

POLYSEMY OF WELSH *LLAWN* ‘FULL’ IN THE POETRY OF DAFYDD AP GWILYM*

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0. Introduction

In this article I wish to present a pilot study for a larger project on polysemy in Welsh adjectives. The project is dedicated to polysemy and semantic change in a number of high-frequency adjectives in Welsh throughout its history. This paper has two aims. The first aim is to discuss the methodology of the project. A special methodological issue I will address is the issues posed by working with small-size poetic corpora, the advantages and disadvantages that this entails. The second aim is to describe the polysemy of *llawn* ‘full’ in the work of Dafydd ap Gwilym, the most prominent Welsh poet of the Middle Ages, with two particular points of attention – how does this sample correspond to the prose language of his period and what is the typological value of my data?¹

1. Methodology

My project arises out of the work of the Moscow Lexical Typology group (MLexT) led by Prof. Ekaterina Rakhilina (Higher School of Economics) called “Typology-oriented database: lexical organization of qualitative adjectives”,² which explores polysemy in the most frequent adjectives in Russian, Serbian, German, English, Chinese, Hindi and other languages. It aims to establish regular shifts of meanings which might be language universal and therefore could provide us with an insight into the cognitive foundations of language. The standard procedure in all projects of MLexT is to choose a semantic field, to establish by means of dictionaries lexemes in this field in several languages, to gather the data on their combinability mainly in corpora, but also by judgement tasks done by native speakers, which provide valuable negative information, such as, for example, the insight that some combinations are ungrammatical. Further distinct senses within this semantic field are

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identified, the relationships between them in terms of semantic shifts are postulated as well as the relationships between the quasi-synonyms that cover this field. The conclusions are represented graphically by means of semantic maps. The results of some projects were published in (Reznikova, Rakhilina, Bonch-Osmolovskaya 2012; Lander, Maisak, Rakhilina 2013).

I took part in some of the projects of the group, but there was always a feeling that Welsh required a slightly different approach. First, it turned out that gathering necessary semantic data from native speakers has been more difficult in this instance. In the domain of semantics their judgement is quite often influenced by English counterparts, and there is also dialectal variation and a significant gap between the literary standard and the oral register of the language. As a result, we often get answers such as, "I would never say so, but I would not be surprised to read it or hear from a speaker from the North/South". This does not mean that the elicitation of data from natives is impossible; it is, however, definitely much more difficult and time-consuming than gathering comparable data from the speakers of such languages as Russian, German or French. Secondly, until recently, there were almost no Modern Welsh corpora available for semantic research, and, though the situation is now changing drastically (see below), we still do not have large-sized contemporary corpora like those existing for English, German, Finnish, Russian, Chinese etc. What we have, on the other hand, are numerous corpora and other electronic resources for the previous stages of the Welsh language, which cover its rich history.

2. Welsh corpora and other electronic resources

Let us consider the resources available for the diachronical research of polysemy in Welsh.

We have the Old Welsh records analysed in works of Alexander Falileyev, especially (2000) and (2008). Though they are unfortunately not available online, the size of the corpus allows the use of the printed works for, *inter alia*, "the study of semantic fields", as Falileyev himself points out (2000: xii). For Middle Welsh, we have the following corpora:

(a) a searchable version of all the Welsh prose in 13th-century manuscripts (Isaac, Rodway *et al.* 2010);

(b) the searchable corpus of Middle Welsh, *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1350-1425 (Welsh Prose 1350-1425)*, edited by Thomas, Smith, Luft 2007 (henceforth 'RhG');³

³ Current extended version comprises texts from 1300 to 1425, but this research is based on the previous version.

(c) the whole corpus of the Hengerdd, digitised in the form of a concordance by Graham Isaac (2001). Electronic searches are simplified by the modernization of the orthography;

(d) the online edition of works of Dafydd ap Gwilym (ca. 1320-1360) (DG);

(e) a similar project on Guto'r Glyn (ca. 1412 - ca. 1493) (GG);

(f) the concordances of the whole corpus of the Gogynfeirdd and the 14th century poetry. These are in preparation at the Centre for Advanced Celtic and Welsh Studies (Aberystwyth) and once available online will be a treasure trove for those studying the language of the Welsh poets.

For the later periods, there is

(g) the “Historic Corpus of Welsh” (420,000 words), modelled on the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, providing text examples of various genres, both prose and poetry, from 1500 to 1850 (Mittendorf, Willis 2004).

