

# How much syntactic complexity could sixteenth-century Welsh cope with? The case of Maurice Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595)

## Zusammenfassung

*Der Aufsatz untersucht syntaktische Strukturen in Maurice Kyffins Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr ‚Verteidigung des Glaubens der Kirche Englands‘ (1595) hinsichtlich der Varianz ihrer Komplexität. Er versteht sich damit als ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung von Methoden und Kriterien für eine syntaktische und stilistische Analyse frühneukymrischer Prosa. Deffynniad Ffydd ist eine Übersetzung von John Jewels lateinischer Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae, die Kyffin unter Berücksichtigung von Lady Anne Cooke Bacons englischer Übersetzung anfertigte, was vor zusätzliche methodische Probleme stellt. Hier wird jedoch kein Übersetzungsvergleich im Hinblick auf die Umsetzung des Ausgangstexts unternommen, sondern die syntaktische Form des kymrischen Texts wird als eigenständige Leistung betrachtet und analysiert. In einer ersten Mikrostudie wird dabei ein qualitativer Ansatz mit syntaktischen Detailuntersuchungen ausgewählter Sätze verfolgt. Dieser wird in einer zweiten Mikrostudie durch einen quantitativen Ansatz ergänzt; dabei werden Sätze aus gleichmäßig über den Text verteilten Passagen hinsichtlich ihrer Länge und der Anzahl ihrer subordinierten Phrasen ausgewertet. Kyffins teilweise hierarchisch sehr gegliederte Syntax und sehr langen Sätze zeigen, dass Übersetzungen ein mögliches Sprungbrett für die Ausbildung syntaktisch komplexer Sätze im Frühneukymrischen waren.*

## Background to the research question and to Maurice Kyffin's *Deffynniad*

In 1849, the Welsh cleric and grammarian Thomas Jones Hughes boldly spoke ‘of the Welsh [language] as ill-adapted to express complex relations’ (HUGHES 1849: 204), thinking in particular of ‘all sentences, which contain a succession of subjects connected together by means of relatives, [which] seem abhorrent to the language’ (HUGHES 1849: 203). In exemplification, he gives the following sequence of what would now be described as recursive relative clauses, that is, relative clauses embedded in other relative clauses, in

[...] a paragraph recently in the papers relating to a lamented nobleman lately deceased, who is described as one ‘whose ardent patriotism and un-

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compromising honesty were only equalled by the persevering zeal and extraordinary talents, *which* called forth the grateful homage of those *who*, in erecting this memorial, pay a heartfelt tribute to exertions, *which* prematurely brought to the grave one *who* might long have lived the pride of his native country.' (HUGHES 1849: 203)<sup>1</sup>

He concludes: 'A translator, it is possible, would find a difficulty in rendering the above into intelligible Welsh' (HUGHES 1849: 203). He attenuated his statement, however, writing that '[a]t the same time we feel bound to bear testimony, that we do not think the language has been sufficiently tried' (HUGHES 1849: 204). His linguistic standard was the language of the early-modern Welsh Bible and this will have shaped his syntactic and stylistic preferences.<sup>2</sup>

It needs to be kept in mind that Hughes was thinking of a specific form of syntactic complexity, which involves subordination with relative clauses. In 1929, W. J. Gruffydd pointed to the expression of complex syntactic relations already in sixteenth-century Welsh translations, referring, however, to a different form of syntactic complexity, the one realized in the periodic style. He suggested that this style came to Welsh through translations from English and that *Perl mewn Adfyd*, Huw Lewys' 1595 translation of Miles Coverdale's *A Spyrytuall and moost Precious Perle*, shows this development very clearly.<sup>3</sup> Thomas PARRY (1953: 167) similarly highlighted the penchant of Welsh writers of the Renaissance for complex multi-part sentences ('brawddegau cymhleth cymalog'), which he explained in more general terms through the influence of Cicero. He quotes a long sentence, of about 110 words, from Lewys' own introductory paratext addressed to the Christian reader, and concludes that

<sup>1</sup> An internet search yields clippings from the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* of April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1849, and from the *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin) of April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1849, which quote this passage as part of the inscription on a monument to be erected in Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, in memory of Lord George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, who died in 1848.

<sup>2</sup> HUGHES (1849: 144) wrote: 'we feel confident, that the great majority of Welshmen will agree with us in adopting the text of the Welsh Bible, as the basis on which pure Welsh prose must be formed. It is for this reason that many of our illustrations will be taken from the text of Scripture, because we know of no other book of any magnitude in the Welsh language we can safely adopt as a criterion in such matters, and because we know of no recent author, possessed of so thorough an acquaintance with the ancient British tongue, as those learned divines and scholars who were successively engaged in forming and correcting our Version of the Scriptures, till it reached its present form'. For a brief introduction to Thomas Jones Hughes and his 'Essay on the Principles and Laws of Welsh and English Syntax', see POPPE *forthc. a*.

<sup>3</sup> See GRUFFYDD 1929: xxxvii: 'Daeth yr arddull [periodig] hwn i'r Gymraeg drwy'r cyfieithiadau o'r Saesneg, ac y mae'r *Perl mewn Adfyd* yn dangos y tyfiant yn eglur iawn' ('This periodic style came to the Welsh language through translations from English, and *Perl mewn Adfyd* shows the development very clearly').

complex and at the same time comprehensible sentences constitute the most obvious contribution of the Renaissance to Welsh prose.<sup>4</sup>

In this article, I will explore syntactic complexity in another Early Modern Welsh translation, Maurice (Morris/Morys) Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* 'A Defence of the Faith of the Church of England', published in 1595. According to the title page and Kyffin's address to the reader it was translated from the Latin of John Jewel, and this would make Bishop Jewel's Latin *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, first published in 1562, its source. As I show elsewhere (POPPE *forthc. b*), however, there are a number of significant correspondences between the Welsh text and Lady Anne Cooke Bacon's English translation of the *Apologia* – *An Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande*, published in 1564. I therefore suggest that Kyffin also referred to this English version in the process of translating. There is a further, earlier English translation of the *Apologia*, published in 1562, but characteristic innovations shared by Bacon and Kyffin indicate that it is Bacon's translation which was Kyffin's second source. It needs to be stressed that there is clear textual evidence that Kyffin used Jewel's Latin *Apologia* as well. His Latin competence is not in doubt, since he had translated Terence's comedy *Andria* into English prose, having earlier attempted a translation into English verse.<sup>5</sup> The use of support translations together with the original was not unusual in the Early Modern period and later. RHODES, KENDAL & WILSON (2013: 46) point to Early Modern English examples, to George Chapman, the English translator of the *Iliad*, whose 'source text was the parallel Greek-Latin edition of Spondanus', and more generally to 'a great many translators, including the prolific Philemon Holland, who worked from multiple translations alongside an original-language edition'. They also highlight that '[t]he practice is again validated by Bible translation, where hybridity of material is held to be a guarantee of the end product' (RHODES, KENDAL & WILSON 2013: 46).<sup>6</sup>

John Jewel (1522–1571) has been described as 'an ecclesiastical commissioner, Bishop of Salisbury, member of the House of Lords, justice of the peace, and one who had the confidence of trust of the chief persons of the realm' (BOOTY 1963: 7).<sup>7</sup> His *Apologia*, as its title indicates, is an exposition and defence

<sup>4</sup> See LEWYS 1929: [xxi]: for the passage quoted by Parry, and PARRY 1953: 167: 'Y mae adeiladu brawddeg fel hyn, gymal ar gymal, â chyflawnder o eiriau, a chan gadw'r ystyr yn llathraidd olau trwy'r cwbl, yn un o gyfraniadau amlycaf y Dadeni i ryddiaith Gymraeg' ('Constructing sentences like this, clause on clause, with plenty of words, but keeping the meaning altogether brilliantly clear, is one of the most obvious contributions of the Renaissance to Welsh prose').

<sup>5</sup> See RHODES, KENDAL & WILSON 2013: 432.

<sup>6</sup> Two further Welsh examples are Huw Lewys' *Perl mewn Adfyd* (1595) and Morgan Llwyd's versions of two works of Jacob Boehme, *Y Disgybl a'i Athro* and *Yr Ymroddiad*, both published in 1657; all three are based on English translations of works originally written in German.

<sup>7</sup> On Jewel, see BOOTY 1963; in the present context, Jewel's positive assessment of

of the tenets of the Anglican Church; it sets out to give (and I quote here Lady Anne Cooke Bacon's translation):

[...] an accoumpte of oure faith in writing, & truely and openly to make aunswere to those things wherwith wee haue ben openly charged, to thende [sic] the worlde may see the partes and foundations of that doctrine, in the behalfe whereof so many good men haue litle regarded their oune lyues. And y<sup>t</sup> al men may vnderstand what manner of people they be, and what opinion they haue of God and of Religion [...]

(BACON 1564: [15])<sup>8</sup>

This quotation already gives a first impression of the layered syntax of the English version and, indirectly, of the Latin original, which it closely follows.

Maurice Kyffin (c. 1555–1598) was a layman, a writer, and a civil servant. He was appointed surveyor of the muster rolls to the English army in the Netherlands in 1588 and deputy-treasurer of the forces in Normandy in 1591. From 1596 until his death, he was comptroller of the musters to the army in Ireland. Besides the translations of *Andria* and the *Apologia*, he wrote poetry in Welsh and English, among the latter a patriotic poem *The Blessedness of Britain* on the occasion of the thirtieth birthday of Queen Elizabeth, which was published in 1587.<sup>9</sup>

As Kyffin states in his address to the reader, his motivation for the translation of the *Apologia* was the perceived lack of 'anything in Welsh (except the book of God's word alone) with any strength of virtue in it, to teach and to guide the unlearned' ('... ddim (onid llyfr Gair Duw 'n vnig) yn y Gymraec, a dim ffrwyth rhinwedd ynddo, i ddyscu ag i hyfforddi yr rhai annyscedig', (KYFFIN 1908: [ix])). His translation was intended to remedy this deficiency by providing 'the substance and the summary of the true catholic faith' ('sylwedd a chrynodeb y Ffydd wir Gatholic', (KYFFIN 1908: [vi])).

