that the values and uses of *vero* and *verum* are quite different. On the one hand, *verum* is usually equated to *sed* in its frequent use as an adversative connector – and more specifically in the expression of the relation of substitution⁵⁶ –, but this is not the case with *vero*,⁵⁷ at least in its predominant use and value. It is precisely this particle that will appear later in enclitic position with *voluntas*, which led Miller to

⁵⁴ See online: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dqua> (accessed 08/02/2023).

⁵⁵ See online: <https://www.lexilogos.com/latin/gaffiot.php?q=qua> (accessed 09/02/2023).

⁵⁶ Cf., e.g., Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 216; Rosén, *Coherence*, 326 and 356.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 285, 315, 329; she understands and shows (*Discourse Particles*, 309) how the “adversative-connective” use of *vero* is actually to be seen as a side-effect of one of its main functions in discourse, namely the marking of the truthfulness etc. of a content, either objectively or subjectively. Cf. also Pinkster, *Latin Syntax* 2, 1190.

postulate that *vero* gives such a noun a specific emphasis,⁵⁸ and in this he seems to follow the grammatical tradition.⁵⁹ While this much may be true, *vero* might have a much more global role.

On the one hand, its etymological relationship to *verus* may lie in the origins of its function as an objective modality marker (“really, indeed, actually, ...”), one which marks a certain state of affairs, as illustrated (10a) (presentational level), or, even more frequently, as a subjective modality marker (“you can trust on me/I assure you, ...”) of a certain state of affairs, by means of which the speaker’s personal evaluation (of truth, sustainability, adequacy, ...) of the conveyed content is indicated (interactional level), as can be seen in (10b). This indication of subjective modality is situated in the communicative act which takes place between speaker and hearer and indicates a high degree of commitment on the part of the speaker/author to the truth of the communicated content.

Certainly, *vero* as a subjective modality marker does not always have clear boundaries with *vero* as an objective modality marker; both have to do with the evaluation of the propositional content. However, there is an essential difference between them: when *vero* marks subjective modality, it exhibits the additional feature of indicating that the speaker personally assumes full responsibility for the truth of the content of the clause that carries it. The intention is to underline and emphasise the reality (and therefore the acceptability) of what is said by the speaker.⁶⁰ Thus, in the comic text of (10a), the speaker (the young prisoner Aristophontes) wants to make clear that the person who has just spoken,⁶¹ the interlocutor Tindarus, claims that he is not Tindarus (a prisoner slave) but Philocrates (a young prisoner). In (10b), on the other hand, the context and the presence of a first person verb form in the speaker’s direct speech⁶² which has been reproduced provide sufficient evidence – among other reasons – that what is being expressed is the speaker’s opinion as to a concrete fact, that is, he has not heard anyone before say what Cicero has previously mentioned: that the senate should have been called, the people should have been incited, the whole state should have been taken over.

⁵⁸ Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More, ad loc.*

⁵⁹ Cf. Ogilvie, *Horae Latinae*, 55: “*Vero* heightens a previous notion and gives special emphasis to the word after which it is placed.”

⁶⁰ Cf. Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 300–303.

⁶¹ As is well known, this is a case – frequent in Latin comedy – in which a fictitious change of identity is carried out as part of the strategy to achieve a purpose, and also to provide stronger or weaker doses of *vis comica* by virtue of the entanglement that takes place.

⁶² Servilia, with whom the addressee of the letter – Atticus – was friendly.

(10a) *Immo iste eum sese ait qui non est esse et qui **vero** est negat*

“This fellow says he’s the man he isn’t, and says he isn’t the man he **really** is” (Plaut. Capt. 567)

(10b) ... *exclamat tua familiaris, “Hoc **vero** neminem unquam audivi!”*
Ego repressi

“... your friend exclaimed: ‘That, **for sure**, I never heard anyone ...’ I interrupted her” (Cic. Att. 15,11,22)⁶³

If we return again to the Morean text, we see that in the second element in the parallel structure of *qua* a double reality has been introduced: in his divine nature, Christ had the same power and the same will as God the Father (**qua deus erat / sicuti potestas eadem / sic et voluntas / eadem erat cum patre**). In the third part of the parallelism, the consideration of Christ’s human nature is introduced, according to which His power (*potestas*) was less than that of the Father, although such power was given to Him in its fullness by the Father. And now comes the evaluation of the truth that follows from the author’s whole reasoning, in which he commits to the entire acceptability of the claim: that although, as a man, Christ did not have a will (*voluntas*) identical to that of the Father, still – *vero* – his identification with the will of God the Father was total – *ita patris voluntati sic omnino conformis ut nulla in re dissentiens reperiretur*.