For Modern Welsh, *Cronfa Electroneg o Gymraeg* (Ellis, O’Dochartaigh et al. 2001) is now available for searching online. An initial substantial parallel corpus has been created by the Bangor Language Technologies unit out of the *Proceedings of the National Assembly for Wales*. A much larger Welsh language corpus is now anticipated. This will be created by means of digitising Welsh newspapers. Such corpora have proved to be important sources for linguistic work (compare, for example the German Reference Corpus,⁴ which consists mainly of newspaper texts). The existence of such a large corpus will greatly facilitate work on Modern Welsh, but, as I have demonstrated earlier, we are fortunate enough to have almost all the Middle Welsh data digitised already and this is why my project focuses mainly on the historical stage of the language.

3. The language of prose vs. the language of poetry

Comparable semantic corpora studies on adjective polysemy were previously conducted using data from prose texts. For example, Iris Bons (2009) used the data of the aforementioned Mannheim German Reference Corpus for her PhD thesis on German adjectives *hart*, *sanft*, *grob* and *weich*. According to the *handlungstheoretische Semantik* (action-theoretical semantics), which provides her theoretical framework, the meaning of a word is a spectrum of its regular usages and is to be described by analysing a large amount of examples and identifying regular aspects of the usage. According to this theory an occasional usage is “a unique historical event” (Fritz 1995: 79), which does

⁴ <http://www1.ids-mannheim.de/>.

not give clues to the regular usage; that is, only a conventionalised usage in a particular reading can be regarded as a 'sense' of the word.

Another approach might be justified for Welsh. If we look at the history of the Welsh language as a whole, we quickly grasp both how large the proportion of poetic texts in the whole written evidence is and how important their role in Welsh culture has always been. The poetic language certainly has several peculiarities: on the one hand, due to the complex metrical system and rhyming rules, one word is often chosen over its synonyms on account of its phonetic form and not because of its semantics, while, on the other hand, the poetic language is far more generous in the combinability of words.⁵ Poets like Dafydd ap Gwilym are particularly sensitive to polysemy and resulting ambiguity, as shown in Johnston (2008).

Despite all the peculiar features of poetic language, various studies (e.g. Day 2010) show that the Welsh poetry is well suited both for the study of the real world in which it was written and the language in which it was composed. Dafydd ap Gwilym is particularly important for the history of the Welsh language as he both employs an archaic lexicon and is also highly innovative (see Dafydd Johnston's contribution in this volume). Using this relatively small corpus, I will test whether one could apply the methodology developed for larger prose corpora to poetic texts with their specific features. Another question is whether some discrepancy between the Middle Welsh prose texts and the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym will be found. If so, the following stages of the research should consider whether this should be treated as a peculiar feature of Dafydd's usage or of the poetic language of his time generally.

Resources such as DG have one more additional advantage, since they provide all the texts with Modern Welsh paraphrases and English translations. There is also a translation by R.M. Loomis (1982) and some of the poems are translated into English by Rachel Bromwich (1982). Thus the researcher has the assistance of expert knowledge on correspondences between Middle Welsh and Modern Welsh/English lexemes and work with such data resembles in some ways work with parallel corpora, whose importance is increasing in typological research (see Cysouw, Wälchli 2007).

4. Welsh *llawn* and its synonyms

Before I come to the examples found in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry, a few words should be said about the adjective *llawn*. First, it is one of two competing forms, its derivative, *cyflawn* being the second. The exact semantic relationship of the two lexemes remains to be studied at a future stage of the project, since both words are rather frequent (205 instances of *llawn* against

⁵ More on the style of the Welsh poetry see Williams 1994: 53-59.

176 of *cyflawn* in *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1350-1425*). I hope to be able to identify certain distributional patterns in the future.

It is not the task of the project to describe the meaning of the adjectives under investigation from scratch, since fortunately Welsh has the luxury of a long tradition of lexicography (see Hawke 2006), which means that dictionary entries can be consulted as a starting point. What a dictionary does not show are frequencies of certain collocations and their change over time; to describe those is one of the main tasks of my project.

Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru identifies five senses of *llawn* (GPC 2112-13). I am quoting here only the English part of definitions.

- (a) full (of receptacle); covered or saturated (e.g. with blood); filled to capacity (of building, vehicle etc); teeming with, abounding in (also in non-material sense, e.g. of wrath, grace, mercy, busyness); charged with emotion.
- (b) filled (with food or drink), replete, sated (sometimes to the point of surfeit); ‘in clover’, well-to-do.
- (c) fat, sleek, plump, filled or rounded out in form; pregnant.
- (d) complete, whole, entire; full, generous (e.g. of measure); detailed (of account or report etc.).
- (e) full, having a store of knowledge, cultured, having a great variety of interests, useful and helpful to society, public-spirited.

From the examples it is clear that in two senses (a and b) *llawn* is used in a two-argument construction (“container” and “content”) or that “content” is at least easily understood. In sense (a) the containers and the contents can be very different, in sense (b) the “container” is a person and the “content” is food or drink, and in the three other senses the construction has one argument only. Syntactically the second argument can be expressed either by prepositional group *o* + noun or simply by a dependent noun. It might be worth investigating whether there are any differences in meaning between the two constructions, but, as the small sample under investigation does not allow such an analysis, I analyse both syntactic variants together.