Kyffin's reputation in Welsh literary history as translator and stylist was established mainly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1894, Emrys ap Iwan described him, together with his slightly younger contemporary Edward James (1569?–1610?), whose English version of the *Two Books of Homilies* of the Anglican Church was published in 1606, as the two most outstanding Welsh translators and praised their skills in translating long compound sen-

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Cicero and Ciceronian rhetoric mentioned by BOOTY 1963: 9 is instructive. For a detailed and instructive discussion of the style of Jewel's English sermons, see WEISER 1973.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers in square brackets refer to the images of the digital facsimile available through Early English Books Online on the ProQuest platform. For the corresponding Latin and Welsh texts, see below.

<sup>9</sup> On Maurice Kyffin and his *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* see, for example, WILLIAMS 1997: 382–3 and MORGAN 2018: 11–15, as well as the chapters by Evans, Olsen, Price, and Williams in EVANS & FULTON 2019 for further contextualisation.

tences.<sup>10</sup> In 1908, Edward Edwards included excerpts from Kyffin's *Deffynniad* in his *Clasuron Rhyddiaith Cymru*, an anthology of 'classic' Welsh prose works, and comments that with regard to style and syntax its Welsh will be acknowledged by everybody who can judge it as among the best Welsh that was ever written.<sup>11</sup> In the same year, William Prichard Williams edited a reprint of the *Deffynniad* with a long introduction. He, too, praised Kyffin's language and style, but voiced some qualms about his syntax, which, he said, is often faulty and un-Welsh.<sup>12</sup> Relevant indications he noted are noun-initial sentences, i.e. the so-called 'abnormal order' with agreement between subject and verb, non-canonical agreement between subject-antecedent and verb in relative clauses, and overt markers in relative constructions.<sup>13</sup> The 'abnormal order' is the dominant pattern in positive main declarative clauses in Middle Welsh and continued to be used well into the Early Modern period.<sup>14</sup> Non-canonical agreement and overt markers in relative constructions have also been frequently

<sup>10</sup> See EMRYS AP IWAN 1894: 10: 'Mi a ddwedis mai Edward James oedd un o'r ddau bennaf o'n cyfieithwyr. Pe dwedaswn mai y fo oedd y pennaf o'r cwbl, y mae arnaf ofn y gwneuthwn gam â'r hen FORUS KYFFIN, cyfieithydd dawnus Diffyniad y Ffydd, o waith yr Escob Jewel ... Yn ei fedr i gyfieithu broddeg hirion, cyfansodd, y mae Morus Kyffin yn gyfartal âg Edward James' ('I said that Edward James was one of the two leading ones of our translators. Had I said that he was the leading one, I am afraid I would have done injustice to old Morus Kyffin, the skilful translator of *Diffyniad Ffydd*, of the work of bishop John Jewel ... In his proficiency in translating long, compounded sentences, Morus Kyffin was on a par with Edward James'). On Emrys ap Iwan (Robert Ambrose Jones) and his views on the Welsh language and its literature, compare, for example, JONES 2000, RHYS 2000: 286, and WALTERS 2000: 368–370.

<sup>11</sup> See EDWARDS 1908: 61: '[...] a chydabyddir gan bawb sydd yn abl i farnu fod ei Gymraeg, o ran dullwedd a chystrawen, gyda'r Cymraeg goreu a ysgrifennwyd erioed' ('... which will be acknowledged by everybody who is able to judge it that its Welsh, with regard to style and syntax, is among the best Welsh that was ever written').

<sup>12</sup> See WILLIAMS 1908: lxxvi–lxxvii: 'Saif rhagoriaeth Cymraeg Maurice Kyffin ar wychter ac urddas ei ymadrodd, ac ar brydferthwch cytbwys mydr ei frawddegau, yn hytrach nag ar gywirdeb ei ramadeg. Y mae ei gystrawen yn fynych yn wallus ac yn anghymreigaidd, ac ni ddeil i'w chymharu â'r chystrawen y 'Bardd Cwsc'—yr llyfr arall a enwir yn gyffredin gyda 'Deffynniad y Ffydd' fel safon rhyddiaith y Gymraeg' ('The superiority of Maurice Kyffin's Welsh rests on the grandeur and dignity of his language and on the splendour of his sentences' balanced rhythm, rather than on the correctness of his grammar. His syntax is frequently faulty and unidiomatic, and it does not bear comparison with the syntax of the *Bardd Cwsc* – the other book which is commonly named together with *Deffynniad y Ffydd* as the foundation of Welsh prose').

<sup>13</sup> See WILLIAMS 1908: lxxvii–lxxviii, lxxvii, with examples.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, RICHARDS 1938: 106: 'Cystrawen gyffredin yw'r frawddeg annormal yn llenyddiaeth y Canol Oesoedd ac yn ein llenyddiaeth ddiweddar, yn enwedig yn y Beibl. Cofier fod y gystrawen yn eithaf 'cywir' a chymeradwy yn y cyfnodau

criticized as ‘traces of translation’ in medieval translations into Welsh, but their status has recently been re-assessed as a marker of register and as a viable functional format respectively.<sup>15</sup>

In 1926, W. J. Gruffydd characterised *Deffynniad Ffydd* as the morning star of Welsh prose, highlighting the naturalness of Kyffin’s language and contrasting it favourably with the learned register of William Salesbury’s 1567 New Testament and William Morgan’s 1588 Bible.<sup>16</sup>

I need to stress at this point that my suggestion that two separate sources underlie Kyffin’s *Deffynniad* will not detract from a positive assessment of its language and style, because the quality of a translation does not depend on the number of its sources and on their languages, but on the ability of translators to avail themselves of the resources of the target language.

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hynny’ (‘The abnormal clause is the common syntax in the prose of the Middle Ages and in our later literature, especially in the Bible. It should be remembered that the syntax is utterly correct and accepted in these periods’). For the frequency of the abnormal order with a nominal subject in a corpus of Early Modern Welsh texts, including Kyffin’s *Deffynniad*, see CURRIE 2000: 208–9.

<sup>15</sup> For a critical assessment of the notion of ‘traces of translation’, see LUFT 2015; for an in-depth discussion of Middle-Welsh agreement patterns, see PLEIN 2018; for relative clauses with overt markers in Middle Welsh and Early Modern Welsh, see PARINA & POPPE *in prep.* and PARINA 2022. The employment of overt markers for non-restrictive relative clauses may well be a new linguistic strategy in Middle Welsh, which exploits an already available native construction; for some suggestions on how to render non-restrictive relative clauses ‘idiomatically’ into Welsh, see MORRIS-JONES 1931: 104. It may be an instructive experiment to ask native speakers for translations of the English sentence given by Hughes and quoted at the beginning of this article.

<sup>16</sup> See GRUFFYDD 1926: 89–90: ‘Nid ydyw’r gwaith hwn [*Deffynniad Ffydd*], o ran iaith ac ardull, yn ddifai o lawer, ond ar wahan i Destament 1567 a Beibl 1588, dyma seren fore rhyddiaith Cymru. Yn y Beibl, Cymraeg y dysgedigion a geir [...]. Er bod ôl y safoni hwn a geir yng Nghymraeg y Beibl, yn naturiol ddigon, ar Gymraeg Morris Kyffin, i drysorfa’r iaith lafar yr aeth ef gan mwyaf am ei ddefnyddiau, ac wrth yr iaith lafar, ni feddylir yma iaith y werin, o angenrheidrwydd, ond iaith gyffredin aelwyd y boneddigion Cymreig, fel y lleferid hi ym Mhowys. [...] Oherwydd hyn oll, y mae idiom Morris Kyffin yn gyfoethach, a’i arddull yn gorffwys yn esmwythach ar chwaeth pob Cymro a’i darlleno nag arddull y Beibl’ (‘With regard to language and style, this work [*Deffynniad Ffydd*] is not faultless at all, but in contrast to the [New] Testament of 1567 and the Bible of 1588, here is the morning star of Welsh prose. In the Bible, we get the Welsh of the learned [...]. Although there is, naturally enough, in Morris Kyffin’s Welsh a trace of this standardization that is found in the Welsh of the Bible, he turned for the most part to the repository of the spoken language for his materials, and by spoken language is not meant here necessarily the language of the folk, but the common language of the home of the Welsh nobility, as it was spoken in Powys. [...] Therefore, Morris Kyffin’s idiom is richer and his style remains more comfortable to the taste of every Welsh person who reads him than the style of the Bible’). For a further brief reference to ‘traces of translation’ in *Deffynniad Ffydd*, see GRUFFYDD 1926: 96.

### *Methodological preliminaries*

Before I turn to the micro-studies of syntactic patterns in Kyffin's *Deffynniad*, some methodological reflections are in order.

My suggestion that Kyffin made use of both Jewel's Latin *Apologia* and Bacon's English *Apologie* when translating complicates the assessment of the assumed source's impact since the possibility of influence from either of the two source texts and of conflicting influences needs to be reckoned with.