I believe it is clear that More assumes the truth of this reality, also in terms of the author’s personal vision and degree of sincerity,⁶⁴ and constitutes a brilliant culmination to the explanation of Jesus’ prayer at Gethsemane, which was previously dealt with.

The occurrence of subjective modality markers such as *vero* is largely compatible with textual moments involving a climax, because of the surprise, importance, controversy, etc. which they can arouse, and/or because of their occurrence in a cumulative chain,⁶⁵ as is the case with the example examined, in which both of these contexts occur.

⁶³ Example taken from Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 300.

⁶⁴ Cf. Rosén, *Coherence*, 359.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kroon, *Discourse Particles*, 313f.

3.3. *Contra vero* > *Contra tamen*

We now address a new case in which *vero* is replaced, this time by *tamen*.

(11a) *Siquidem sui sibi sceleris conscius / verebatur ne sub amici nomine graviter exprobraret christus hostilem eius inimicitiam. Contra vero tamen (ut flagitia fere latendi spe semper blandiuntur sibi) sperabat cecus amentia (quamquam expertus saepe cogitationes hominum christo patere perspicuas / et ipsius quoque proditio attacta fuisset in cena) sperabat inquam demens et oblitus omnium facinus suum / christum **tamen** fefellisse.*

“For, since he was aware of his own crime, he was afraid that Christ used the title ‘friend’ as a severe rebuke for his hostile unfriendliness. **On the other hand**, since criminals always flatter themselves with the hope that their crimes are unknown, he was blind and mad enough to hope (even though he had often learned by personal experience that the thoughts of men lay open to Christ and though his own treachery had been touched upon at the [last] supper), **nevertheless**, I say, he was so demented and oblivious to everything as to hope that this villainous deed had escaped Christ’s notice.” (CW 14-I, 405/2)

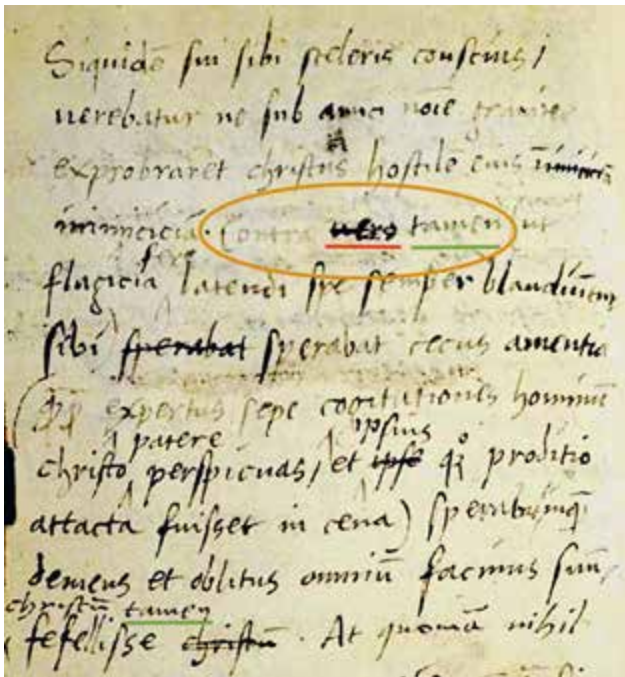


Figure 5, ex. (11a): CW 14-I, 405/2

If we take into account what has been said about the pre-eminent use of *vero* in the previous example, it does not seem that this is a use similar to the one previously claimed for this connector. That is, I do not think that in the present case we could identify in *vero* an interactive use in which the speaker's commitment to the truth of what he expresses is made known. A crucial context is that it appears in combination with another word – *contra* – which functions here as an adverb and which is what basically provides the notion that the translator renders with the expression “on the other hand”, in line with the corresponding entry in the OLD, s.v. *contra*, 8.⁶⁶ Along with this, it must be taken into account that while the sequence *contra vero* is relatively frequent, *contra tamen* is very rare.⁶⁷ Finally, looking at all the factors to be considered in the analysis of this expression, we might note that no lexical correspondence of *tamen* appears in the translation, despite the fact that Miller is usually quite careful in dealing with the various connectors and particles. Miller himself is puzzled by the substitution *vero* > *tamen*, especially if we bear in mind that *tamen* appears later – almost at the end of the sentence –, in what Miller considers its “perfectly normal” use.⁶⁸