5. *llawn* in Dafydd ap Gwilym’s poetry

My sample consists of 22 examples. One cannot speak about any valid statistical distributions based on such a small sample. Some individual features of Dafydd ap Gwilym’s poetry as well as some peculiarities of the Welsh *llawn* from a typological perspective can be recognised, however. I shall first introduce them in groups according to the GPC senses. As the discussion will

show, the precise demarcation of senses given in GPC is sometimes fraught with problems. I present all the instances found in my sample, though I shall not comment on all of them in sections 6 and 7 below. For each example I provide an annotation of the arguments according to the WordNet project.⁶

5.1. GPC meaning (a)

- (1) 22, 50: CONTAINER + *llawn o* + ABSTRACTION
Llywiwr iawngamp llariangerdd, / Llyna gist yn llawn o gerdd!
 Excellent ruler of gentle verse, / there's a coffin that's full of song!
- (2) 32, 17: PERSON + *llawn o* + EMOTION (ABSTRACTION)
Llawn wyf o ddig na thrigai, / Bath yw i mi, byth y Mai.
 I am full of anger that May /does not stay forever, it is a mint of money for me.
- (3) 140, 4: PERSON + *llawn o* + EMOTION (ABSTRACTION)
*Caru'r wyf, gwaith hynwyf gwyllt, / Eneth ddiseml, nith Esyllt. / Lliwydden
 wylltwn walltaur, / Llawn yw o serch, llinos aur.*
 I love, wild and passionate work, / A noble girl, Esyllt's niece, / A wild white
 little painter with golden hair, / She is full of love, a goldfinch.
- (4) 57, 10: PERSON + *llawn o* + EMOTION (ABSTRACTION)
*Nid oedd, o dan hoyw Dduw Dad, / Dawn iddi, dyn a wyddiad, / Or ddi
 Difiau, dechrau dydd, / Lawned fûm o lawenydd / Yn myned, gweled
 gwiwlun, / I'r tir yr oedd feinir fun.*
 There was no one under dear God the Father / (bless her) who knew, / when
 break of day came on Thursday, / how full of joy I was / as I went, [to] see
 the beauty, / to the land where the tall slender maid was.
- (5) 4, 39: PERSON + *llawn o* + ABSTRACTION
*Mwythus liw, Mathëus lân, / A Iago, rhai diogan; / Sain Sud o fewn sens
 hoywdeg, / Llyna 'ntwy, llinynnaid teg. / Llawn o rad ýnt, bellynt bwyll, / Lle
 y doded mewn lliw didwyll.*
 In sumptuous colour, fair Matthew, / and James, who are above reproach; /
 Saint Jude in splendid incense, / there they are, handsomely strung together. /
 They're full of grace (far-reaching wisdom) / where they've been placed in
 honest colour.

⁶ WordNet is a semantic network created for English, which interlinks words and groups of words by means of lexical and conceptual relations. It is an especially useful resource for me in the area of nouns, where they are organised in hierarchies by means of hyponymy and meronymy relationships. This helps to cluster several lexemes into bigger lexical groups with the help of an already existing ontology. On the project see Fellbaum 2006.

- (6) 67, 12: PERSON + *llawn* + EMOTION (ABSTRACTION)
Yno y clywwn ŵr traglew / Yn bwrw carwnaid, llygaid llew, / Yn dwyn lluchynt i'm ymlid / Yn greulawn ac yn llawn llid.

Then I heard a most valiant man / leaping stag – like with a lion's eyes, / pursuing me in fierce assault, / cruel and filled with anger.

- (7) 82, 10: PERSON + *llawn* + ABSTRACTION
Gynt yr oeddwn, gwn ganclwyf, / Yn oed ieuenctyd a nwyf, / Yn ddilesg, yn ddiddolur, / Yn ddeiliad cariad y cur, / Yn ddenwr gwawd, yn ddinych, / Yn dda'r oed ac yn ddewr wych, / Yn lluniwr berw oferwaith, / Yn llawen iawn, yn llawn iaith, / Yn ddogon o bwynt, yn ddigardd, / Yn ddigri, yn heini'n hardd.

I was once (I know a hundred wounds) / in the age of youth and vigour, / without weakness, without pain, / one bound to anguish's love, / a seducer [by] poetry, without feebleness, / good in a tryst, and brave and splendid, / a composer of light-hearted poetry, / very joyful, abounding in language, / full of health, without blemish, / merry, lively and handsome.