The larger methodological framework of my research is 'Descriptive Translation Studies' which insists 'that translations, i.e. target texts, can be and must be considered as texts in their own right as well as reflections or refractions of their sources' (MORINI 2008: 37). Translations therefore are located in, but also contribute to, the receiving textual culture. Their analysis can help us to discover its textual and stylistic norms and options. The question of whether these norms and options are new – recall, for example, the suggestion that the periodic style was an innovation of the Early Modern Welsh period – or already established will then require further comparative work on the basis of micro-studies of individual texts. I therefore consider my research to be a contribution to the establishment of a corpus of such micro-studies which will eventually help to map the syntactic and stylistic options available to Welsh writers and translators in the Early Modern period. Methodologically, therefore, the focus will here not be on a comparison of source and target texts with regard to the details of the transfer of syntactic patterns, as it would be conducted in conventional studies of translational processes, but rather on the analysis of the realization of syntactic patterns within the Welsh target system.<sup>17</sup> This analysis cannot, of course, be undertaken without the occasional consideration of the syntactic patterns present in the source.

Complexity in language, and in syntax, is a difficult and 'complex' concept. For the purpose of this article, I necessarily focus on (syntactic) complexity on the level of *parole*, i.e. 'of a given piece of discourse' (PALLOTTI 2015: 120), not on complexity as a feature of a linguistic system (*langue*) or on comparative, typological, or diachronic aspects of linguistic complexity.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, I am mainly interested in complexity as a stylistic feature which derives from writers' choices in interaction with contemporary rhetorical conventions and ideals. Thus, a 'simple view of linguistic complexity', as advocated by PALLOTTI 2015, will suffice. A helpful general definition of 'complexity' is given by RESCHER (1998: 1): 'Complexity is first and foremost a matter of the number

<sup>17</sup> This approach can be extended productively to the analysis of translators' original introductory paratexts, in order to detect their stylistic preferences when they were not immediately influenced by a source text.

<sup>18</sup> For a survey of such wider perspectives on linguistic complexity, compare, for example, KARLSSON, MIESTAMO & SINNEMÄKI 2008, KUSTERS 2008, GIVÓN 2009, and BISANG 2015, with many further references.

and variety of an item's constituent elements and of the elaborateness of their interrelational structure'.<sup>19</sup> This is specified by PALLOTTI (2015: 118) in application to linguistics as 'structural complexity': 'a formal property of texts and linguistic systems having to do with the number of their elements and their relational patterns'.<sup>20</sup> Finally, promising elements on the level of syntax which can provide measures for such structural complexity will be the number of words, of constituents, and of coordinated and subordinated phrases in a sentence, as well as the patterns of arrangement of main clauses and subordinate phrases relative to each other, including recursion.<sup>21</sup>

The main methodological challenge of discussing syntactic patterns and complexity of any given text, as a reflection of its style, is the balance of quantitative and qualitative statements.<sup>22</sup> For example, the length of sentences and their syntactic complexity is inevitably not uniform in Kyffin's *Deffynniad*, nor in Jewel's *Apologia* or Anne Bacon's *Apologie*. We find both long and short sentences, as well as simple and complex ones (see below).<sup>23</sup> No digital copy of the text exists which is tagged for sentence length, for the number of subordinate clauses, for the number of constituents within a sentence, and for their order. Given the length of the Welsh text, about 45.000 words, an exhaustive manual quantitative analysis is not realistic. Furthermore, such data would still need qualitative syntactic interpretation. In this article, I will therefore try to show the potential of qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to give an, admittedly preliminary, impression of attested syntactic patterns and complexity in Kyffin's *Deffynniad*.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted, for example, by KARLSSON, MIESTAMO & SINNEMÄKI 2008: viii, and PALLOTTI 2015: 120.

<sup>20</sup> Structural complexity will arguably interact with a second form of linguistic complexity, namely 'Cognitive complexity, having to do with the processing costs associated with linguistic structures' (PALLOTTI 2015: 118).

<sup>21</sup> Compare, with slightly different emphases, PALLOTTI 2015: 123–5. These features partly overlap with the criteria for the stylistic analyses of sentences, see, for example, SOWINSKI 1999: 89–101.

<sup>22</sup> Compare, for example, the remarks of GUILLORY 2017: 63: 'This fusion of impressionism and computation has long characterized historical stylistics, which resorted well before the invention of the computer to the strategy of counting words in order to confirm or disconfirm intuitive hypotheses. If the formation of hypotheses depends on intuitions, stylistics perhaps inevitably combines the impressionistic and the arithmetic.'

<sup>23</sup> DAVIES (1995: 69) concludes his brief discussion of Kyffin's translation of Terence's *Andria* with a reference to his *Deffynniad Ffydd*: 'In both works Kyffin displays his sensitivity to variations of style and subject-matter, a sensitivity largely born of a classical awareness of what was rhetorically appropriate in a given situation'.

*Micro-studies I: qualitative*

The first of my two qualitative micro-studies of syntactic patterns in Kyffin's *Deffynniad* uses the sentence of which I already quoted an English fragment above. The full Latin sentence consists of about 180 words and has a tripartite structure. Ignoring for the moment further syntactically lower-ranking constructions, its main message may be summarized thus: In order to avoid the impression that the Anglicans are guilty by remaining silent and because they cannot publicly defend themselves (part 1), for which subsidiary evidence is provided in two syntactically independent sentences in parentheses (part 2), they need to state the tenets of their faith, in order that its doctrines and the activities of its members are properly understood (part 3). As the detailed analysis of the Welsh version will show, a range of complex semantic and syntactic relations are expressed, both vertically in subordinated phrases and horizontally with siblings of units on the same syntactic level.

In the following quotation, a schematic representation of the syntactic layers of the Latin sentence is attempted:<sup>24</sup>

**[part 1]**

Verùm,

ne,

quia ad hunc modum publicè ab illo notati sumus,

tacendo videamur crimen confiteri,

& praesertim quia in publico concilio,

in quo ille nemini mortalium ius esse vult ferendi suffragij,

sententiaeque dicendae,

nisi iurato, addictoque potestati suae,

audiri nullo modo possumus

**[part 2]**

(id enim proximis comitijs Tridentinis nimiùm experti sumus,

cùm principum Germaniae, et liberarum ciuitatum legati & theologi

prorsus ab omni conuentu excluderentur:

neque adhuc obliuisci possumus,

Iulium tertium ante decem annos diligenter cauisse rescripto suo,

ne quis nostrorum hominum in concilio audiretur,

nisi si quis fortè esset,

qui vellet palinodiam canere, & mutare sententiam)

**[part 3]**

vel ea maximè caussa visum est nobis

rationem fidei nostrae scripto reddere, & ad ea,

quae nobis publicè obiecta sunt,

<sup>24</sup> For comparative purposes, I give the corresponding passage from Lady Bacon's English translation in Appendix I.

verè, ac publicè respondere,  
 vt orbis terrarum videre possit, partes, & fundamenta eius doctrinae,  
 cui tot boni viri postposuerūt vitam suam,  
 vtque omnes intelligant  
 cuiusmodi tandem homines illi sint,  
 quidque de Deo & religione sentiant,  
 quos Romanus Episcopus,  
 antequam vocarentur ad dicendam caussam,  
 non satis consideratè, nullo exemplo, nullo iure,  
 tantùm quòd audiret  
 illos à se suisque in aliqua parte religionis discrepare,  
 condemnauit pro haereticis. (JEWEL 1591: 15–16)<sup>25</sup>

But in order that, because we have thus been publicly reproached by him [*i.e. the Pope*], we are not perceived as admitting a crime by being silent, and specifically because in the public Council, in which he does not want anyone among the mortals to have the right to vote or to voice his opinion, unless he has been sworn and bound to his [*i.e. the Pope's*] authority, we cannot in any way be heard (this we learnt only too well from the last session in Trent, when the ambassadors and theologians of the leaders of Germany and of the free cities were completely excluded from the entire convent, nor can we yet forget that ten years ago Julius the Third took precautions in his reply that none of our sort should be heard in the Council, except perhaps to someone who would recant and change his view), for this reason chiefly we decided to give in writing the foundations of our faith and to respond truly and publicly to what we have been publicly accused of, so that the world can see the parts and foundations of the doctrine for which so many good men have sacrificed their lives, and so that all can understand what kind of men these are and what they think about God and religion whom the Roman bishop, before they had been called to explain the reason, without enough consideration, without example, without law, only because he had heard that these disagreed from him and his followers in some aspects of religion, condemned as heretics.

If we take the main clause in part 3, *vel ea maximè caussa visum est nobis*, as our point of orientation and ignore the parenthetical sentences in part 2, the maximal syntactic depth in part 1 is 3, i.e. there are three vertical syntactic layers beyond the level of the main clause, whereas the syntactic depth in part 3 is 6. Syntactic complexity is further enhanced by syntactic siblings, coordinated constructions on the same syntactic level, for example the two clauses introduced by *quia* and *in quo* in part 1 or the two *ut*-clauses and the

<sup>25</sup> It is likely that Kyffin used the edition of 1591 (or the identical edition of 1581) of Jewel's *Apologia*, see POPPE *forthc. b*.

two indirect questions introduced by *cuiusmodi* and *quid* in part 3. Syntactic depth in part 2 is 1 for the first sentence and 4 for the second. Subordinate constructions inserted into superordinate ones add to syntactic complexity, for example, in part 3 the temporal and causal clauses introduced by *antequam* and *quòd* inserted into the final relative clause.

In the Welsh version, this Latin sentence with its parenthetical insert is broken up into two sentences. The first Welsh sentence combines parts 1 and 2 of the Latin and is marked at the end by a full stop and a paragraph break. The second Welsh sentence corresponds to the Latin third part. Contentwise, parts 1 and 2 in the Latin are intimately related and together provide the explanation for the statement of part 3, and this is probably the reason for the rearrangement in the Welsh translation. Overall, the translation follows the argument of the Latin model and most of its syntactic structure, but the development of thought in the three parts of the Latin passage is broken up and left somewhat opaque (see below). Interestingly, Lady Bacon renders the three parts as three separate sentences and assigns a separate paragraph to the first sentence.

