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BETWEEN THE IMPRESSIONISTIC AND THE ARITHMETIC: THINKING ABOUT CRITERIA FOR THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF EARLY MODERN WELSH PROSE[*]

1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY

This article is an exercise in empirical historical stylistics. It proposes to reflect on methodologies and criteria for a stylistic analysis of Early Modern Welsh prose, i.e., of works written in the Welsh language roughly between 1500 and 1700. Style is a concept difficult to define; it refers to phenomena of the linguistic organisation of a text's surface, in the view of Biber/Conrad (2019: 16) specifically to the 'distribution of linguistic characteristics [which are] frequent and pervasive in texts of the variety' and to 'features [which] are not directly functional; they are preferred because they are aesthetically valued'. For the historical period under scrutiny here, 'Ciceronianism' may be one such culturally dominant aesthetic preference. In the strict sense this means the imitation of Cicero's periods, but in a looser sense a penchant for long and complex layered sentences (see, for example, Monfasani (1999), Robert (2011), Marsh (2013) – the literature on this topic is vast). This stylistic preference has already been noted for Welsh authors, for example by Davies (1995: 73) for Gruffydd Robert (*c.* 1527–1598), the writer in focus in this article.[1] Proper Latin Ciceronian periods have a specific structure of *cola* and *commata* (Hofmann/Szantyr 1972: 732, Mueller 2007). The transfer of this concept to Early Modern 'periods' can be problematic since they may not necessarily follow the same rules and be simply 'long', as pointed out, for example, by Lorian (1973: 159) for some sixteenth-century French writers and by Robinson (1998: 105–119) in a spirited critique of much of sixteenth-century English prose: 'The real English monster sentence is a sixteenth-century phenomenon, caused by the unsuccessful grafting of Latin syntax on to English' (Robinson 1998: 112).

This article intends to provide some descriptive data for the reconstruction of the stylistic practice of an Early Modern Welsh writer, Gruffydd Robert, as a preliminary point

1 An anonymous reviewer kindly alerts me to the possibility that 'Robert' is probably a patronym and not a surname.

of reference for future larger-scale intertextual comparisons. It is based on the micro-stylistic analysis of his introduction to a catechism, which belongs to the larger text type of introductory paratexts. It has the methodological advantage of being manageable in size for a detailed exploratory investigation. The domain of micro-stylistics is the sentence. Sowinski (1999: 89–101) gives a helpful catalogue of linguistic features relevant for such micro-stylistic analyses: sentence length, sentence form (simple, complex, reduced/elliptic; interruptions in sentence construction such as appositional and parenthetical phrases), order of constituents, sentence type (declarative, imperative, optative, interrogative), and variation of grammatical categories. Further sub-categories are the number of constituents in a sentence, the internal structure of constituents, and the number of coordinated and subordinated phrases, as well as the patterns of arrangement of main clauses and subordinate phrases relative to each other (see similarly Mehler (2005: 339–340) for the perspective of quantitative stylistics). Such criteria overlap with criteria for the measurement of syntactic complexity (which is different from, for example, lexical complexity for which the choice and register of words would be considered). Based on Rescher's (1998: 1) general definition of complexity – 'Complexity is first and foremost a matter of the number and variety of an item's constituent elements and of the elaborateness of their interrelational structure' – Pallotti (2015: 118) specifies 'structural complexity' in linguistics as 'a formal property of texts and linguistic systems having to do with the number of their elements and their relational patterns'. Thus, micro-stylistic analyses as well as measurements of syntactic complexity both refer to the number and arrangement of elements in a sentence and are therefore, at least in part, amenable to an arithmetic approach.[2] On the other hand, empirical historical stylistics is a methodologically challenging field since it 'perhaps inevitably combines the impressionistic and the arithmetic' (Guillory 2017: 63) – the former derived from readers' response to a close reading of texts and the latter from counting elements in texts and sentences (for a survey of the complexities of statistical stylistics or stylostatistics proper, see Tuldava 2005). Analysts therefore face the challenge in their presentations and interpretations of how to combine these two perspectives in order to be able to make meaningful statements about the style of a text.

2 GRUFFYDD ROBERT AND MORYS CLYNNOG

This micro-study is based on Gruffydd Robert's introduction to *Athravaeth Gristnogavl* ('Christian Doctrine'), Morys Clynnog's adaptation of Diego de Ledesma's Latin *Doctrina Christiana* (text: [Clynnog] 1568: [ii]-[vi], Lewis 1948: 4–6 with modernised spelling, capitalisation, and punctuation; background and sources: Bryant-Quinn 1998: 7–19, 2000: 21). Robert prepared it for publication and printing in Milan in 1568 and contributed the paratext in the form of an address to Clynnog. In it, he highlights the importance of his work for the religious instruction of the Welsh, since such works had so far been lacking ([Clynnog] 1568: [ii]-[iv], Bryant-Quinn 2000: 25–27). Robert and his uncle Clynnog (c. 1520/21 – in or post 1581) spent most of their lives as Catholic exiles in Italy (Bryant-Quinn 2019, 2000, Williams/Bryant-Quinn 2019). In their view,

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2   For a discussion of syntactic complexity in Maurice Kyffin's *Deffynniad Ffydd Eglwys Loegr* (1595), see Poppe (2022).

the Welsh language was the crucial medium for counter-reformation activities in Wales and for the education of its people, and this provides the background for the production of the *Athravaeth* (Price 2019: 188–189).