- (8) 1, 9: CONSTRUCTION + *llawn o* + ABSTRACTION
Llawn iawn fu o ddawn heb fodd aer—na thwrf / Na therfysg brwydr aglaer, / Llŷch oleugalch loywgaer, / Lle lleinw heli Dywi daer.

It was very full of blessing without means of war or clamour / or tumult of shining battle, / . . . bright white-washed fortress / where the salt sea fills the rushing Tywi.

- (9) 148, 73: *llawn* + possessive pronoun + DWELLING (CONSTRUCTION) (genitive of respect)⁷
Gwir a ddywad Ystudfach / Gyda'i feirdd yn cyfeddach, / "Wyneb llawen llawn ei dŷ, / Wyneb trist drwg a ery".

It is true what Ystudfach said / when carousing with his poets, / 'The joyful man will have a full house, / and misfortune will come to the sad man'.

- (10) 5, 31: DWELLING (CONSTRUCTION) + *llawn*
Llys eurwr, a'i gwnaeth llu seiri—yn falch, / Lliwgaer yn lasgalch, llugyrn losgi./ Llawnaf, dianaf, daioni—mynud, / Lluniaeth ffraeth, ffrwythdud, glud glodfori. / Llwybreiddwlad, gariad Gwri—Wallt Euryrn, / Llywelyn drawstyn a â drosti.

The court of a fine man, by many carpenters made splendidly, / a coloured lime-covered court, lantern-burning. / Most full, unblemished, of courteous goodness, / ready provision, bountiful land, diligently praised. / A tractable land, love of Gwri of the Golden Hair, / Llywelyn the mighty rules over it.

⁷ On this construction see Mac Cana 1966, Jacobs 1996, Russell 1996 and Falileyev 2009.

- (11) 132, 26: OBJECT + *llawn o* + ABSTRACTION
Lleuad las gron, gwmpas graen, / Llawn o hud, llun ehedfaen, / Hadlyd liw, hudol o dlws, / Hudolion a'i hadeilws.

A round blue moon, a dire circle, / full of magic, the appearance of a lodestone, / of a weak colour, an enchanting gem, / magicians made it.

- (12) 21, 13: PLANT (OBJECT) + *llawn o* + PLANT PART (OBJECT)
Gwedy dêl, gwawd adeilwyn, / Gwyllt saethydd, llamhidydd llwyn, / O ddwystreigl brad i ddistryw / Â bollt bedryollt bedw ryw, / Cyd bo llawn, dawn dywenydd, / O berffrwyth gweddeiddlwyth gwÿdd, / Y bydd cerdd fydr o hydr hoed / Heb loyw degan blodeугоed.

When a wild Bowman comes / trampling through the wood, praise of a tree edifice, / on a grim mission of treachery / to destroy the species of the birch trees with four-sided bolt, / although the trees with their lovely load / are full of sweet fruit, gift of gladness, / versecraft will be deeply mournful / without the bright jewel of the flowering trees.

- (13) 152, 29: BODY PART (PHYSICAL ENTITY) + *llawn* + LIQUID
Dy draed yn llawn gwaed, nid gwydus—dy gof, / Dy ddwylo erof, Duw ddolurus

Your feet covered in blood, your intent [towards us] is not malicious, / your hands for my sake, dolorous God

- (14) 116, 26: OBJECT + *llawn* + LIQUID
Od â â'i enaid, baid banw, / I'r lwydlong wyllt ar lidlanw, / Llonydd ni hir gydfydd hi, / Llun ei hwyl yn llawn heli.

If he, a woman's hindrance, / gets onto the wild grey ship alive on a vicious tide, / she won't stay calm for long, / [with] the shape of her sail filled with brine.

- (15) 22, 38: CONSTRUCTION + *llawn* + MATERIAL
Tost o chwedl gan fun edlaes / Roi 'nghôr llawn fyny⁸ Llan-faes / Gimin, dioer, gem a'n deiryd, / O gerdd ag a roed i gyd.

For a modest maid it was a sorry tale / to lay in the splendid marble chancel of Llan-faes / as much song, God knows (a treasure that is rightfully ours), / as was laid together there.

5.2. GPC meaning (c)?

- (16) 63, 32: LIVING THING + *llawn*
Grëwr yn chwarae griors, / Grŷr llawn yn pori cawn cors; / Garan yn bwrw ei gwryd, / Garrau'r wÿll, ar gwr yr yd

Herdsmen playing hobby-horse, / lanky heron grazing bog reeds; / crane stretching to its full length, / with spectre's legs, on the edge of the cornfield

⁸ Lit. 'nghôr llawn fyny' 'in^N-chancel full^Lmarble'. Cf. 'in the full-marbled choir' (Loomis 1982: 84).