I turn now to the internal structure of the first Welsh sentence. The following quotation attempts a schematic presentation of its layered structure and provides an interlinear translation for orientation. Subordinated structures are indented, namely subordinated clauses with a finite verb including relative clauses, non-finite complement phrases, and phrases consisting of preposition plus verbal noun.

Ond

But

gan iddo fal hyn eyn gwneuthyr yn hynod i'r byd,  
*because he [i.e. the Pope] has made us like this known to the world*  
 rhag eyn cymryd yn euog  
*in order that we are not considered guilty*  
 os tewi a wnawn,  
*if we are silent*  
 ag yn enwedig gan na chawn er modd yn y byd gael eyn gwrando  
 mewn cymanfa-Gyngor gyffredin,  
*and especially because we cannot in any way at all get heard in the univer-*  
*sal General Council*  
 lle ni fyn y Pab  
*in which the Pope does not want*  
 fod yn rhydd i neb byw gael adrodd ei feddwl, eithr i'r rhai  
*that any mortal being is allowed to speak his mind, except those*  
 a dyngant ag a'm rwymanth ar gadw ei oruchafiaeth ef:  
*who swear and bind themselves to maintain his authority:*  
 o'r hyn beth ni a gowssom ormod hysbyssrwydd oddi wrth y cymanfa-  
 Gyngor diwaethaf  
*of this matter we had excessive certainty from the last General Council*

a gynhaliwyd yn-rhef *Tridentum*,  
*which was held in Trent*  
 lle y caewyd allan o'r Gymanfa, Gennadeu-vrddol a Difinyddiaid y  
 Twysogion a'r Dinassoedd rhyddion o *Germania*:  
*where the ambassadors and the theologians of the princes and the free cities*  
*of Germany were shut out from the company:*

Ni allwn i y chwaith etto ollwng dros gof

*We cannot yet forget*

ddarfod i *Iulius* y trydydd Pab o'r henw, er ys mwy no Dengmylynedd,  
 wahardd mewn scrifen arbennig, yn-anad dim,  
*that Julius the Third more than ten years ago interdicted in a solemn letter*  
*especially*

na chae neb o'n ffydd ni ei wrando yn y Cymanfa-Gyngor, oddieithr  
 ryw fath ddyn ysgatfydd  
*that nobody of our faith should be heard in the Council, except such a*  
*man perhaps*

a'madawe ag a ddat-droe oddi wrth ei grefydd.

*who departed and turned back from his religion.* [¶]

(KYFFIN 1908: [15] = KYFFIN 1595: 8r)

In the first part of the Latin text, a causal clause is inserted into the negative consecutive clause, resulting in an embedded structure with the subordinator of the first clause immediately followed by the subordinator of the second, *ne, quia* ... (lit. 'in order that, because ...'). This 'stranding' of the subordinator *ne* seems dispreferred in Welsh; Kyffin therefore decided to place the causal phrase, *gan iddo* ..., before the consecutive phrase, *rhag eyn cymryd* ....<sup>26</sup> The latter is further expanded by a conditional clause, *os tewi* ..., on the next lower syntactic level. The causal clause *gan na chawn* ... is a syntactic sibling of the consecutive phrase, i.e. is attached on the same syntactic level. It contains a non-restrictive relative clause, *lle ni fyn* ..., modifying *cymanfa-Gyngor gyffredin*; this relative clause is then expanded by a non-finite complement clause, *fod yn rhydd* ..., which in turn contains a noun-phrase modified by a further restrictive relative clause, *a dyngant* ... So far, the Welsh translation closely follows the Latin text, but avoids the integration of subordinate constructions into superordinate ones in the case of Latin *ne, quia* ... and *quia in publico concilio, in quo* ..., *audiri nullo modo possumus*. This is motivated by the requirement of Welsh syntax that a verbal noun follows a preposition in the case of non-finite constructions, and a finite verb follows a subordinator in the case of finite constructions, as in *gan na chawn* ... This often necessitates the reordering of the constituents of the

<sup>26</sup> For another example of this syntactic strategy, see below; compare furthermore Appendix II, which also gives two Welsh examples of stranded conjunctions.

clause in comparison with the order of the source text.<sup>27</sup> Syntactic depth up to this point is 4, i.e. there are four layers of subordinated constructions.

The Latin main clauses in part 2 provide, in parentheses, subsidiary justification for the claim that the Anglicans cannot get heard in the General Council. They are inserted between the subordinate phrases in part 1 and the main clause in part 3 and remain syntactically independent, schematically: — [1] ( — ) [2] — [3]. The two semantically corresponding Welsh clauses, however, are linked to the preceding context by the initial anaphoric adverbial *o'r hyn beth* 'of this matter' in the first main clause, schematically: — : *o'r hyn beth* — : — . ¶ — . The cola here mark a pause and the different elements of the argument.

The first main clause, introduced by the connective adverbial phrase *o'r hyn beth*, contains two relative clauses, both non-restrictive. These could be analysed as either both modifying *y cymanfa-Gyngor diwaethaf* on the same syntactic level or as recursive, i.e. with *a gynhaliwyd ...* modifying *y cymanfa-Gyngor diwaethaf* and with *lle y caewyd allan ...* modifying *Tridentum*. Syntactic depth will differ according to the preferred reading, 1 (coordinated reading of the relative clauses) or 2 (recursive reading) in the part following the main clause – but this fuzziness does not interfere with processing and comprehension. The next main clause beginning *Ni allwn i ...* contains two recursive complement phrases, non-finite *ddarfod i Iulius ... wahardd* and finite *na chae neb ... ei wrando*. In the latter, the phrase *ryw fath ddyn* is modified by a restrictive relative clause. The syntactic depth is 3.

Kyffin's decision to amalgamate the first two parts of the Latin version results in a semantically somewhat oblique sentence, since especially the consecutive phrase *rhag eyn cymryd yn euog* ('in order that we are not considered guilty') will not connect smoothly with the following clauses with regard to the logic of the argument, as the following reduced translation shows (the cola are taken over from the Welsh original where they separate the different elements of the argument): 'But in order that we are not considered guilty ... and especially because we cannot in any way at all get heard ...: of this matter we had much information ...: We cannot yet forget ...'

I will now turn to the Welsh sentence which corresponds to part 3 of the Latin version, and again provide a schematic representation with an interlinear translation. Since in this case there are no uncertainties about syntactic depth, subordinate clauses and phrases will be numbered according to their syntactic level. Syntactic siblings on the same syntactic level are furthermore now distinguished by subscript numbers.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of similar strategies in the Middle Welsh translation of the Athanasian Creed by Gruffudd Bola in the light of his reflections on translating, see PARINA & POPPE 2021.

Am hynny 'n bennaf dim, y gwelsom yn dda adrodd mewn scrifen, sylwedd  
a hanes, eyn ffydd,  
*because of this chiefly we considered it good to relate in writing the substance  
and history of our faith*

- 1        gan ateb yn gywir ag yn gyhoeddedig, i'r petheu  
          *by answering truly and openly the things*
- 2<sub>1</sub>        a rowd yn gyhoeddedig ag yn gyhuddedig i'n herbyn,  
          *which were brought openly and accusingly against us*
- 2<sub>2</sub>        megis y gallo'r holl fyd weled a gwybod canghau a gwraidd yr  
          Athrawiaeth  
          *so that the whole world could see and understand the branches and  
foundation of this very doctrine*
- 3<sub>1</sub>        a ddarfu i gynnifer o wyr da golli ei hoedleu amdeni:  
          *because of which so many good men lost their lives,*
- 2<sub>3</sub>        a hefyd fal y bo hysbys i bawb,  
          *and also so that it may be clear to all*
- 3<sub>2</sub>        pa fath ddynion a pha beth y maent yn eu dybied am Dduw a  
          chrefydd, ydyw yr rhai  
          *what type of men they are, and what they think about God and  
religion,*
- 4        a ddarfu i Bâb Rhufain eu barnu a'u bwrw yn Hereticiaid drwy  
          amhwyll ag anghyfiownder  
          *whom the Roman Pope judged and condemned as heretics in  
rashness and unfairness*
- 5<sub>1</sub>        (peth ni wnawd er ioed o'r blaen)  
          *(what had never been done before)*
- 5<sub>2</sub>        cyn galw-amdanynt i ateb drostynt eu hun,  
          *before calling them to answer for themselves*
- 5<sub>3</sub>        eithr yn vnig am i'r Pab glywed doedyd  
          *except only because the Pope heard it said*
- 6        eu bod nhwy heb fedry dygyddmod a rhyw buncieu  
          crefydd gydag ef, ai blaid.  
          *that they were not able to agree about some points of faith  
with him and his party.*     (KYFFIN 1908: [16] = 1595: 8v)

This sentence begins with a main clause, linked to the preceding context by an adverbial phrase. The main clause is expanded by an instrumental *gan*-phrase (1), in which a noun-phrase is modified by a relative clause (*a rowd ...*, 2<sub>1</sub>); the *gan*-phrase is further expanded by two coordinated consecutive clauses (*megis y gallo ...*, 2<sub>2</sub>, *a hefyd fal y bo ...*, 2<sub>3</sub>), corresponding to the two *ut*-clauses in the Latin. A noun-phrase in the first consecutive clause is modified by a relative clause (*a ddarfu ...*, 3<sub>1</sub>).