The choice of Robert's paratext for this study is motivated by two factors: first by its shortness which allows not only a comprehensive analysis, but also its comprehensive documentation, and second by the fact that Robert is considered in modern scholarship to be one of the Catholic writers of the time who, as highlighted by Bowen (1999: 22), were 'interested in the influence of the Renaissance on language and style' and whose works would therefore follow advanced contemporary stylistic conventions and expectations in their application to Early Modern Welsh prose.[3] This is also reflected in his reputation as a Ciceronian, as a writer who was able to write in a Ciceronian style, which derives first of all from the fragment of his translation of Cicero's dialogue *Cato Maior de Senectute*, transmitted in what is now extant of the sixth booklet of his Welsh grammar (probably printed some time after 1584) and intended as a stylistic inspiration for contemporary Welsh prose authors. Davies (1995: 73) wrote of this incomplete translation (see also Griffith 1953–58: 20, 1966: 287):

> Enough, however, survives to make clear the way in which Gruffydd Robert sought in his translation to capture the periodic style of Cicero's Latin with its finely balanced correspondence of phrases and subordinate clauses.

Even more instructive in our context is his assessment of the style of a sentence he quotes from the introductory non-technical dialogue in the first booklet of Robert's grammar, published in Milan in 1567, the year before the publication of the *Athravaeth*, which in his view 'illustrate[s] Gruffydd Robert's Ciceronian sense of style and periodic cadence in his own Welsh writing' (Davies 1995: 75).[4]

3 SOME ARITHMETIC: SENTENCE LENGTH AND SYNTACTIC DEPTH

The corpus of this study consists of the sentences of Robert's introductory paratext ([Clynnog] 1568: [ii]-[vi]). These are given in the appendix, sentence by sentence, each sentence numbered and accompanied by an English translation. The overall number of sentences in the paratext and the problems with their demarcation are discussed below, as are the details of the notation for their schematic presentation.

A first impression a reader may take away from Robert's paratext is probably one of 'complexity'. Features which would contribute to this impression are the length of some sentences, some layered subordination, and repeated use of parallelism, i.e., of syntactically equivalent elements in two or more consecutive parts of sentences

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3   For Robert's ideas about the necessary improvement of Welsh, see Griffith (1953-58) and Bryant-Quinn (2000). For the ideas of another Catholic author and translator, Robert Gwyn, who was not influenced in the same way by humanist and Renaissance ideals, see Bowen (1999: 28-42), Poppe (2019), and Parina/Poppe (2021).

4   Bowen (1999: 13) suggests that the translation of extracts from St John Chrysostom's Homilies, in [Clynnog] (1568: 3-4), 'are most likely Gruffydd Robert's work': these require separate linguistic analysis.

(compare Ostrowicz 2003). However, it needs to be acknowledged that any such subjective reactions and the constitution of style in reception (compare Wesche 2015: 383) are shaped by the reader's background and linguistic experiences and perhaps distorted by the historical distance between the early-modern text and the modern reader.

The arithmetic approach on the other hand would aim to establish a more objective, quantitative analytic framework. Sentence length, the number of words in a sentence, and syntactic depth, the number of subordinate phrases in a sentence, may be strong parameters in the context of sixteenth-century Ciceronianism. The former quickly comes up against a methodological challenge, namely of how to demarcate relevant sentences, or sentence-like units.[5] 'Sentence' in the modern linguistic sense is probably not the appropriate unit to capture Robert's (and his contemporaries') perception of the building blocks of texts. This has been forcefully argued for (most) Early Modern English prose by Robinson (1998) – see also Croll (1966: 231) – and also for Early Modern German prose on the evidence of its punctuation, for example by Stolt (1990). Evidence from Robert's grammar of Welsh indicates that he thought in terms of traditional rhetorical units (for these, e.g., Rinas 2022: 118–121), rather than of grammatical ones. He introduces the concepts of the *rhessụm cyflaụn*/*perphaith* ('complete utterance', corresponding to *oratio*/*sententia perfecta*), whose beginning is defined by a capital letter and whose end by a *punctus* (Robert 1939: 18, 65). Its sub-units are marked by a *colon* and a *comma* respectively: 'Gụahannod […] a ḍengys ressum megis hanner perphaith. Rhagụahānod syḍ […] yn arụyḍo bod yn y ḷe hụnnụ uahā, ond amherphaith' (Robert 1939: 65, 'A *colon* […] marks an utterance as half-complete. A *comma* […] shows that in this place is a break, but [an] incomplete [one]'). His example proves that a complete *rhessụm* does not necessarily correspond to a modern sentence: this is a couplet which consists of an asyndetic sequence of three main clauses: 'Ti yu'r gụan, taụ ar y guir: arrian da a ụrandeụir.' (Robert 1939: 65, 'you are the weak one, speak not the truth: good money is heeded.').[6] The couplet represents the period, and *Ti yu'r gụan, taụ ar y guir* its first *colon* and *arrian da a ụrandeụir* its second; *Ti yu'r gụan* and *taụ ar y guir* respectively are *commata*. In this poetic example, the length of the period and the presence or absence of subordinated phrases are not an issue. The rules on capitalisation and the use of the *punctus* suggested by Robert, and thus his implied understanding of the nature of syntactic units, have an important bearing on syntactic analysis and on its arithmetic presentation when the sentence is a relevant unit of analysis (see below). But it needs to be taken into account that these may have been only imperfectly implemented in his introduction to the *Athravaeth* – probably partly due to the Italian typesetters. Eight sentences are demarcated by an initial capital letter and closed by a *punctus* or a question mark – these are sentences (1), (2), (3), (4), (6), (7), (9), and (12) in the schematic