Miller's explanation suggests that perhaps More was influenced by the fact that “*tamen* is almost always adversative ..., while *vero* is very often emphatic”. The fact is that the values of *tamen* are varied, and, among them, the concessive value has considerable weight.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the role of *tamen* as a reinforcement of an assertion or, perhaps even more so, of a contrast, is beyond doubt.⁷⁰

As a hypothesis, I propose that in this case there is a succession of two adverbs (*contra* + *tamen*) which, on the one hand, constitute a rare combination, and indeed for this very reason can exert a stronger effect on the interlocutor-reader. On the other hand, and more significantly, *tamen* would reinforce the surprise that we feel on reading the reasoning that More attributes to Judas, who is disconcerted by Christ's friendly reaction after receiving the kiss of his betrayer, as appears in the context immediately preceding the example reproduced above: ‘*Amice inquit ad quid venisti? Proditor ad amici nomen animo pependit ambiguo* (“Friend, why have you come? When he heard himself called ‘friend’, the traitor was left hanging in doubt”, CW 14-I, 403/10f.). Thus, on hearing these words, Judas, on the one hand, experienced the fear that

⁶⁶ Cf. also Pinkster, *Latin Syntax* 2, 1188.

⁶⁷ Cf. Th1L, s.v. *contra*, 742,59–63, 67f.; Rosén, *Coherence*, 340.

⁶⁸ Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More*, *ad loc.*

⁶⁹ Cf. Spevak, *Tamen*.

⁷⁰ Cf. Pinkster, *Latin Syntax* 2, 1188f.

Christ had used “friend” precisely to reproach him severely for his real enmity. But on the other hand, and despite this first thought, what Judas also understands, curiously enough, is that his crime could have been hidden from Christ. According to this hypothesis, the author’s way of proceeding would be consistent with the previous context and, above all, with what is expressed at the end of the text and in its continuation:

(i) In the last part of the text an account is given of Judas’ blindness, of his folly in reasoning thus, although he had witnessed – even in his own person – that the thoughts of men were patent before Christ: *sperabat inquam demens et oblitus omnium facinus suum / christum tamen fefellisse*; hence the use of *tamen*, which, with its position, in principle might be expected before *sperabat inquam* according to Miller,⁷¹ and in this case indeed renders it with “nevertheless”.

(ii) More goes on to explain Christ’s next step, which reveals the harsh reality, so that Judas could no longer be confused and thus would have an opportunity to repent: *‘Iuda osculo filium hominis tradis?’* (“Judas, do you betray the son of man with a kiss?”, CW 14-I, 407/2).

There are also examples of this combination in More’s text which do not arise from substitutions, but appear fluently from the writer’s pen and once again show the degree of his naturalness in expressing the communicative particularity of the particles in a precise way. In the following text, More presents a reality that contrasts surprisingly with the previous one. Thus, Christ has advised those who follow him to turn away from persecution if it comes, in order to preserve their lives and to be able to continue doing that which is good: this is what many apostles and martyrs have done, until the arrival of the moment reserved for them by divine Providence for their passage to the next life. However, in contrast to and despite the above, it is no less true that there have also been those who have publicly expressed their faith and offered themselves to martyrdom without being required to do so; this can be explained because divine wisdom has different plans for each person and knows how to bring out the best in every moment of every situation:

(11b) *“Si persecuti vos” inquit “fuerint in una civitate fugite in aliam”. Hac indulgentia et cauto prudentis magistri consilio / nullus apostolorum fere / nullus fere tot postea saeculis illustrissimorum martyrum / non aliquando servavit vitam / et in tempus quod occulta Dei providentia magis providit idoneum /*

⁷¹ Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, *ad loc.*

*cum sua et aliorum numerosa fruge produxit. **Contra tamen** interdum fortes athletae fecerunt / ut ultro se Christianos proderent quum nemo quaereret / ultro se offerrent ad mortem / quum nemo posceret.*

“‘If you are persecuted in one city’, He says, ‘flee to another’. This permission, this cautious advice of a prudent master, was followed by almost all the apostles and by almost all the illustrious martyrs in the many succeeding centuries: there is hardly one of them who did not use it at some time or another to save his life and extend it, with great profit to himself and others, until such a time as hidden providence of God foresaw was more fitting. **On the other hand**, some brave champions have taken the initiative by publicly professing their Christianity, though no one was trying to discover it.” (CW 14-I, 65/2)

The above discussion of *tamen* serves as a transition point, leading us to address the final case of substitution to be addressed in this paper.