The structure of the second consecutive clause is altogether more complex. Its predicate *y bo hysbys* ('it may be clear') governs two indirect questions,

*\*pa fath ddynion ydyw yr rhai ...* ('what kind of men these are') and *\*pa beth y maent yn eu dybied am Dduw a chrefydd* ('what they think about God and religion'). These, *mutatis mutandis*, correspond to *cujusmodi tandem homines illi sint quidque de Deo et Religione sentiant, quos ...*, with *illi* and the subject of *sentiant* both governing a relative clause.<sup>28</sup> The antecedent of this relative clause is provided in Welsh by *yr rhai* in the first indirect question, but no antecedent is syntactically available in the second indirect question. In order to retain the Latin order of the two indirect questions, the second is inserted into the first, resulting in a considerable distance between the latter's two parts: this stretches the flexibility of Welsh syntax and – probably – complicates processing the construction. A noun-phrase in the relative clause at level 4, *a ddarfu i Bâb ...*, which depends on *yr rhai*, is modified by a non-restrictive relative clause (*peth ni wnawd ...*, 5<sub>1</sub>); the relative clause (4) is further expanded by a non-finite temporal phrase (*cyn galw ...*, 5<sub>2</sub>), and a non-finite causal phrase (*eihth yn vnig am i'r Pab ...*, 5<sub>3</sub>), which is itself further expanded by a non-finite complement clause (*eu bod nhwy ...*, 6). This results in a maximal syntactic depth here of 6, i.e. there are six syntactic layers below the level of the main clause. Complexity is furthermore horizontally increased by syntactic siblings on the same syntactic level, with three syntactic siblings at level 2, two at level 3, and three at level 5.

This example shows that Kyffin, as translator, and the Welsh language, as his medium, were well able to cope with complex syntactic structures. It must be admitted, however, that the translation in this specific case is not entirely successful, particularly in the representation of the semantic relations between the three parts of the Latin source, which was perhaps influenced by the English version. It needs to be remembered that the kind of syntactic complexity seen in these two Welsh sentences from Kyffin's *Deffynniad* differs from the one described by Hughes as 'abhorrent to the [Welsh] language'; rather than of recursive relative clauses, it consists of vertical layers of phrases expressing a wide range of different semantic relations, e.g., causal, consecutive, temporal, complementative, and relative, as well as of horizontal blocks of siblings on the same syntactic level.

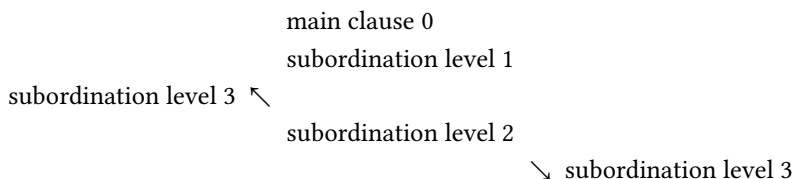
In the following, I will analyse a short sentence which presents a parallel to the translational challenge already seen in the first sentence above, namely, the Welsh reproduction of the nesting of a subordinate construction into another subordinate construction in the Latin source. The relevant construction here is *qui, etsi ...*, with the stranded subordinator *qui* in Latin; this construction is also possible in English, *whoe thoughe ...*, but is avoided by Kyffin:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Compare the English version: 'what manner of people they be, and what opinion they haue of God and of Religion, whome the Bysshop of Rome ...' (BACON 1564: [15]), in which the pronominal subjects *they* provide antecedents for the relative clause.

<sup>29</sup> Similar constructions were possible and used in Middle and Early Modern Welsh, see Appendix II.



then fulfils.<sup>31</sup> The syntactic depth in this sentence is 3, with two siblings, the concessive clause *er na roddent*...and the consecutive clause *fal y galle*..., which both expand the relative clause at subordination level 2 (in the notation used in the next section: 0 – 1 – 3<sub>1</sub> – 2 – 3<sub>2</sub>):



### Micro-studies II: quantitative

In the following section, the qualitative analysis will be complemented by a small-scale quantitative analysis. For this purpose, I classified the first two sentences of eleven passages from *Deffynniad Ffydd*, extracted more or less mechanically at intervals of about every twentieth page, in terms of sentence-length and syntactic depth (see Appendix III for the data). Inevitably, the results cannot be considered representative, either for the eleven passages or for the entire text.

The methodological problem of establishing what constitutes a ‘sentence’ according to Early Modern syntactic and rhetorical conventions and expectations presents a further complication.<sup>32</sup> In most cases, a full stop will delimit a sentence. In sentences 2.1, 4.1, and 4.2, for example, I have ignored semi-colon and colon respectively and followed modern syntactic understanding by accepting a semantically complete main clause, with or without subordinate phrases, as my ‘sentence’, even if this may not do full justice to the intended rhetorical structure of the passage. Prepositional phrases with verbal nouns and non-finite complement phrases are considered to be on a par with finite subordinate clauses, including relative clauses. It needs to be stressed, again, that my focus here is on the expression of syntactic relations in the Welsh text,

<sup>31</sup> A similar case, and an arguably more problematic one in terms of processing, can be seen in *pa fath ddynion a pha beth y maent yn eu dybied am Dduw a chrefydd, ydyw yr rhai* discussed above, with one indirect question integrated into another resulting in the separation of *pa fath ddynion* from *ydyw yr rhai*. Nested phrases, that is, phrases inserted into a superordinate phrase, can be seen in sentences (2.2), (7.1), (8.1), (10.1), (10.2), (11.1) in Appendix III.

<sup>32</sup> For a survey of antique, medieval, and early modern approaches to punctuation, see PARKES 1992; ROBINSON (1998: 26) forcefully rejects the applicability of the concept of the (modern) grammatical sentence to medieval and (most) Early Modern English prose and instead suggests an analysis in terms of periods which ‘are made rhythmically out of phrases, and are only coincidentally syntactic’, as units of sound and sense. There is the further methodological issue of what constitutes a word; for the purpose of this paper, a word is provisionally defined as a typographical unit between spaces.

and not on strategies of translating and on correspondences and differences between the Latin and English source texts and the Welsh target text.

Sentence-length and syntactic depth varies considerably in this micro-sample.<sup>33</sup>

Sentence-length ranges from 7 words to 148 words, but the majority of sentences contains fewer than 60 words, namely 18 out of 22 sentences – the arithmetic mean is 46, the median 34 (the median will avoid results skewed due to outliers in the sequence):

| sentence-length in words | number of sentences |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 7–30                     | 10                  |
| 31–60                    | 8                   |
| 61–90                    | 3                   |
| 91–120                   | 0                   |
| 121–148                  | 1                   |

Syntactic depth similarly varies greatly in the sample, as the following schematic survey indicates (syntactically unconnected phrases and expressions are enclosed in round brackets):<sup>34</sup>

- (1.1)  $0 - 1_1 - 1_2$
- (1.2)  $X - 1_1 - 2 - 3 - (Y_1 - Y1_1 - Y_1 - Y1_2) - (Z - Z1 - Z2_1 - Z2_2) - 0 - 1_2$
- (2.1)  $0 - 1$
- (2.2)  $0 - 1_1 - 0 - 1_2$
- (3.1)  $0 - 1 - 2_1 - 3 - 2_2$  (for an alternative reading, see Appendix III)
- (3.2)  $0 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5$
- (4.1)  $0 - 1 - 2$
- (4.2)  $0$
- (5.1)  $X - 0$
- (5.2)  $0$
- (6.1)  $0 - X - 0$
- (6.2)  $X - 0$
- (7.1)  $0 - 1_1 - 2_1 - 0 - 1_2 - 2_2$
- (7.2)  $1 - 2 - 0$
- (8.1)  $0 - 1_1 - 2_1 - 0 - 1_2 - 2_2$
- (8.2)  $1 - 2 - 3 - 0$
- (9.1)  $0 - 1 - 2_1 - 2_2 - 3 - 4 - 5$  (for an alternative reading, see Appendix III)
- (9.2)  $1_1 - 2_1 - 0 - 1_2 - 3 - 2_2$
- (10.1)  $0 - 1_1 - 0 - 1_2 - 1_3 - 2 - 3$

<sup>33</sup> Variation of sentence types is another issue that will repay further scrutiny: in my small corpus, there are four rhetorical questions and two sentences expressing a request / wish.

<sup>34</sup> For some comments on individual sentences, see Appendix III.

(10.2)  $0 - 1_1 - 2_1 - 0 - 1_2 - 2_2 - 1_2 - 2_3 - 3$

(11.1)  $0 - 1 - 0$

(11.2)  $0 - 1_1 - 2 - 1_2$

The maximal syntactic depth in this sample is 5 in (3.2) and (9.1). The schematic representation does not reflect the considerable syntactic complexity of (1.2), for which see Appendix III. Five sentences have a syntactic depth of 3. On the other hand, there are also five simple main clauses without any subordination proper, namely (4.2), (5.1), (5.2), (6.1) and (6.2) – the elements marked ‘X’ are parenthetical interruptions which in their own way contribute to syntactic complexity. Syntactic siblings occur in eight sentences. In three sentences, ((3.2), (7.1), (10.2)), cleft constructions in subordinate clauses enhance syntactic complexity. Subordinate phrases in the sample typically follow the main clause. There are only four sentences in which subordinate phrases precede the main clause, and in these the syntactic depth of the preposed phrases is 2 and 3 respectively. Embedded structures, in which subordinate phrases are inserted into superordinate ones, occur in six sentences.

As highlighted above, the quantitative analysis of the sample sentences, and specifically of their syntactic depth, can do no more than provide an impression of the variety of the options available for the expression of syntactic relations and stylistic possibilities.