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5   There is the further issue of what constitutes a word; for example, is *iụ* 'to their', the combination of the preposition *i* 'to' and the possessive pronoun 3rd plural (modern spelling *i'w*), to be analysed as one word or as two words? For the purpose of this paper, a word is provisionally defined as a typographical unit and *iụ* therefore as one word between spaces.

6   A variant of this couplet is attested in a poem by Iorwerth Fynglwyd (*fl.* 1485–1527) addressed to Rhys ap Siôn o Lyn-Nedd: 'tydi'r gwan, taw di â'r gwir—/arian da a wrandewir', see Jones & Rowlands (1975: 14).

presentation below and in the appendix. Sentence (5) begins with a capital letter, but is not closed by a *punctus*, i.e., the capital initial of (6) is not preceded by a *punctus*, so ignoring capitalisation, (6) could be read as a main clause coordinated with (5). Lewis (1948: 5) in his normalized edition of the text opts for a new main clause. There may be an internal *punctus* in (5) followed by a small letter – Lewis (1948: 5) inserts a comma in this position, and this interpretation is provisionally followed here as well. Sentence (8) begins with a small initial after a question mark and is closed by a *punctus*. Sentences (10) and (11) are the most problematic ones. (10) begins with a small letter after a *punctus* and the conjunction *canys*, so ignoring the *punctus* it could also be read as a coordinated main clause belonging to sentence (9).[7] There is an internal semi-colon in (10) which separates a subordinate clause from the preceding text to which it semantically belongs. Probably on semantic criteria, Lewis (1948: 6) inserts a comma instead of the semi-colon and places a full stop after the subordinate clause, and he begins not only a new sentence, (11), but also a new paragraph. The closing *punctus* at its end is in the text. Alternatively, (10) and (11) could be read a long rhetorical unit with two complex *cola*, perhaps even connected to sentence (9). Lewis (1948: 4–6) divides the text into 12 sentences, and this is the internal structure provisionally accepted here. However, sentence (5) could be taken as two separate main clauses; sentence (6) could be joined to sentence (5) to form a rhetorical unit consisting of three coordinated main clauses (or of two, if (5) is divided up); sentences (10) and (11) could be read as one unit, perhaps even in conjunction with (9). This leaves modern readers with considerable uncertainties about Robert's intentions and also introduces fuzziness in the attempt to measure 'sentence-length'.

Robert's paratext contains 575 words and can tentatively be divided into 12 (or 13 or fewer) 'sentences', depending on readers' balance of semantic or syntactic criteria and their interpretation of punctuation.[8] Based on a division of the text into 12 sentences, sentence-length varies from 24 to 91 words. If sentence (5) is separated into two main clauses, the shortest sentence will contain 13 words; if sentences (9), (10), and (11) are taken as one unit, they will contain altogether 103 words. The average number of words per sentence, based on 12 sentences, is about 48 words; the median is about 43 words. Both values hide text-internal variety. For the question of authors' 'Ciceronianism', the attested maximum values of 91 in two sentences are perhaps more revealing. Here, the first two sentences stand out for their length (unless (9), (10), and (11) are accepted as a rhetorical unit with 103 words).

Prototypical Ciceronian sentences are not only long, but also layered. The internal structure of sentences in the paratext is another issue of interest, specifically their syntactic depth, i.e., the number and arrangement of subordinate finite and non-finite phrases below the level of a main clause. The following schematic presentation is

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7   The issue of the status of the causal conjunction *canys* as coordinating or subordinating needs further scrutiny; it is here provisionally taken as a coordinating main-clause conjunction, in accordance with its classification in grammars of Modern Welsh, compare Thomas (1996: 461, 466).