5.3. GPC meaning (d)

- (17) 74, 28: MEASURE + *llawn*
*Troes ugain i'm traws ogyrch / O'm cyd-wtreswyr i'm cylch. / Prid i'r unben a'i chwennych, / Profais y gwin, prif was gwych; / Prynais, gwaith ni bu fodlawn, / Ar naid ddau **alwynaid llawn**.*

Twenty of my co-revellers came / and gathered in a circle around me. / Expensive for the lord who desires it, / I tried some wine, high-class young man; / I bought two full gallons / at one go, unfortunate deed.

- (18) 68, 32: MEASURE + *llawn*
*Rhoes hyr ym yn rhy sarrug, / Rhoes **frath llawn** yn rhawn yr hug.*

It growled at me most fiercely, / and took a full bite of the horse-hair of my cloak.

- (19) 16, 21: HUMAN ACTIVITY (ABSTRACTION) + *llawn*
*Fy naf wyd a gwrddaf gŵr, / Yn iach, diledach loywdwr. / Rhwyddynt, gyhafal Rhydderch, / Rhagod, synnwyr wybod serch, / Rhyfel llid, rhyw **ofal llawn**, / A heddwch, Ifor hoywddawn.*

You are my lord and a most mighty man, / farewell, bright tower of faultless lineage. / May your way be unhindered, / Rhydderch's equal, learned understanding of love, / in fierce war, fullest kind of care, / and in peace, well-endowed Ifor.

- (20) 77, 47: *llawn* + HUMAN ACTIVITY (ABSTRACTION)
*Oerfel, serchowgrwydd eurfaeth, / I'r ferch a'i rhoddes ar faeth, / Oni thâl, **llawn ofal** llu, / Mau fygwth, am ei fagu.*

A curse (splendidly nurtured love) / upon the girl who put him into fosterage, / unless she's willing to pay (plenty of care for a multitude) — / this is my threat — for raising him.

- (21) 162, 39: VERB + *yn* + *llawn*
*Cyfeiria acw yfory / Y dwyrain dan doryn du / Oni ddelych i ddolydd / Dyffryn gwaig addwyn a gwýdd, / A phrif afon, ffyrf ofwy, / A ran y ddôl wair yn ddwy, / A dail yn lled, **eilio'n llawn**,⁹ / Ac adar gogyfoediawn.*

Make your way there tomorrow / eastwards beneath a black cloak / until you come to the meadows / of a lovely bright valley and trees, / and a great river, mighty course, / which divides the hay-meadow in two, / and spreading leaves interwoven, / and mating birds in pairs.

⁹ Literally *eilio'n llawn* 'interweave-VN adverbial particle full'.

The last three examples show compounds with *llawn* as a first element:

- (22) 81, 13: composite *llawn* + *llef* (ABSTRACTION): 'loud cry, loud voice'
Uchel y rhof fy llawnllef 'loudly shall I give my full cry'
- (23) 5, 25: composite *llawn* + *gwaith* (ABSTRACTION): used as substantive and adjective 'great pains, hard task, busyness, complete work, full use, laborious, difficult, busy' (GPC 2117)
Lle maith yn llawnwaith llenwi - buelin

A spacious place full of the work of filling drinking-horns

- (24) 120, 55: composite *llawn* + *pwys* (ABSTRACTION): 'full weight or burden' (GPC 2114)
Mwy lawnbwys mau elynboen, / Moli a wnaflhi

[Though] the pain of that hostility will be all the heavier for me, I will praise her

6. Comparison with Middle Welsh prose language

I shall first describe the peculiarities of *llawn* as found in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry in the light of the usage of the word in Middle Welsh prose. I have chosen the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg* corpus (first version) to provide a sample of prose-usage for this purpose.¹⁰ My main method is distributional analysis, in which I analyse the meaning of the adjective by classifying the substantives it co-occurs with.

The first peculiarity of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry in comparison with the RhC corpus is that he does not use *llawn* in constructions where both arguments are physical, the first being a container and the second liquid or some other matter or object. In the RhG corpus however, there are 23 examples of this type of construction (16.9%). See, for example,

- (25) *Efa geifo'r cwr6f. corneit lla6n gyt a'e anc6yn.*¹¹
 (Jesus 57, 26, 1.12; *Llyfr Blegywryd*)

He will get a full horn of beer with his daily allowance¹²

This Welsh text corresponds to the Latin original *Cum ancwyn habebit cornu plenum de servigia* (Emanuel 1967: 327).

¹⁰ The search gave 205 examples for *llawn* and *lawn*. To make the statistics more reliable, I have reduced the number of examples to unique occurrences, i.e. when several texts were found in several manuscripts I counted only one. That gives the total of 136 unique examples.

¹¹ I have slightly normalised the examples.

¹² Unless otherwise indicated the translations from Middle Welsh prose texts are mine.