### Syntactic complexity and variety in Kyffin’s *Deffynniad* and beyond

I hope that these two micro-studies, restricted in scope though they are, show that Welsh, as used by Maurice Kyffin at the end of the sixteenth century, was able to cope with considerable syntactic complexity – whenever such complexity was required, as it is the case specifically in those longer sentences which make complex arguments. In *Deffynniad Ffydd*, he had at his disposal a range of syntactic and rhetorical strategies: he produced simple and short sentences, but also vertically as well as horizontally layered sentences for the expression of a broad range of semantic relations. I thus agree with Gruffydd’s suggestion quoted above that translation, from English or from Latin, was a contributing factor to the development of a complex periodic style in Early Modern Welsh prose. Other relevant factors which require further investigation, are the formative influence of contemporary stylistic conventions in languages of status and authority more generally, for example the penchant of many writers of the Renaissance for long and complex sentences, often, though perhaps misleadingly, called ‘Ciceronian’.<sup>35</sup> In this respect, it will be instructive to analyse the

<sup>35</sup> For an idiosyncratic, and evaluative, presentation of some complexities of sixteenth-century English prose, with instructive examples and useful further references, see ROBINSON 1998: 105–23.

original introductory paratexts of translators such as Maurice Kyffin, Edward James, or Roger Smyth, in order to illuminate their own syntactic and stylistic preferences.

To come back finally to Thomas Jones Hughes: he underestimated the syntactic and stylistic variety possible in sixteenth-century Welsh, since the specific syntax claimed by him to be abhorrent to the Welsh language – sequences of recursive relative clauses – can be found in the work of Elis Gruffydd (1490–1552). He is known today, among other things, for his long and sprawling sentences – in the nineteenth century, however, his work was still in manuscript only.<sup>36</sup> The following sentence taken from his *World Chronicle* has three, or four, such relative clauses, depending on the syntactic analysis of *yr hwn a* as either relative or anaphoric demonstrative and on the resulting punctuation and translation ('who' versus 'he'):<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> LLOYD-MORGAN (2005: 85–6) highlights the 'length of his sentences, which swoop ever on, as he adds still more clauses to which further subordinate clauses are attached'; she connects this feature to contemporary French stylistic trends: 'C'est surtout à partir de son entrée en fonction à Calais que notre auteur aurait pu approfondir ses connaissances des nouvelles tendances intellectuelles. Parmi les livres qu'il aurait probablement trouvé à Calais on peut citer la chronique de Robert Gaguin, né en Flandres vers 1434. Sa chronique en latin de l'histoire de la France, ou bien la traduction française, fut une source importante pour Elis Gruffydd. Le style de notre auteur nous rappelle souvent, d'ailleurs, le style de la version française de la chronique de Gaguin, fortement influencé par la syntaxe du latin: les phrases commencent souvent avec une proposition relative qui réfère à la phrase précédente, par exemple' (LLOYD-MORGAN, *forthc.*). This relative connection is also seen in the example quoted here, *yr hwn a*; on its two possible syntactic analyses, see FORD 1992: 87.

<sup>37</sup> The history of the emergence in Middle Welsh of the expression of complex syntactic relations as seen in Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd* needs further investigation; for a discussion of forms of syntactic elaboration in *Ystorya Lucidar*, the Welsh version of the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis, in *Llyfr yr Ancr* (written in 1346), see the relevant chapter in PARINA & POPPE *in prep.*

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O'r chwedlau j kymmerth y Kardinal o Jork lywennydd mawr, yr hwn a oedd yn newydd wneuthud yn legad a lattri drwy audurdod y Paab, yr hwn a ddanuonasai gardnal o'r Eidal, y neb a elwid Kampaedgis, y'w wneuthud ef ynn legad; yr hwn a dderbynniwyd i'r dyrnas drwy'r anhrydedd mwyaf a'r a ellid i ymkannv. (JONES 1960: 313)

Because of the reports the Cardinal of York was greatly pleased, *who* had recently been made 'legate a latere' by the authority of the Pope, *who* had sent a cardinal from Italy, *who* was called Campeggio, to make him legate, *who* / he was received in the kingdom with the greatest honour that could be attempted.

Contrary to Hughes's claim, 'the [Welsh] language has been sufficiently tried' for various forms of syntactic and stylistic complexity and variety already in the sixteenth century and before.

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remaining errors and infelicities are my own responsibility. As argued in this paper, the syntactic analysis of Early Modern Welsh sentences is not without its difficulties and a special disclaimer therefore seems appropriate: it is possible that for some sentences presented valid alternative analyses can be suggested and that some of the analyses may be subject to eventual revision.

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## Appendix I

But bycause he hath alredy so noted vs openlye, least by holdynge oure peace we should seme to graunt a fault, and specially bycause we can by no meane haue audience in y<sup>e</sup> publik assembly of the general Councel, wherein he would no creature should haue power to geue his voice or declare his opinion, excepte he were sworne and straightly bounde to maintaine his authoritie.

For wee haue had good experience hereof in his last conference at the council at Trident, where the embassadours & diuines of the Princes of Germany and of the free Cities were quite shutte out from their company: nother can we yet forget, how Iulius the third, aboue ten yeares past, prouided wares by his writt, that none of our sorte shoulde bee suffered to speake in the Councell (except there were som paraduenture y<sup>t</sup> wolde recante and chaunge his opinion). For this cause chieflie we thoughte it good to yelde vp an accompte of oure faith in writing, & truely and openly to make aunswere to those things wherwith wee haue ben openly charged, to thende the worlde may see the partes and foundacions of that doctrine, in the behalfe whereof so many good men haue litle regarded their oune lyues. And y<sup>t</sup> al men may vnderstand what manner of people they be, and what opinion they haue of God and of Religion, whome the Bysshop of Rome before they were called to tell their tale, hath condemned for heretikes, without any good consideratiō, without any example, & vtterly without lawe or righte, onelye bycause he hearde tell that they did dissente from hym and his in some pointe of Religion.

(BACON 1564: [14]–[15])

## Appendix II

The following sentence from the fragmentary Welsh translation by Robert Holland of *Basilikon Doron* by James I, printed in London in 1604, contains an example of the separation of the bipartite negative subordinator *a na* introducing a clause of result after an equative by a [preposition plus verbal noun] phrase:<sup>38</sup>

- |   |                                                               |                   |
|---|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 0 | Bernwch gen hynny (dharlheuydh cristnogawl)                   |                   |
| 1 | a wy fi yn cynnig cam i'r fath bobl                           |                   |
| 2 | o roi idhynt enw'r sect                                       |                   |
| 3 | y maent hwy yn canlyn i hamrufusedh mor inion a chyn lhwyrdd: |                   |
| 4 | <b>a</b>                                                      |                   |
| 5 | <b>chan</b> i bod yn fodlon i wisco i lifre hwy,              |                   |
| 4 | <b>na</b> chymmerant dhim cywilidh fentygio i henw hefyd.     | (HOLLAND 1604: 8) |

Judge [for yourself] therefore (Christian reader), whether I do injustice to such people by giving them the name of the sect whose delusion they follow so accurately and so thoroughly so that – since they are content to wear their livery – they are not ashamed of adopting their name, too.

Another example of a stranded conjunction, here coordinating *oblygid* separated from its verb by a *pan*-clause, is found in an extract from St John Chrysostom's Homilies

<sup>38</sup> I owe this example to the kindness of Raphael Sackmann.

printed in [CLYNNOG] (1568: 3-4), which according to BOWEN (1999: 13) ‘are most likely Gruffydd Robert’s work’:

- 0<sub>1</sub> Canys honno syđ yn cyflouni pob peth  
 1 ar y syđ gynhorthuyaul i’n caduedigaeth ni:  
 0<sub>2</sub> **oblygid**  
 1 **pan** ail enir ni,  
 0<sub>2</sub> **mae** croes yr argluyđ yn bressenol. ([CLYNNOG] 1568: 3)

For this [i.e. the cross] supplies everything which is helpful for our salvation: since, when we are reborn, the cross of the Lord is present.

For a Middle Welsh parallel of the strategy of extraction and preposing of a semantically embedded phrase in order to avoid a ‘stranded’ conjunction, as seen above, compare:

- 1 Gwelsont hagen,  
 3 or kaffeï veddic y gyuanhei yascwrn ac arwymeï y gymaleu ynda,  
 2 na hanbydei waeth. (GOETINCK 1976: 31.28–30)

They saw, however, that, if he found a doctor who would heal his bones and who would bind his joints well, he would not be any the worse.

The syntax and the historical development of such semantically embedded clauses deserves further research.

### Appendix III

In contrast to the schematic presentations above, syntactic depth is indicated in this appendix by numerals only, not by additional indenture. The main clause is marked by <0>; subordinate clauses and phrases are given a number denoting their syntactic level; syntactic siblings are distinguished by subscript numbers. Embedded phrases inserted into a superordinate phrase are preceded and following by the same number and are seen in sentences (2.2), (7.1), (8.1), (10.1), (10.2), and (11.1).

- (1.1) 0 Hir a hen yw’r cwyn er yn amseroedd cyntaf y Patrieirch a’r Prophwydi,  
 1<sub>1</sub> wedi ei gynnal drwy Scrifenadeu a Thestiolaetheu pob oes,  
 1<sub>2</sub> fod y Gwirionedd yn crwydro mal estron yn y byd hwn, ag ymhlith ei  
 anghydnabod yn hawdd iddo gael gelynion a cham-gyhyddwyr.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [1] = 1595: 1r)

Long and old is the complaint since the first times of the Patriarchs and the Prophets, having been maintained in writings and testimonies of every time, that the Truth wanders like a stranger in this world and that amongst those who are not acquainted with it, it easily finds enemies and slanderers.