8   In a further step of refinement, account could be taken of the ratio of different sentence-types, i.e., declarative, interrogative, optative, exclamative.

intended to give an overview of syntactic depth in Robert's paratext, based on its division into twelve sentences. This explicit format is, however, practical only for short texts. The word-count for each sentence is given in parentheses. The main clause is marked '0', numbers identify clauses and phrases on each syntactic level, syntactic siblings are distinguished by subscript numbers. Robert's sentence 11 is analysed in detail below. In order to explain the system of notation, I present first the first sentence in full and then the schematic presentation with explication:[9]

(1)

[1_1] VEdi ymy ḍarlain ych ḷyfr, o'r athraṷaeth Gristnogaṷl, a chanfod ynḍo megis egin pob pṵnc hyles i gristion ṵrtho, i gadṵ'r enaid,

[2] a ḍarfu i ḍuṵ i ṵneuthur ar i lun, ai ḍelṵ: ag a rybrynnoḍ Crist ai ṵerthfaṵr ṵaed:

[0] e laṵenychoḍ fynghalon

[1_2] ṵrth ṵeled tryssor mor ṵ[e]rthfaṵr yn yr iaith gymraeg:

[X] a maint

[$X1_1$] syḍ o eissie cyfrṵiḍid ar phorḍ Grist, yn gyphredinol ymysc gṵyr yn gṵlad:

[X] a'r plant yn crio am fara

[Y] (mal y mae'r prophṵyd yn ḷefain)

[X] heb fod neb,

[$X1_2$] ai tyrr iḍynt ag ai rhyḍ heb i ṵenṵyno

[After I had read your book on Christian doctrine, and found in it as it were in a nutshell every point necessary in order for a Christian to preserve the soul which God has made in His image and His likeness, and which Christ bought with His precious blood, my heart rejoiced to see such a precious treasure in the Welsh language: considering how great is the general need for guidance in the way of Christ among the men of our country, and the children crying out for bread (as the prophet exclaims) while there is none who breaks it for them and gives it without poisoning it.]

(1) 1_1–2–0–1_2–(X–$X1_1$–X–Y–X–$X1_2$)   (91 words)
(X = parenthetical observation; Y = parenthetical source marker)

This summarizes the following information: The main clause 0 is preceded by a subordinate phrase 1_1, on which another subordinate phrase 2 depends; syntactic depth in the field preceding the main clause is 2. The main clause is followed by a subordinate phrase 1_2 and by a complex parenthetical observation X into which a further syntactically unconnected parenthetical remark Y is inserted. Syntactic depth in the field following the main clause is strictly speaking 1, to which the parenthetical phrase adds another layer. The phrases at level 1 before and after the main clause constitute syntactic siblings; coordinated syntactic siblings of the same syntactic class are ignored

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9   All quotations from Gruffydd Robert's text are reproduced diplomatically from the digital facsimile with all printing errors uncorrected and unmarked.

for the purpose of this presentation, but will impact on syntactic complexity and stylistic effect (see below).

    (2) $0–1_1–2_1–1_1–2_2–X–0–1_2–2_3–3_1–2_3–3_2$ (91 words)
        (connective in sentence-initial position; X = parenthetical explanation)
    (3) $0–2–1$ (24 words)
    (4) $0–1–2$ (40 words)
    (5) $0_1–1–0_2$ (32 words)
        (alternatively, two coordinated main clauses: 13 + 19 words, or (5) + (6) = 67 words)
    (6) $0–1$ (35 words)
    (7) $0–1–2_1–2_2–3$ (45 words)
    (8) $0–1_1–2_1–2_2–2_3–0–1_2–0$ (53 words)
        (connective in sentence-initial position)
    (9) $X–0$ (25 words)
        (X = left-dislocated)
        (alternatively, (9) + (10) = 57 words, (9) + (10) + (11) = 103 words)
    (10) $0–1$ (32 words)
        (alternatively, (10) + (11) = 78 words)
    (11) $0–1$ (46 words)
    (12) $0–1_1–2_1–0–1_2–2_2–2_3$ (61 words)
        (connective in sentence-initial position)

There is some variation in syntactic depth in this short text, with main clauses plus one subordinate phrase in (6), (10), and (11), and a main clause plus a left-dislocated phrase in (9), besides more layered sentences as in (1), (2), (7), (8), and (12). The maximal syntactic depth in the field preceding the main clause is 2 in (1); in (2), (8), and (12), subordinated phrases with a syntactic depth or 2 and 3 respectively are inserted between a sentence initial connective and the rest of the main clause. The maximal syntactic depth in the field following the main clause is 3 in (7). Subordinate phrases frame the main clause in (1) and *mutatis mutandis* in (2), (8), and (12), the four sentences which also rank highest with regard to their word count.

A focus on syntactic depth, however, potentially hides other significant micro-stylistic features of individual sentences on the level of constituents, for example their number and the patterns of parallelism and coordination, partly reflected in the low value of syntactic depth in relation to the number of words, as will be seen in the next section in the discussion of sentence (11), with a syntactic depth of 1 and a length of 46 words. There is the further complication that a schematic presentation cannot easily present syntactic ambiguities when more than one syntactic analysis appears possible, briefly mentioned above with regard to the status of *canys* as subordinating or coordinating in (6) and (10).