Characteristic for this small poetic sample is the fact that the container as an argument in a direct sense is found only once, but the whole construction is used in a non-literal sense (example 1). The container here is physical (it is a coffin) but the content *cerdd* ‘song’ (an abstraction) is used metonymically, since a noble poet lies in the coffin.

The same holds true for another collocation type frequent in Middle Welsh prose, in which the first argument is a ‘structure, construction’ or an artefact like ‘ship’, and the second argument is a group of people. We find 16 examples of that kind in the prose sample (11.7%).

- (26) *Sef y6 hynny llong dirua6r y meint. a honno a oed la6n o sarassinyeit creula6t* (Jesus 111; *Llyfr Coch Hergest*, 211v, c. 850, l. 19; *Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*)

This is it a ship of huge size and that was full of cruel Saracens.

Dafydd ap Gwilym, however, uses nouns denoting ‘constructions’ four times with *llawn*. Once, in example 8, the content *dawn* ‘grace’ is again, like in the case of example 1, an abstraction. In examples 9 and 10 *llawn* does not have an overt second argument; that is, there is no “content”. In example 9 we see opposition between a full house which is the destiny of a joyful man and an empty house which is the destiny of a sad one. These examples are an illustration of how problematic a strict boundary between the senses is. On the one hand, one could think that they belong to sense (b) in GPC, in that the content could be understood as ‘wealth, fortune’. Clear parallels to this would be several Old and Middle English expressions which are described as a conceptual metaphor WEALTH IS (AN OVERFLOWING) LIQUID by Bianca Kossmann (2008: 143-61) and the Russian proverb *Дом – полная чаша* ‘the house as a full bowl’, which is said about a household both well-off financially and emotionally. The examples of *llawn* meaning ‘well-off’ attested in GPC are, however, rather late. Perhaps it is more logical then, in the light of the normal content of a building in the prose language, to suppose that a large gathering of people is what a dwelling should contain,¹³ and to order these examples under sense (a). Such images of a glorious court containing a lot of people are common in praise poetry, as in Iolo Goch’s description of the court of Owain Glyndŵr:

- (27) *Pebyll y beirdd, pawb lle bo, / Pe beunydd, caiff pawb yno.*
(Iolo Goch 10, 77-78)

Shelter of poets, everyone wherever he be / were it daily, he will have everyone there.

¹³ I am indebted to Professor Dafydd Johnston for drawing my attention to this interpretation.

Wealth and the possibility to welcome numerous guests are certainly connected and it may therefore not be possible to give a definitive answer as to what exactly this presumed content is. In any event, in comparison to prose language, in which the construction where a building is the first argument and people are the second is very frequent, the Dafydd ap Gwilym sample shows a different pattern.

Over-represented in the Dafydd ap Gwilym corpus is another construction, in which a person is portrayed as the container of an abstraction (mostly emotions) (see examples 2-6). These 5 examples of the same sort of phrase make up 23.8% of the whole sample. All these examples show a “near-universal” way of conceptualising the person who feels an emotion as a container for it (see Kövecses 2000: 37). Dafydd ap Gwilym is using this metaphor innovatively, as he employs this construction for more than emotions. He represents himself as a container full to overflow with language (example 7).¹⁴ In the RhG corpus I found 10 similar examples (7.3% of the sample), all of them in translations. I do not wish to claim, however, that these are loan translations or calques;¹⁵ this matter requires further research.

- (28) *ac ymoglyt yn wagela6c rac t6yll ac enwired ardric iarll y g6r yssyd la6n o gynghorvynt* (Jesus 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest), 273v, c. 1095, l. 28; *Amlyn ac Amig*) (cf. Williams 1982: 8)

and be vigilantly on guard for the malice and the wickedness of count Ardric, the man who is full of jealousy

The Latin text (Kölbing 1884: CI) is shorter here and does not give an exact parallel.

Interestingly we find a similar construction in the RhG prose, in the description of Blodeuedd, in which the container for an emotion is not the whole person but a body part.

- (29) *Sef a 6naeth blodeued edrych arna6 ef ac yr a6r yd edrych nit oed gyueir arnei hi ny bei yn lla6n o'e garyat ef.* (Peniarth 4 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), 26r, c. 102, l.21; *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*)

Blodeuedd looked at him, and from the moment she looked there was no part of her that was not filled with love for him. (Davies 2007: 59)

A similar example is found in *Amlyn ac Amig*¹⁶

¹⁴ On the importance of this metaphor see the contribution by Dafydd Johnston in this volume.

¹⁵ “*Loan translations* or *calques* are defined as words or phrases that are reproduced as literal translations from one language into another” (Backus, Dorleijn 2009: 75).

¹⁶ On the possible influence of *Ami et Amile* on *Pwyll* see (Hemming 1996).