3.4. *Et tamen > Immo*

(12) *Neque tamen affirmem / cogitationem quamlibet / etiam si turpem et perquam horribilem quam precantibus nobis vel malus obicit genius / vel que sensuum nostrorum phantasmate fabricata surrepit / protinus esse mortiferam / si modo renitimur et repellimus / **ceterum alioqui** vel admissa libenter / vel diu permissa neglegenter crescere / non dubitem profecto quin pondus eius possit ad animae perniciem et mortem ingravescere.*

Et tamen Immo *quum divinae maiestatis immensam gloriam cogito / protinus profecto subigor atque impellor credere etiam breves istas abductiones animi / quod non sunt capitalia crimina / id adeo magis ex Dei miserentis benignitate procedere / per quam dignatur ad mortem non imputare / ...*

“**Nevertheless**, some ideas may be suggested to us during our prayers by an evil spirit or may creep into our imaginations through the normal functioning of our senses, and I would not assert that any one of these, not even if it is vile and quite horrible, must be immediately fatal, so long as we resist it and drive it away. **But otherwise**, if we accept it with pleasure or allow it through negligence to grow in intensity over a long period of time, I have not the slightest doubt that the force of it can become so aggravated as to be fatally destructive to the soul.

Certainly, when I consider the immeasurable glory of God’s majesty, I am immediately compelled and forced to believe that if even these brief distractions of mind are not crimes punishable by death, it is only because God in His mercy and goodness deigns not to exact death for them, ...” (CW 14-I, 139/4–141/3)

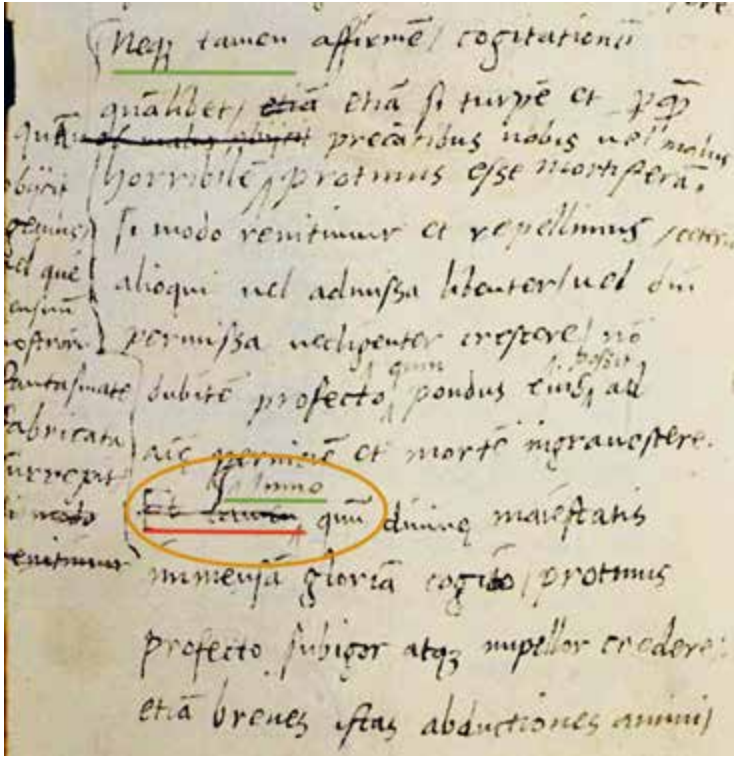


Figure 6, ex. (12): CW 14-I, 139/4–141/3

As in the previous cases, let us contextualise this passage, in which a certain constellation of particles can also be observed, as a means of interpreting the factors involved in the substitution that has taken place.

More is discussing ways of praying: in any of these, words must be accompanied by thought. It is certainly possible to pray well while doing other things – for example, going for a walk – but in addition to this, it is highly desirable to devote specific moments to one’s conversations with God. It is nothing new to find that there are distractions when praying, and this dissipation of mental processes is something that grieves More: *verum enimvero mentis ista vagatio / quoties eam cogito / animum mordet misere* (“But of this much I can assure you:⁷² every time I think about this mental wandering, it vexes and plagues my mind”, CW 14-I, 139/1f.).