4 SOME MICRO-STYLISTICS IN ACTION

Robert's sentence (11) with its syntactic depth of 1, a conditional clause attached to a verbless main clause, looks deceptively simple:

> (11)
> [0]   gụyn i byd trụy gymru,
> [1]   pe parent ymhob eglụys ụrth aros y gụasanaeth, ne ar osteg ypheren, gartref
>   ymysc tylụyth y ty i difyrru'r amser ag ymhob cyniḷeidfa i ḍiḍanu'r bobl,
>   ḍarlain hụnn ne'r cyfryụ ymadrodion a gadel i phorḍ henchụedlau coegion,
>   a choụydau gụenheuthus, celụdog.

> [It would be a great blessing throughout all Wales if they [the Welsh people] made a habit, in every church while waiting for the service to begin, or during low Mass, at home among the household to shorten the time, and in every assembly to comfort the people, of reading this book or similar material and have done with old, false legends and flattering, lying cywyddau. (Translation adapted from Bryant-Quinn 2000: 26)[10]]

A closer look reveals two micro-stylistic features which are concealed by simple measurements of words per sentence and syntactic depth. The first is the repetition of syntactically equivalent elements in two or more consecutive parts of sentences, akin to the rhetorical figure known as compar or parison, the use of similarly structured phrases or clauses (McDonald 2007: 39). Relevant instances in this sentence are *ḍarlain … a gadel* 'reading and having done with', *henchụedlau coegion, a choụydau gụenheuthus, celụdog* 'false old legends and flattering, lying *cywyddau*', and the long sequence of adverbial expressions spanning *ymhob eglụys … i ḍiḍanu'r bobl* with further internal parallelism of *i difyrru'r amser* 'to shorten the time' and *i ḍiḍanu'r bobl* 'to comfort the people'. Another noteworthy feature is the separation of two syntactically closely related elements, the finite verb *parent* and its objects *ḍarlain … a gadel*, by the intervening long adverbial sequence (underlined).

A search for parison and separation in other sentences of the paratext reveals that these features are not restricted to sentence (11). Parallelism in some form occurs in all sentences and contributes to their overall length. In sentence (1), for example, two coordinated verbal-noun phrases are contained in phrase 1_1 and two coordinated relative clauses in both 2_1 and X_1 – altogether amounting to 52 of the 91 words of the sentence. In (2), phrase 2_2 consists of a sequence of four coordinated indirect questions (22 words) involving contrast; in (7), phrase 4 consists of a sequence of six coordinated indirect questions (32 words); in (8), a sequence of three coordinated objects in the main clause express semantically related concepts: *ai diogsụrth eisteḍach, ai bustlaụl sertheḍ, ag ai smala gyfeḍach* 'their tardy lolling about and their foul obscenity and their vain merriment'. Here, parallelism overlaps with synonymia, the repetition of

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10   *Cywydd*, pl. *cywyddau*, a Welsh metrical form which consists of rhyming couplets.

(near-)synonymous words (see Adamson 2007). Other examples occur, for example, in sentences (1), *ar i lun, ai ḍelu̧* 'in his own image and his likeness', and (2), *gasclu yn grynno, a dosparth yn drefnus, ag yn eglur* 'assembled compactly and arranged orderly and clearly'. A separation of syntactically closely related elements by sometimes extended adverbial phrases is found in altogether four sentences. In sentence (6), for example, the finite verb *gaant* and its object *y pethau* are separated by an adverbial phrase of 16 words (underlined):

(6)
[0] Canys yn ych ḷyfr chu̧i yma nhu̧y a gaant <u>oi ḍysgu yn hau̧d, meu̧n ychydig o amser, a thru̧y ychydig help, a ḷai o gost</u>, y pethau

[1] syḍ angenrheidiol iu̧ gu̧ybod, i hen ag ifanc.

[Since in this book of yours they will find, to teach them easily, in little time and with little help and less cost, the things that are necessary to know for old and young.]

This adverbial phrase could have been placed at the end of the sentence. In other cases, probably no alternative slots were easily available for the placement of the adverbial phrases, but at the same time their length, resulting from the accumulation of parallel elements, is the author's stylistic decision – resulting in the concomitant wide separation of syntactically closely related elements.

5 SOME CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

In the two preceding sections, two approaches to the micro-stylistic analysis of Early Modern Welsh texts 'between the arithmetic and the impressionistic' were exemplified, the quantitative analysis of sentence length and syntactic depth and the 'impressionistic' qualitative analysis of individual sentences in search for distinctive stylistic features. Sentence length and syntactic depth varies in the paratext, and the resulting variety may be another feature that could be productively explored. For the question of Welsh Ciceronianism, the attested maximal value of 91 words in two sentences is probably more instructive than the overall variation: Robert produced long sentences, but did not do so consistently. Significantly perhaps, his first two sentences are long and fairly complex, as if he wanted to signal his ability to inscribe himself into a contemporary valued stylistic register. In a similar paratext, Roger Smyth's introduction to *Crynnodeb o aḍysc Cristnogau̧l* (1609)*,* his adaptation of the catechisms of the Jesuit Petrus Canisius, the first two sentences are among the three longest ones.[11] Because of