- (30) *y disgynna6d karyat merch y brenhin yn gymeint yn aml yn ac nat oed gyg6n vn asg6rn yn y gorff ny bei la6n o 'e charyat.* (Jesus 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest), 273v, c.1096, l.8; *Aml yn ac Amig*) (cf. Williams 1982: 8)

Love for the king's daughter descended on Aml yn so much that there was not a joint of a single bone in his body that was not full of love for her.

As Williams notes, the Welsh version is much more courteous here than the Latin *Vita* or the French prose texts (Williams 1982: 42). In Kölbing this section of the text is once again missing (Kölbing 1884: CI). Compare also

- (31) *ac mor la6n y6 dy gallon di o dr6c ac irlloned.* (Jesus 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest), 106v, c. 442, l. 9; *Ystoria Carolo Magno: Rhamant Otfel*)

and so full is your heart of evil and wrath

Cf. Otinel: *Or oi plet de folie; / Mult par es plain de grande felonie* (Guessard, Michelant 1858: 45)

and another construction PERSON + *yn llawn o* + BODY PART + adjective

- (32) *Ac ynteu heb dywedut un geir megys y neb a vei yn lla6n o gallon valch.* (Peniarth 11, 67r, l. 2; *Ystoriau Saint Greal*)

And he said not a word, as one that was full of a proud heart. (Williams 1987: 502)

The French parallel shows that this is not a loan translation: *Et il ne disoit onques mot, come cil qui estoit de grant cuer, ainz soffroit tout ce qu'il li fesoient si com s'il n'en sentist riens* (Pauphilet 1921: 175)

We can see here a difference in the usage of *llawn* in describing emotions between the prose sample and Dafydd ap Gwilym. Dafydd ap Gwilym frequently uses the emotion as content but only with a person as a container for it, never a body part, a usage found in the prose. A further investigation is needed to see how other poets of his time used these metaphors.

7. Typologically interesting features of *llawn*

So far I have discussed the discrepancies between the frequencies of certain constructions in Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry and the *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425* corpus. Now I shall turn to peculiarities of *llawn* as seen in both of these corpora which are rather significant typologically.

7.1. GPC (a)

I shall now return to GPC (a). A construction in which the first argument, the “container”, is a physical entity is found three times. In these instances, it is the surface rather than the inner space that is relevant. The second argument is either a liquid (13-14) or material (15) on that surface.

Examples of this construction are found in prose as well:

- (33) *ac yna ef a weles peredur uot y dwyla6 a'e d6y ysgbyd a'e gorffyn lla6n o greitheu.* (Peniarth 11, 36r, l.18 ; *Ystoriau Saint Greal*)

And then Peredur saw that his hands, and shoulders, and his body, were full of scars. (Williams 1987: 471)

Here again we can see that this usage of *llawn* is not a loan translation:

Et quant Perceval le resgarde, si voit qu'il a le cors plaié et navré et les paumes et les braz et le vis (Pauphilet 1923: 82).

R.M. Loomis translates all three instances of the above-mentioned construction with English ‘full’: “Your feet full of blood”, “the shape of her sail full of brine” and “the full-marbled choir” (Loomis 1982: 50, 165, 84). In the translations on the Dafydd ap Gwilym website three different strategies were selected: in the first example, *llawn* is translated by ‘covered’; in the second, it is translated as ‘filled’; and, in the third, the adjective is omitted. Thus we can see that this particular sense for English is probably more peripheral than in Welsh. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, English ‘full’ once had such meaning, but it is now obsolete.

- (34) *The lydde wyl be al full of small droppes of water*
(W. Fulke Goodle *Gallerye Causes Meteors* iii. f. 36^v, 1563).

German apparently allows for such constructions (see the hymn “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden”),¹⁷ though they are not very frequent according to the Mannheim corpus. In Chinese *man lian xie*, literally ‘full face blood’, means exactly ‘the whole face is covered with blood’. But in Russian such constructions seem to be impossible for the adjective *полный* and this is where we see how cross-linguistic comparison can help us to differentiate between several meanings. I hope that with the progress of the work on the Moscow database more data will become available and we will be able to examine the lexical field of ‘full’ in more detail.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Professor Erich Poppe for drawing my attention to this fact.

7.2. GPC (c)

I am not sure whether an example of meaning (c) can be found in our sample. Example 16 is a possible candidate, but I am unsure. The scribes seemed also to wonder about this line. The following are the manuscript readings:

C 7, 578–80: *ne ryr llawn yn pori kawn kors*
 H 26, 406–7: *gryr llawn yn pori cawn cors*
 Pen 76, 25: *nev ryr llaw yn pori kawn kors*
 Pen 49, 149V–151r: *Nev ryr llawn yn pori cawn cors*

Since round forms are not particularly characteristic for a heron, the translation on the Dafydd ap Gwilym project website gives ‘lanky’ as an English equivalent, which is not attested in dictionaries. Loomis translates the line as “A grown heron grazing bog reeds” (Loomis 1982: 30). Bromwich translates it as “a heron stuffed with eating marshy stalks” (Bromwich 1982: 192). The prose sample does not show any similar examples, so we are dealing here with what is by no means a usual and widespread collocation.