Length: 44

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 1<sub>2</sub>

(with further coordination in the complement phrase 1<sub>2</sub>)

- (1.2) X    Yr hyn beth  
       1<sub>1</sub>    er na choelia rhyw rai ysgatfydd,  
       2    od oes rai  
       3    ni ddaliassant graff sylw arnaw  
       Y<sub>1</sub>    (yn gymaint a bod holl rywiogaeth dyn o wir Naturiaeth ag o'i waith  
           eu<sup>[39]</sup> hunan heb Athro, in ymgais a'r Gwir: a *Christ* eyn Prynwr  
       Y1<sub>1</sub>    pan oedd ef yn byw ymmysc dynion,  
       Y<sub>1</sub>    yn mynnu ei alw y *Gwirionedd*, fegis henw cymhwysaf iddo,  
       Y1<sub>2</sub>    i ddangos ag i ddeongl ei holl nerth Duwiol)  
       Z    Nyni er hynny,  
       Z1    y sawl a'marferassom a'r Scrythurau glan, ag a ddarfu ini ddarllen,  
           agweled  
       Z2<sub>1</sub>    beth a ddamweiniodd i bawb duwiol agos ymhob amser: i'r *Propwydi*, i'r  
           *Apostolion*, i'r *Merthyron sanctaidd*, i *Grist* ei hun,  
       Z2<sub>2</sub>    pa fodd y rhegwyd, y goganwyd, ag y cablwyd nhwy, yn vnig er mwyn y  
           Gwir;  
       0    ydym yn cydnabod  
       1<sub>2</sub>    nad ydyw hyn yr vn o'r ddau nag yn beth newydd, nag yn anhawdd ei  
           goelio, eythr o ddechreuad byd yn gymeradwy ag yn  
           arferedig. (KYFFIN 1908: [1]–[2] = 1595: 1r–1v)

This, although some perhaps do not believe it, if there are some who did not take firm notice of it (inasmuch as the whole species of man, by true nature and of his own accord, without a teacher, searches the Truth, and Christ, our redeemer, when he was living amongst men, wanted to be called Truth, as a name most appropriate for him, in order to show and to reveal all his godly power): we, however, the ones who have accustomed themselves with the Holy Scripture and who have read and seen what happened to every godly one almost in every time, to the Prophets, to the Apostles, to the holy martyrs, to Christ himself, how they were blasphemed, reviled, and calumniated, for the sake of the Truth alone, we recognize that this is neither a new thing nor difficult to believe, but accepted and customary from the beginning of the world.

Length: 148

Depth: X – 1<sub>1</sub> – 2 – 3 – (Y<sub>1</sub> – Y1<sub>1</sub> – Y<sub>1</sub> – Y1<sub>2</sub>) – (Z – Z1 – Z2<sub>1</sub> – Z2<sub>2</sub>) – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub>

(X = left-dislocated phrase; Y = adverbial phrase in parentheses, itself further modified; Z = syntactically unconnected nominal phrase, cataphorically referring to the subject of the main clause, itself further modified).

The analysis of the beginning *Yr hyn beth er na choelia rhyw rai ysgatfydd* is problematic and is informed by Jewels's Latin text: *Id etsi alijs incredibile fortasse videri possit* (JEWEL 1591: 1), assuming that Kyffin here reproduced Jewel's word-order, compare *Albeit perchaunce this may seeme vnto some a thinge harde to bee beleueed* (BACON 1564: [5]).

<sup>39</sup> For confusion of *ei* and *eu* here and in (9.1), see Williams's note in KYFFIN 1908: 223.

- (2.1) 0 Nyni a'ttebwn  
 1 fal y gwnaeth Saint Pawl; (KYFFIN 1908: [21] = 1595: 11r)

We answer as St Paul did;

Length: 7

Depth: 0 – 1

- (2.2) 0 ynol y ffordd  
 1<sub>1</sub> y maent hwy'n ei galw'n *Heresi*  
 0 yr ydym-mi'n addoli Duw Tad eyn harglwydd Iesu Grist, ag yn cofleidio'r holl bethu  
 1<sub>2</sub> sydd scrifneddig, pa vn bynnag ai yn y ddeddf, ai yn y Prophwydi, ynte yn llyfreu'r Apostolion. (KYFFIN 1908: [21] = 1595: 11r)

according to the way which they call Heresy we worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and embrace all things which are written, whichever, whether in the Law or in the Prophets, even in the books of the Apostles.

Length: 40

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub>

(relative clause 1<sub>1</sub> inserted into main clause)

- (3.1) 0 Doedyd y rydym  
 1 fod *Swpper yr Arglwydd yn Sacrament*, sef, yn arwydd neu wystyl hynod corph a gwaed *Crist*:  
 2<sub>1</sub> yn yr hyn rydys yn rhoi fegis geyrbron eyn llygeid marfolaeth ag adgyfodiad *Crist*, a pheth bynnag  
 3 a wnaeth ef yn ei gnawdoliaeth:  
 2<sub>2</sub> fal y rhoddem ddolch herwydd ei farfolaeth ef, a'n gwarediad ni. (KYFFIN 1908: [38] = 1595: 19v)

We say that the supper of the Lord is a sacrament, that is, a manifest sign or a pledge of Christ's body and blood: in which Christ's death and resurrection is as it were placed before our eyes and whatever he did while in his mortal body, so that we give thanks for his death and our deliverance.

Length: 54

Depth: 0 – 1 – 2<sub>1</sub> – 3 – 2<sub>2</sub>

In this reading, the adverbial clause 2<sub>2</sub> is semantically attached to the complement clause 1; alternatively it could be attached to the relative clause, resulting in the schematic structure 0 – 1 – 2 – 3<sub>1</sub> – 3<sub>2</sub>.

- (3.2) 0 Ag felly y gallem wrth fynnych arfer y *Sacramenteu*, adnewyddu beunydd coffaedigam hyn:  
 1 fal y gallem hefyd gael eyn porthi a chorph ag a gwaed *Crist* i obaith yr adgyfodiad, ag i fywyd tragwyddol,

- 2 gan fod yn gwbl-ddiau gennym  
 3 may'r vn peth i borthi eyn heneidieu  
 4 yw corph a gwaed Crist,  
 5 ag ydyw'r bara a'r gwin i borthi'n cyrph. (KYFFIN 1908: [38] = 1595: 19v)

And thus we may be able by frequently receiving the Sacraments daily to renew remembrance of this, so that we also may be able to be nourished with Christ's body and blood in the hope of resurrection and eternal life, being fully confident that Christ's body and blood is the same thing for nourishing our souls as is bread and wine for nourishing our bodies.

Length: 60

Depth: 0 – 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5

(complement clause 3/4 realized as a cleft).

- (4.1) 0 Nhwy a ddylent goffa hefyd;  
 1 fod rhai o'u plaid nhwy hunain yn doedyd  
 2 fod corph Naturiol Crist yn *Swpper* yr Arglwydd;  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [59] = 1595: 30r)

They should also remember that some of their own company say that Christ's natural body is in the Lord's supper;

Length: 21

Depth: 0 – 1 – 2

- (4.2) 0 drach-gefn, y mae rhai eraill onynt o'r vn blaid yn doedyd y gwrthwyneb:  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [59] = 1595: 30r)  
 again, others of them of the same company say the opposite;

Length: 13

Depth: 0

- (5.1) X Eithr o Dduw tragwydddol!  
 0 wrth hynny ynte, a gyhudda *Pab Rhufain* nyny o drauturiaeth?  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [80] = 1595: 40v)

But, o immortal God, therefore then, will the Roman Pope accuse us of treason?

Length: 14

Depth: X – 0

(X = rhetorical exclamation)

- (5.2) 0 A ddysc ef ir bobl ymufuddhau a rhyngy bodd iw Pennaethieid?  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [80] = 1595: 40v)

Will he teach the people to obey and to follow the will of their magistrates?

Length: 11

Depth: 0

- (6.1) 0 Ag am Eglwys y *Corinthiaid*,  
 X pa wedd yr oedd hi wedi ei thrabaeddu mewn brynti,  
 0 nid rhaid crybwyll. (KYFFIN 1908: [99] = 1595: 50r)

And about the church of the Corinthians, how it has defiled itself in filth, it is not necessary to make mention.

Length: 18

Depth: 0 – X – 0

(X = parenthetical indirect question)

- (6.2) X Wele ynte gan hynny,  
 0 a alle Eglwys i'r *Galatiaid* a'r *Corinthiaid* ogwyddo, a mynd a'r fai, ag  
 Eglwys *Rûfain* yn vnig ni ddichyn na gwyro na gogwyddo?  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [99] = 1595: 50r)

See then therefore, could the church of the Galatians and Corinthians decline and go into error, and the Roman Church alone cannot deviate and decline?

Length: 26

Depth: X – 0

(X = rhetorical exclamation; 0 = two coordinated interrogative clauses)

- (7.1) 0 A chan hynny, ni ddichyn neb bellach dybied  
 1<sub>1</sub> may newydd  
 2<sub>1</sub> yw'n hathrawiaeth ni,  
 0 oddieithr y neb  
 1<sub>2</sub> a dybio  
 2<sub>2</sub> fod ffydd y Prophwydi, ar Efengyl, a Christ ei hun yn newydd.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [120] = 1595: 60v)

And therefore, nobody can from now on think that our doctrine is new, except the one who thinks that the faith of the Prophets, and the Gospel and of Christ himself is new.

Length: 30

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 2<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub> – 2<sub>2</sub>

(complement phrase 1<sub>1</sub>/2<sub>2</sub> inserted into main clause and realized as a cleft)

- (7.2) 1 Os yw eu crefydd nhwy o gymaint a chyhyd henafiaeth,  
 2 ag y mynnen-nhwy i'r byd goelio,  
 0 pa ham ynte nad ydyn-nhwy'n profi hynny'n wir, drwy sampleu'r  
 Brif-eglwys, a'r hen Dadeu, a'r cymanfa-Gynghorau o henafiaeth gynt?  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [120] = 1595: 60v)

If their faith is of so great and so long antiquity as they wish the world to believe, why then do they not prove this truly, by examples from the Primitive Church and the old Fathers and the councils of antiquity?