⁷² For this way of interpreting and translating *verum enimvero*, cf. the explanation relating to example (8): *qua vero* > *verum qua*.

It is in this context that our text begins, one which, as in the analysis of the previous example, starts with *tamen*, in this case negated. This way of linking paragraphs effectively serves to indicate a concessive relationship between the content of what has just been expressed and what is now to be presented: although it is understandable that there are distractions due to the natural functioning of the senses, we must not lose sight of the fact that these can also be provoked by the devil. The translator has chosen the same word for this as in the previous text: “nevertheless”. Thus, in this case we are dealing with a textual connector, not a sentence conjunction.

The case with the following element, highlighted in the Latin text, is different. More has just said that there is no serious fault if such distractions occur, of whatever kind they are, if they are rejected, **but** if they are not – that is, if they are not fought against and are allowed to take shape – he is quite sure (*non dubitem profecto*) that their strength can increase to the point of being very harmful to the soul; this adversativity, which I understand to be situated at the sentence level, is articulated through *ceterum alioqui*,⁷³ and the translator provides a good example of this distinction – adversativity in the broad sense at the discourse level as opposed to adversativity at the sentence level – by choosing a different formula from the previous “nevertheless”: “but otherwise”.

This brings us to the case of the substitution of the particle *et tamen* > *immo*. What More is going to develop from this connector constitutes a further step in the development of his certainty regarding what happens with distractions of this type: if they are not a punishable offence, this is due to the goodness and mercy of God, since, in themselves, they are motivated by a greater or lesser lack of faith.

The very formal expression chosen by the author is evidence of this growing certainty: from a *ceterum alioqui ... non dubitem profecto* to a series of three verbs – also in the first person – preceded by the use of *immo*, which we will comment on below, and with the repetition of the intensifying adverb *profecto*,⁷⁴ the effect of which reinforces the alliteration created by *protinus*: *Immo ... cogito / protinus profecto subigor atque impellor*.

That “further step”, which I understand to be present here and which is evident in the formal structure and the lexicon itself, would have been weakened and even blurred if More had repeated the *tamen* that begins the example; for this reason, among others, it is corrected in the manuscript. Moreover, the value

⁷³ The ThL (s.v. *alioqui(n)*, 1596,66, and s.v. *ceterus*, 972,52) considers these two words synonymous.

⁷⁴ Cf. OLD, s.v. *profecto*, 1: “without question, undoubtedly, assuredly”.

of *immo*, being complex and somewhat polyhedral, seems to fit particularly well with what the author seeks to express here.

Thus, on the one hand, and according to Orlandini,⁷⁵ one of the functions of *immo* would be to provide a correction-rectification of what has gone before; the correction that *immo* can introduce often implies the substitution of a previous statement with new, more complete or precise information.

On the other hand, when the particle lacks a clear adversative nuance, it can have a rather assertive use, as proposed by Melchert,⁷⁶ and this is what the translator seems to reflect with greater weight here.

Thirdly – and this aspect is especially decisive –, as well as a connector, *immo* can function as a focalising particle, and within the various types of focus in the Functional approach we are following, it can provide an expanding focus,⁷⁷ which can be related to an elative⁷⁸ nuance of *immo* or “interprétation surenchérisante”, in Orlandini’s expression,⁷⁹ since in this case the previous proposition is not invalidated, but rather a type of information is added which was previously lacking. König calls this type of particle an “additive focalising particle”,⁸⁰ since it adds a set of alternatives which are ordered according to an increasing scale in terms of semantic strength, and thus can be considered an additive-scale.

I believe, therefore, that in this example we are dealing with a case in which *immo* (i) has an amplifying value, in the sense that it completes information that was not in the preceding context, (ii) it has an assertive function, and (iii) it has a focalising role, specifically as an expanding focus; these three aspects converge, that is, they are compatible.

Perhaps it might have been expected that the translation of *immo* would have used an expression with even more force than “certainly”, but if this adverb is understood as emphasising the notion that what the speaker says is certain, the value of the particle seems to be well reflected in Miller’s translation.

⁷⁵ Orlandini, De la connexion.