7.3. GPC (d)

Now I shall discuss the examples of the GPC sense (d) of which there are five examples in the sample (17-21).

What is important in all these examples is that they are one argument constructions, where a second ‘content’ argument is not possible. In her study of the Swedish adjective *full* Willners (2001: 90) lists three meanings, following the dictionary *Nationalencyclopédins ordbok*:

1. containing as much as possible
2. occurring to a great extent, e.g. *full storm* ‘full gale’, *full sommar* ‘high summer’
3. intoxicated

We have already seen a lot of examples of the first type. Willners calls them “container metaphors”. However, as she points out, the container metaphor is not applicable when *full* modifies certain categories of nouns (all belonging to the abstraction category in the new version of the WordNet) (Willners 2001: 94). In such constructions “the phenomenon starts to exist when the content starts to exist and there is no abstract container involved” (ibid.). She suggests the measuring rod as a symbol for this sense and calls it “the rod meaning”. Her data, however, show that there is a number of cases, when an abstraction can be used in the “container” meaning. It is not, therefore, a strict rule, but rather a statistical observation.

In the Dafydd ap Gwilym sample all the nouns modified by *llawn* in the “rod meaning” indeed belong to the categories ABSTRACTION. (Of these, 2 (exx. 19-20) belong to the HUMAN ACTION category). In the RhG sample, 29 examples of *llawn* modifying a noun from the ABSTRACTION category are found. In 28 of these, it is possible to define the sense of *llawn* as “the rod meaning”. In one case, however, an abstraction is conceptualised as a container:

- (35) *a uyd y diwed yn arb ac yn llawn o dolureu* (Shrewsbury 11, 144, l. 15; *Deongl Terfynau'r Byd*)

and the end will be cruel and full of sorrows

In general, therefore, the Welsh data corresponds to some extent to the Swedish. In many other European languages the “container” meaning and the “rod” meanings are colexified¹⁸ too (cf. English, as seen from the translations above). Russian too is a language where *полный* has, among other meanings, the “container” and the “rod” meanings (*бокал, полный вина* ‘a glass full of wine’ vs. *полное одобрение* ‘full approval’).

The possible range of categories of abstract nouns that might be modified by an adjective ‘full’ in the “rod” meaning varies from language to language. A brief look at the Russian-English parallel corpus shows that in many cases the Russian *полный* is translated not with *full* but with other adjectives like *complete* or *total*, but this remains to be studied elsewhere. What is important here is that such colexification is not found in Spanish and other Romance languages, as well as in Chinese (see Spesivzeva 2012, Kholkina 2013: 284-285). The question of distinguishing between senses is a major theoretical problem (see Kilgariff 2003; Behrens 2008). In the case of ‘full’, both the difference in syntax in Welsh and a cross-linguistic comparison show us that the “rod meaning” and the “container” meaning are indeed different and should be kept apart.

8. Conclusions

This case study has shown that the use of poetic language is well suited for semantic studies. Certainly, unclear cases like (16) are inevitable, but much clearer examples remain the majority. Some discrepancies were found between the usage in poetry and prose, and it would be worthwhile to measure such differences by comparing the larger poetic corpora that are available, such as the whole bulk of the *Gogynfeirdd* and 14th century poets, and the Middle

¹⁸ I am using the notion defined by Alexandre François as follows: “A given language is said to colexify two functionally distinct senses if, and only if, it can associate them with the same lexical form” (François 2008: 170).

Welsh prose corpus. This could introduce a new dimension into the old debate about the peculiar character of the Welsh poetic language. Another interesting point is the influence of languages in close contact upon the patterns of polysemy found in Middle Welsh. Here the poetic texts form one group with such prose texts as *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, which should be compared to translations into Welsh. In those examples analysed in this study, no loan translations were found, but in future research the question of specific polysemy patterns in adjectives in translational texts should be investigated more systematically.

On the other hand, it is clear that major typological conclusions are not possible without a wide cooperation of experts in different languages and would be premature at this stage. What can be done at this stage is to gather the Welsh data in a form that would make it compatible with other researchers' efforts. The use of such internationally acknowledged tools as the WordNet classification and the methodology of the Moscow Lexical Typology group are, therefore, very important for this project.

As for Dafydd ap Gwilym, it comes as no surprise that even in the use of one basic lexeme he is extremely multi-faceted, pays a lot of attention to emotions and is indeed *yn llawn iaith*.

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