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11 An analysis of the syntax and style of Smyth's paratext by Raphael Sackmann and myself is forthcoming in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie. The question of whether specific stylistic conventions existed for different parts of texts needs to be reserved for further comparative research. I can offer here Weiser's observations on the style of John Jewel's English sermons: he points out that Jewel employed a specific style for the beginning of his sermons, which he describes as 'the rather complex, Ciceronian syntax which in Jewel's time was thought to be the sure sign of a learned man' (Weiser 1973: 79) – according to Weiser, parallelism has 'but a small place in the Ciceronian style' (Weiser 1973: 18), it is employed specifically in what Weiser (1973: 121) calls the high persuasive style of emotional appeal in Jewel's sermons.

uncertainties of the demarcation of Early Modern 'sentences', sentence length is a numerically less reliable 'arithmetic' criterion than it appears to be. Other features susceptible to arithmetic analysis, for example the number of constituents in a sentence, will require future testing. However, results may potentially hide other significant micro-stylistic characteristics of individual sentences, and this approach was therefore complemented by a qualitative micro-stylistic analysis. This set out to find features which in a second step might then be identified as frequent and pervasive in the text, and thus as stylistically significant. At this point, the impressionistic and the arithmetic necessarily and productively overlap. In the specific case under scrutiny here, synonymia, parison, and a wide separation of closely related elements by stylistically expanded phrases emerged as recurrent devices. Synonymia is a distinctive feature of Smyth's paratext.[12] More importantly, synonymia and parison have been described by Adamson (2007) and McDonald (2007) as pervasive features of early-modern English writing, so by using these figures Robert inscribes himself into a contemporary paradigm of an aesthetically valued and prestigious discourse.

Not much fine-grained information is currently available about stylistic features of Early Modern Welsh prose works. In order to eventually arrive at a map of relevant features, this paper argues for a text-by-text bottom-up procedure which builds on the analysis of individual texts, or text samples, and combines quantitative and 'impressionistic' interpretative perspectives in order to identify notable recurrent micro-stylistic traits. It reflects on criteria for a stylistic analysis and on difficulties of their application, and it highlights a range of options Robert had to structure his text within a culturally transmitted set of expectations and norms. More general issues at the back of this article concern the applicability of the label 'Ciceronian' and the understanding of dominant modes and models of prose writing in Early Modern Wales. Due to the small textual corpus on which it is based, it is very much a methodological exercise in empirical historical stylistics, an invitation to apply and develop the criteria suggested here, and to detect further distinctive stylistic traits of Early Modern Welsh prose. Historical stylistics is a research area which has much to offer for its understanding. Gruffydd Robert, for example, attempted to expand the functional and stylistic range of Welsh against a background of Renaissance and humanist ideas regarding the advancement of the vernacular; he was aware of foreign-language models for a refined style of Welsh prose, if, as is likely, we are correct in accepting his translation of Cicero as intended as a model, and these larger concerns are arguably reflected in the minutiae of his stylistic practice, even when he writes an introduction to a catechism.

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12 It is, for example, also a feature of Pierre Boaistuau's *Théâtre du Monde, ou il est faict un ample discours des miseres humaines* and of his *Bref discours de l'excellence et dignité de l'homme*, of their Welsh translation by Roger Smyth as *Gorsedd y byd* (1615), and of Smyth's paratexts to the translation.

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Appendix: Corpus ([Clynnog] 1568: [ii]-[vi])

Gruphyḍ fab Rhobert yn annerch yr hyparch brelad, ai ḍibal gynheiliad M. Morys Clynoc: ag yn erchi iḍo gan ḍuụ, gynnyḍ, ras a deḍụḍụch enaid, a chorph

Gruffydd Robert greeting the venerable prelate and his constant patron, M. Morris Clynnoc, and asking for him from God blessing, grace, and felicity of soul and body

(1) [1₁] VEdi ymy ḍarlain ych ḷyfr, o'r athraụaeth Gristnogaụl, a chanfod ynḍo megis egin pob pụnc hyles i gristion ụrtho, i gadụ'r enaid, [2] a ḍarfu i ḍuụ i ụneuthur ar i lun, ai ḍelụ: ag a rybrynnoḍ Crist ai ụerthfaụr ụaed: [0] e laụenychoḍ fynghalon [1₂] ụrth ụeled tryssor mor ụ[e]rthfaụr yn yr iaith gymraeg: [X] a maint [X1₁] syḍ o eissie cyfrụiḍid ar phorḍ Grist, yn gyphredinol ymysc gụyr yn gụlad: [X] a'r plant yn crio am fara ([Y] mal y mae'r prophụyd yn ḷefain) [X] heb fod neb, [X1₂] ai tyrr iḍynt ag ai rhyḍ heb i ụenụyno

After I had read your book on Christian doctrine and found in it as it were in a nutshell every point necessary in order for a Christian to preserve the soul, which God has made in His image and his likeness and which Christ bought with His precious blood, my heart rejoiced to see such a precious treasure in the Welsh language: considering how great is the general need for guidance in the way of Christ among the men of our country, and the children crying out for bread (as the prophet exclaims) while there is none who breaks it for them and gives it without poisoning it.