⁷⁶ Melchert, Hittite *imma*, 184–205.

⁷⁷ This type of focus can occur when the speaker presupposes that the addressee has certain correct information, but that it is not complete, so that the speaker makes known this specific part of the information which he/she knows and understands to be relevant to the addressee; cf. Dik, *The Theory*, 330.

⁷⁸ In the sense of a certain superlative degree; as we know, some adjectives and adverbs lexically denote the extreme degree of a property, as in “extraordinary” or “abominable”: it is this variety of the absolute superlative that is called elative usage.

⁷⁹ Orlandini, De la connexion, 268.

⁸⁰ König, *The Meaning*, 32–43.

This seems, finally, an appropriate place to provide one more example of *immo* which does not arise from a substitution but from a spontaneous use of the particle by More himself, as was the case above, examples (2a), (2b), and (3), to illustrate a similar situation in *ceterum*, *verum*, (*contra*) *tamen*, and *at*:

(13) *Etenim quisquis in caelo prefertur / ei non alius invidet / imo quilibet potius / propter amorem mutuuum cuiusque gloria fruitur ...*

“And even if someone does have a higher place in heaven, no one envies him for it – **quite the opposite**, everyone enjoys the glory of everyone else because of their mutual love ...” (CW 14-I, 239/9)

What *immo* entails here could be paralleled to what was suggested to explain its occurrence in the preceding example: it completes information not present in the previous context with a clearly assertive function (see the negation *non alius* in the first sentence), and, from the communicative point of view, does so in an enhanced way; in this sense, both the punctuation and the translation (“quite the opposite”, “everyone ... of everyone”) proposed by Miller seem quite eloquent.

We have come to the end of the analysis of cases of particle substitution in More’s work that the present study has set out to examine.⁸¹

4. Conclusions

In the above analysis of the various texts considered I have presented some specific conclusions. In what follows, I will seek to draw from these a number of broader observations.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the contribution made by Functional Discourse Grammar to the field of particles is really operative in the identification of the functions of such particles and, therefore, in the specific choice of these. The consideration and distinction of the representational, presentational and interactional levels is key to this, and has made it possible to qualify, vary or complete in a decisive way a number of descriptions or explanations that have previously been made on this issue. In the present study, it has become clear that it is necessary to analyse the use of particles in the context of both broader and narrower contexts, towards a better identification of their true value.

⁸¹ Cf. note 5; as stated in § 1, the examples analysed in these investigations correspond to those listed by Miller, Complete Works of Thomas More, 758 as cases of clear particle substitution in the Morean manuscript.

The way that certain particles work at the interactive level provides a special account of the dialogue and interrelation that More establishes on many occasions with the reader or with a potentially fictitious interlocutor.⁸²

The use in the analysis of criteria drawn from a functional approach to language has therefore been decisive in arriving at results that are clearer and more in line with the reality of the author's true intentions than those that have been proposed so far; however, a careful examination also reveals that a fairly complete network of purposes and motivations play a role in the choice of a specific option. Thus, a series of formal and stylistic criteria, such as the search for parallels, *variationes*, lexical choices that avoid inelegant repetition and/or confusion of levels of functioning, the selection of more surprising *iuncturae*, focalising reinforcements by means of resources such as alliteration, etc., also have their own weight – which varies according to each case – and their specific function.

In short, More's selection of particles is not evidence of excessive, annoying or unmotivated writerly caprice, as has sometimes been assumed,⁸³ but of a profound knowledge of the resources of the Latin language in this area, as well as remarkable care in the elaboration of what would be his last literary work, at a difficult moment in his life and at a point of great maturity in his work as a writer.⁸⁴ The correct understanding of the message that the author wanted to convey at each moment, with the expression of more relevant nuances, is also made possible through the choice of the most appropriate particle for a given context.

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⁸² In this respect, the vocatives that appear, for example, in CW 14-I, 113/8 (*lector*), or in CW 14-I, 197/8 (*bone vir*), are eloquent.

⁸³ Cf. Surtz, *Aspects*, 97; Miller, *Complete Works of Thomas More*, 758.

⁸⁴ I think it is not an overstatement – as one of the reviewers suggests – to suppose that More, as one of the most sensitive readers and writers of Latin in the 16th century, would have developed an intuitive knowledge of this reality – i.e., Latin particles operating at different levels – which more recent analyses have brought to light through readings of the ancients.

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