Length: 35

Depth: 1 – 2 – 0

- (8.1) 0 Wrth hynny,  
 1<sub>1</sub> er bod yn erwin gentynt  
 2<sub>1</sub> ddarfod i ni ymado a nhwy,  
 0 etto hwy a ddylent ystyrio  
 1<sub>2</sub> mor gyfiawn ydoedd yr achos  
 2<sub>2</sub> a wnaeth i ni ymadel. (KYFFIN 1908: [141] = 1595: 71r)

Therefore, although they consider it harsh that we separate from them, still they should consider how just the cause is that makes us separate.

Length: 28

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 2<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub> – 2<sub>2</sub>

- (8.2) 1 O doedannhwy  
 2 nad rhydd mewn modd yn y byd i neb adel y gymdeithas  
 3 lle y dycpwyd ef y fyny;  
 0 nhwy a allant felly yn eyn cyscod ni gondemnio ‘r Prophwydi, a ‘r  
 Apostolion, a Christ ei hun. (KYFFIN 1908: [141]–[142] = 1595: 71r–71v)

If they say that it is not lawful at all for anyone to leave the community in which he was brought up, they can thus in our name condemn the Prophets and the Apostles and Christ himself.

Length: 38

Depth: 1 – 2 – 3 – 0

- (9.1) 0 Ag am hynny, ni a wyddom  
 1 ddarfod i lawer o wyr da, ag Escobion catholic, aros gartref, a pheidio a  
 dyfod i’r cyfryw Gymanfaeu,  
 2<sub>1</sub> lle y bydde ‘r fath amlwg ddilyn pleidieu, a gwasnaethu turnau:  
 2<sub>2</sub> oblegid di-ammeu oedd gentynt,  
 3 na bydde iddynt onid colli eu poen heb wneuthyr lles yn y byd,  
 4 gan weled a gwybod  
 5 fod wynebau a meddylieu ei dygassogion mor ollawl iw herbyn.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [160] = 1595: 80v)

And therefore we know that many good men and Catholic bishops stayed at home and desisted from coming to such councils where there would be such obvious following of factions and serving sides: because/since they had no doubt that it would be only a loss of their effort for them without doing any

good, seeing and knowing the faces and the minds of their adversaries completely turned against them.

Length: 66

Depth: 0 – 1 – 2<sub>1</sub> – 2<sub>2</sub> – 3 – 4 – 5

(taking *oblegid* as subordinating, alternatively introducing a new main clause: 0 – 1 – 2. #0 – 1 – 2 – 3)<sup>40</sup>

The syntax of the Welsh sentence is overall much closer to the English version than to the Latin text:

And therefore we knowe that diuers times many good men and Catholique Bysshops did tarry at home, and would not come when such Councels were called, wherein men so apparauntly laboured to serue factions and to take partes, bicause they knewe they should but lose their trauaile and dooe no good, seeinge where vnto their enemies mindes were so wholye bent. (BACON 1564: [103])

Itaq; scimus multos saepe bonos viros, & catholicos episcopos, cū huiusmodi concilia indicerentur, & apertè factionibus & partibus inseruiretur, & scirent se tantū lusuros esse operam, aduersariorum animos prorsus esse obfirmatos, nihil posse promoueri, mansisse domi. (JEWEL 1591: 154–155)

- (9.2) 1<sub>1</sub> Pan ddyfynwyd Athanasius yn enw'r Ymerodr,  
 2<sub>1</sub> i ddyfod i'r Gymanfa-Gyngor yn Caesarea,  
 0 ef a nagcaodd ddyfod  
 1<sub>2</sub> er mwyn gwybod onaw'n hysbys  
 3 od ae ef yno,  
 2<sub>2</sub> y gorfyddde iddo fod ym-mysc ei elynion lliidiog.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [160]–[161] = 1595: 80v–81r)

When Athanasius was ordered in the name of the Emperor to come to the council in Caesarea, he refused to come because he knew clearly if he went there he would be obliged to be among his fierce enemies.

Length: 33

Depth: 1<sub>1</sub> – 2<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub> – 3 – 2<sub>2</sub>

(the conditional clause 3 is inserted between the causal phrase 1<sub>2</sub> and the complement phrase 2<sub>2</sub> depending in *gwybod*, semantically it relates to the latter)<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> THOMAS (1996: 466) states that in Modern Welsh *oblegid* can be both coordinating and subordinating.

<sup>41</sup> For the same structure in Gruffudd Robert's original preface to Morys Clynnog's *Athrawaeth Gristnogawl* (1568), his adaptation of Diego de Ledesma's catechism, see: *Gobeithio pan delo i dduylau y crefyddgar gymru, y gūna lauer o les idynt* ([CLYNNOG] 1568: [3]), 'Let us hope that when it comes into the hands of the pious Welsh, it will do them much good'). Here, the *pan*-clause precedes the complement phrase which it modifies.

- (10.1) 0 A hefyd, yr holl Dwysogion duwiol clodfawr  
 1<sub>1</sub> y mae 'r Scruthurau glan yn mynegy amdanynt,  
 0 a gaent yn enwedig ganmoliaeth yn y cyfryw eirieu a'r rhain:  
 1<sub>2</sub> ddarfod iddynt rodio yn ffyrdd eu tâd Dafydd;  
 1<sub>3</sub> sef yw hynny, am iddynt ddechwelyd at y drefn gyntaf a'r prif  
 ddechreuad;  
 2 gan ddwyn drach-gefn a dattroi crefydd i 'r perffeiddrwydd  
 3 lle y gadowse y Brenin Dafydd ef.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [180]–[181] = 1595: 90v–[9]1r)

And also, all the godly and praiseworthy princes about which Holy Scripture speaks, are praised especially in such words as these, that they walked the paths of their father David, that is, because they returned to the first order and the original beginning, bringing back and reverting religion to the perfection in which king David had left it.

Length: 64

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub> – 1<sub>3</sub> – 2 – 3

(relative clause 1<sub>1</sub> inserted into main clause)

- (10.2) 0 Felly  
 1<sub>1</sub> pan welsom-miñeu  
 2<sub>1</sub> ddarfod i 'r gwyr hyñ sathru bob peth dan eu traed, ag nad oedd ddim  
 wedi adel yn heml Dduw, onid ôl, a thrist-olwg dinistr ag anrhaith:  
 0 nyni a dybiasom  
 1<sub>2</sub> may callaf cyngor  
 2<sub>2</sub> a allem-mi gymryd,  
 1<sub>2</sub> oedd roi geyrbron eyn llygeid, faint yr Eglwysi hynny,  
 2<sub>3</sub> yr rhai a wyddem-mi 'n hyspys  
 3 na ddarfuase iddynt amryfysso, ag na buase er ioed genthynt na fferenneu  
 neulltuol na gweddiau mewn estron-iaith barbaraid, na llugru  
 Sacramenteu, na dim o 'r fath ofregedd. (KYFFIN 1908: [181] = 1595: [9]1r)

Thus, when we saw that these men trampled everything under their feet and that nothing was left in God's temple except remains and sad-looking destruction and devastation, we thought the most sensible counsel we could take was to place before our eyes the status of these churches which we knew clearly that they had not erred and that they never had neither private masses nor prayers in a barbarian foreign language nor corrupting of Sacraments nor anything of such vanities.

Length: 81

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 2<sub>1</sub> – 0 – 1<sub>2</sub> – 2<sub>2</sub> – 1<sub>2</sub> – 2<sub>3</sub> – 3

(a complex temporal clause 1<sub>1</sub> is inserted between the sentence-initial adverb and the rest of the main clause, its complement clause 2<sub>1</sub> consists of a non-finite phrase and a coordinated negative finite one; complement clause 1<sub>2</sub>/2<sub>2</sub> is realized as a cleft; the complement clause 3 consists of two coordinated members)

- (11.1) 0 A llai achos o lawer sydd iddynt gwyno  
 1 am i ni ymadel oddi wrthynt,  
 0 neu geisio 'n dattroi ni drach-gefn iw crefydd a 'u crediniaeth nhwy.  
 (KYFFIN 1908: [195] = 1595: 101r)

And they have much less reason to bemoan that we separated from them or to attempt to cause us to return to their religion and their creed.

Length: 26

Depth: 0 – 1 – 0

(*am*-phrase depending on *cwyno* inserted into main clause)

- (11.2) 0 E ddoetpwyd am vn Cobilon  
 1<sub>1</sub> a hanoedd o wlad Lacedemonia,  
 2 pan ddanfonwyd ef yn Gennad-vrddol at frenin Persia, ynghylch  
 clyfaredd a chyfammod Tangneddyf, a damwain iddo gael tylwyth llys y  
 brenin yn chware disieu;  
 1<sub>2</sub> yna, droi onaw ef yn y fan adref drachgefn heb wneuthyr dim o 'i  
 frussurdeb. (KYFFIN 1908: [195] = 1595: 101r)

It was said about one Cobilon, who originated from the land Lacedemonia, when he was sent as messenger to the king of Persia concerning a discussion and treaty of peace and it happened that he found the household of the king's court playing dice, then, that he immediately returned back home without accomplishing any of his business.

Length: 49

Depth: 0 – 1<sub>1</sub> – 2 – 1<sub>2</sub>

(the relative clause 1<sub>1</sub> modifies a noun phrase in the main clause, the temporal clause 2 semantically relates to the complement phrase 1<sub>2</sub>, compare (9.2); the second verbal event in the temporal clause is expressed by a verbal noun coordinated with the preceding finite verb, on this pattern, compare POPPE 2022)