(2) [0] Am hynny [1₁] gen ḍarfod i chụi gasclu yn grynno, a dosparth yn drefnus, ag yn eglur cymaint o flodeuau, a phynciau iachusaụl, i hyphorḍi vn [2₁] a chụennychai ụybod sụyḍ, a rhann Cristion perpheithgred, [1₁] i ḍyscu [2₂] beth a enniḷ nef, beth a dafl ḍyn i vphern, beth

a rhynga boḍ i ḍuụ, a pheth a ụna iḍo sorri: [X] brynti pechod, odidoụgrụyḍ rhinụeḍ: [0] ni eḷais ar fynghalon [1_2] na pharụn i brintio: [2_3] fal y gaḷo eraiḷ [3_1] syḍ ag eissie y cyfryụ ymborth ysprydol arnynt, [2_3] fod yn gyfrannol o'r ụleḍ [3_2] a ḍarfu ichụi i harlụy.

Therefore, because you have assembled compactly and arranged orderly and clearly so many flowers and wholesome articles in order to instruct the one who would wish to know the duty and the share of a Christian of perfect religion, to teach what will win heaven, what will cast man to hell, what will please God, and what will make him displeased: pollution of sin, excellence of virtue: I did not have the heart not to bring about its printing so that others who lack such spiritual sustainance could partake in the feast you have prepared.

(3) [0] Gobeithio [2] pan ḍelo i ḍuylaụ y crefyḍgar gymru, [1] y gụna laụer o les iḍynt, trụy i hụylio i baradụys, ai troi o phorḍ uphernaụl.

Let's hope that when it comes into the hands of the pious Welsh, it will do them much good, by directing them to paradise and turning them from the infernal road.

(4) [0] E fyḍ tostur fynghalon [1] pan feḍyliụyf faint [2] syḍ o blant trụy dir cymru, odidaụg i athrylith, a darpar gụyr arḍerchaụg, yn methu ag yn cymryd ḷuybr annụyiaụl eisiau cael oi mebyd i hypho[r]ḍi meụn dysc, ai meithrin meụn moessaụl gampau.

It wounds my heart when I think how many children throughout Wales, magnificently talented and potentially splendid people, fail and take the road of ungodliness lacking to get from their youth guidance in doctrine and education in moral development.

(5) [0_1] Yr achos fụyaf o hynn yụ diphig ḷyfrau [1] a draethant o'r cyphelib ystyr (.) [0_2] ond yroụron e ḍarfu i chụi meụn ychydig o ḍolennau roḍi cymorth, a help iḍynt rhag yr eissiau hynn

The foremost reason for this is a want of books which set out such contents, but now you have given them in a few pages succour and help against this deficiency.

(6) [0] Canys yn ych ḷyfr chụi yma nhụy a gaant oi ḍysgu yn haụd, meụn ychydig o amser, a thrụy ychydig help, a ḷai o gost, y pethau [1] syḍ angenrheidiol iụ gụybod, i hen ag ifanc.

Since in this book of yours they will find, to teach them easily, in little time and with little help and less cost, the things that are necessary to know for old and young.

(7) [0] Canys pụy yụ hụnnụ [1] a eiḷ ḍoedyd [2_1] i fod yn gristion, [2_2] oni ụyr [3] pa foḍ y mae credu yngrhist, beth syḍ oi obeithio gentho, a pheth a orchmynoḍ ef i gadụ; beth a ụaharḍoḍ i ụneuthur, beth a ennil obrụy, a pheth a hauda gosp?

Since who is the one who can say that he is a Christian if he does not know how one believes in Christ, what is expected by him, and what he commanded to keep, what he forbade to do, what wins reward and what incurs punishment?

(8) [0] fely [1_1] pan ystyrio'r cymru [2_2] syḍ yn caru i heneidiau, [2_3] mor anhepcor ydyụ'r rhain, ag mor hauḍ i dyscu ụrth ḍarlain y traethiad yma: [0] nhụy a 'madaụant ai diogsụrth

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eisteḍach, ai bustlaṷl sertheḍ, ag ai smala gyfeḍach ([1₂] onid ydynt ṷedi boḍi meṷn brynti pechod) [0] ag a 'mroḍant i ḍyscu pethau sprydol, buḍfaur i'r enaid.

Thus, when the Welsh who love their souls, contemplate how necessary these are and how easy to learn by reading this treatise, they will renounce their tardy lolling about and their foul obscenity and their vain merriment (unless they have been submerged in pollution of sin) and apply themselves to learn spiritual things, beneficial for the soul.

(9) [0] A hynn nis caant meṷn mann araḷ yn y byd mor fyrr, mor drefnus, mor eglur oi deaḷt ag yn y ḷyfr yma i chṷi.

And these [i.e., the spiritual things], they will not find them in any other place at all as briefly, as orderly, as clearly to be understood as in this book of yours.

(10) [0] canys amhossibl oeḍ gynnṷys meṷn ḷai o erriau, a dosparth yn oleuach, a chyfleu yn ṷeḍeiḍiach gynnifer bynciau, a chyn ḍyfned i 'styriaeth; [1] fal y gaḷo y plant a'r gṷrageḍ i deaḷt,

For it would be impossible to contain in fewer words, and to structure more clearly, and to arrange more suitably, so many subjects – and so deep their meaning – so that the children and the women may understand them.

(11) [0] gṷyn i byd trṷy gymru, [1] pe parent ymhob eglṷys ṷrth aros y gṷasanaeth, ne ar osteg ypheren, gartref ymysc tylṷyth y ty i difyrru'r amser ag ymhob cyniḷeidfa i ḍiḍanu'r bobl, ḍarlain hṷnn ne'r cyfryṷ ymadrodion a gadel i phorḍ henchṷedlau coegion, a choṷydau gṷenheuthus, celṷḍog.

It would be a great blessing throughout all Wales if they [the Welsh people] made a habit, in every church while waiting for the service to begin, or during low Mass, at home among the household to shorten the time, and in every assembly to comfort the people, of reading this book or similar material and have done with old, false legends and flattering, lying cywyddau.

(12) [0] Ond [1₁] ar hydr y rhyḍ yr yspryd glan ras iḍynt hṷy i gymryd dysc, [2₁] megis y roes i chṷi oi scrifennu attyn; [0] mi danfonaf yrhain yn i mysc, [1₂] dan erfyn ar ḍuṷ ymhob gṷeḍi [2₂] a ṷnelṷyf [2₃] ar ṷrtheithio hono i calonnau nhṷy i ḍerbyn aḍysc, a rhoi nerth i chṷithau i scrifennu chṷaneg er ḷes i'r Gristnogion, a gogoniant i duṷ.

But in the hope that the Holy Ghost will give them grace to accept teaching, as it gave it to you to write to them, I will send these to them, entreating God in every prayer I pray that he equips their hearts to receive instruction and that he gives strength to you to write more for the benefit of Christians and God's glory.

Abstract

BETWEEN THE IMPRESSIONISTIC AND THE ARITHMETIC:
THINKING ABOUT CRITERIA FOR THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF EARLY
MODERN WELSH PROSE

Empirical historical stylistics is methodologically a difficult field since it 'perhaps inevitably combines the impressionistic and the arithmetic' (Guillory 2017: 63). For lesser researched languages or periods, the problems are aggravated because even impressionistic assessments on which further hypotheses and comparative work could be built, are rare. Early Modern Welsh (c. 1500 – c. 1700) is a period to which this qualification applies. This article will discuss some methodological issues and parameters for a micro-stylistic analysis of Early Modern Welsh prose, i.e., on the level of individual sentences. Its approach is bottom-up, taking as its point of departure the introductory paratext to Morys Clynnog's catechism *Athravaeth Gristnogawl* ('Christian Doctrine', 1568) by its editor Gruffydd Robert. It argues that in the case of lesser research languages, empirical historical stylistics will need to proceed from the analyses of individual texts or text samples which combine quantitative and 'impressionistic' interpretative perspectives in order to identify notable recurrent micro-stylistic traits.

Keywords: empirical historical stylistics, Early Modern Welsh, Gruffydd Robert, Ciceronianism

Povzetek

MED IMPRESIONISTIČNIM IN ARITMETIČNIM: KAKŠNI NAJ BI BILI KRITERIJI ZA STILISTIČNO ANALIZO ZGODNJE MODERNE VALIŽANSKE PROZE

Empirična historična stilistika je v metodološkem pogledu težavno področje, glede na to, da se tu "morda neizogibno srečujeta impresionistično in aritmetično" (Guillory 2017: 63). Pri manj raziskanih jezikih ali obdobjih je težava še večja, saj so v zvezi z njimi redke celo impresionistične ocene, na katerih bi lahko temeljile nadaljnje hipoteze in primerjalne študije. Takšen primer je zgodnja moderna valižanščina (pribl. 1500 – pribl. 1700). Pričujoči članek obravnava nekaj metodoloških vprašanj in parametrov za mikrostilistično analizo zgodnje moderne valižanske proze, in sicer na ravni posameznih povedi. Uporabljen je pristop "od spodaj navzgor", kot izhodišče pa služi uvodni paratekst h katekizmu *Athravaeth Gristnogawl* ('Krščanska doktrina', 1568) Morysa Clynnoga, ki ga je napisal urednik Gruffydd Robert. Članek skuša pokazati, da bo pri manj raziskanih jezikih empirična historična stilistika morala najprej analizirati posamezna besedila ali odlomke besedil in opazovane značilnosti razložiti ob upoštevanju tako kvantitativne kot "impresionistične" perspektive, s ciljem prepoznavanja pomembnih ponavljajočih se mikrostilističnih značilnosti.

Ključne besede: empirična historična stilistika, zgodnja moderna valižanščina, Gruffydd Robert, ciceronizem