Flushing in anger, blushing in shame: 
Somatic markers in Old Norse emotional expressions

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Abstract

This paper comprises a study of the somatic vocabulary associated with particular emotions (especially anger, shame and love) as they appear in Old Norse texts. Through a detailed analysis of the occurrences of these emotion expressions in different textual genres and periods, we investigate the way in which certain physiological manifestations were linked to a specific emotion in a certain type of text and period, and how certain changes in the usage of vocabulary came into being. We conclude that changes in the conceptualization of emotions in Old Norse written texts were mediated by new metaphors and metonymies imported into medieval Icelandic culture in the form of translated texts, both religious and secular.¹

KEYWORDS: emotions, metaphor, metonymy, Old Norse, conceptual variation, anger, shame, love.

“Braut stökk bauga neytir
bleikr frá sverða leiki”
Hér er bleikr kallaðr hræddr, því at bliknan kemr eptir hræzlu, sem roði eptir skömm ok er framfæring máls milli bleiks ok óttafvlls, en óeiginlig liking, því at bliknan heyrir til líkams, en hræzla til andar. (Finnur Jónsson 1927: 78)

“Away did the user of rings run
pale from the play of the swords”
Here pale refers to fearful, because paleness is a result of fear in the same way that redness is a sign of shame. And there is a linguistic transfer between pale and fearful, although it is an improper comparison because paleness belongs to the body and fear to the soul. (Our translation).

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1. Introduction

The quotation above occurs in chapter 16 ‘De Tropo et metaphoræ’, of Málskrúðsfræði (Science of the Ornaments), the second part of the Icelandic Third Grammatical Treatise written sometime between 1245 and 1250 by Óláfr Þórðarsson hvítaskáld. Óláfr’s attempt to explain the use of metaphors using two verses of an anonymous skaldic stanza, serves to introduce our discussion about the relationship between emotion metaphors and metonymies and somatic responses as represented in Old Norse literary texts.

The fact that saga authors normally avoid any commentary on the emotional state of their characters, leaving it up to the reader to interpret or infer what they can, does not mean that the Old Norse language lacks expressions denoting the various cognitive states (Miller 1993). The descriptions of the main characters at the beginning of the sagas usually contain a variety of terms both denoting their physical and psychological traits. For example, the eponymous protagonist of Grettis saga, Grettir Ásmundarson, is portrayed as “fair to look on, broad and short-faced, red-haired”, but also as ódæell í uppvexti “very hard to manage”, and játaladr ok óþýðr, bellinn hæði í orðum ok tiltekðum “taciturn and harsh, crafty both in his words and deeds”(3618). Indeed, a survey of the Icelandic family sagas reveals a high number of expressions, which cover most of the emotional vocabulary that we find in other medieval literatures.

This will not be the first study to explore conceptualizations for emotions in Old Norse texts. As early as 1933, August Gödecke in his dissertation Die Darstellung der Gemütsbewegungen in der isländischen Familiensaga, collated some of the somatic markers referred to in this study, together with verbal and non-verbal, implicit and explicit Affekte, and also emotionally charged gestures. Although Gödecke’s lists are certainly useful, he provides little or no analysis of the terms, as we can see in the extract below:

Zornige Erregung bedeuten ferner: verða illa við (Heið. 82, 23; V Gl. 49, 8; Reykd. 47, 4; 70, 10; Háv. 41, 3; Dropl. 160, 31); er nú íllsigr (Vatnsd. 76, 17); tók illa (Nj. 310, 2; Vatnsd. 59, 13); eirdi et vresta (Vatnsd. 87, 14) honum bregð mjökk við (Valla Lj. 19, 5;

2 With the term “expression”, we refer to a word cluster composed of a lexical root, as well as its orthographical, declensional and inflectional variants.
More recent approaches have dealt with the question of the expression of negative emotions in Old Norse, especially shame and humiliation (Miller 1993), and have devoted special attention to how emotions were translated over time and across cultures. Even more recently, Larrington (2001) has offered some insights into how different theories dealing with the conceptualization of emotions can be very useful for the understanding of the language of emotion in Old Norse texts. For example, she refers to certain “somatic indices” which can help us to “infer the presence of an emotion on the basis of our own experience” and suggests that “attention to the bodily could allow us to approach a little closer to the ‘real’ emotions” (Larrington 2001: 254).

The need for such interpretative aid is due to the so-called “objective” style of saga narrative, in which emotion is almost never expressed overtly in the dialogue of the characters, but rather represented inarticulately by means of involuntary somatic responses. In terms of the psychology of Old Norse narrative, scholars have recently pointed out that recognition of somatic changes in the body was also a sign of the mental state of a person (Kanerva 2014). This may have been influenced by humoral theory, most certainly known in Iceland at the time, and according to which, the relationship among four fluids or “humours” (phlegm, blood, yellow bile and black bile) was said to control physical and mental health and thus determine a person’s temperament. An excess of one was believed to produce certain bodily illnesses or reactions, for example, the symptoms of the excess of phlegm could apply to those who were victims of fear in some sagas (Kanerva 2014: 224; Locket 2011). The fact that medical treatises are preserved in codices (such as Hauksbök) which also contain Icelandic sagas, does not unequivocally prove that such foreign knowledge had influenced the description of the physiological reactions of the saga characters; nevertheless, as Kanerva has convincingly argued, the eccentric behaviour exhibited by certain saga heroes could well be read as the effects of a lack of balance among the four bodily humours.

That Old Norse texts show evidence of this knowledge is hard to refute if we consider the many instances where ancient Icelanders are recorded as experiencing heat when angry, and which led to the usage of hitna “to burn” as a term for anger. To explain this metaphorical process or transference of meaning, the cognitive linguistic
view supports the idea that metaphors are motivated, i.e., grounded in human experience. Thus, the conceptualization of anger in many languages, including Old Norse from a very early stage, seems to correspond to the so-called “container” metaphors, such as THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS, ANGER IS HEAT, and EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS (Kövecses 2002; Díaz-Vera & Manrique Antón 2015).

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in our analysis, apart from the obvious fact that we are not working with living speakers of the language, lies in the problem that the most frequent physiological indications of emotional excitement or facial expression in the sagas, such as the aforementioned hitna, do not always correspond exclusively to one, but rather to a number of emotions. An added complication is that the conceptualization of emotion in Old Norse is also sensitive to variation in historical and especially in literary (genre) contexts. The written material at our disposal stretches over nearly two centuries and was committed to writing both by clerical and lay people who followed different agendas and were subject to various genre constraints. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that we shall be dealing with both translated (mainly from Latin and French), and original, sources and that each of these deployed a considerably rich repertory of narrative models and emotion idioms. We will have to consider, therefore, whether the religious affiliation of the writers/scribes influenced the way they represented emotions in their texts and whether or not our authors changed their modus operandi when writing about different themes and people. Accordingly, each author would have looked back to distinct traditions, vernacular or foreign, oral or written, and stressed or avoided certain elements according to his various agendas.  

Taking the above considerations into account, in this paper we propose a study of the somatic vocabulary associated with emotions in Old Norse. Through a detailed analysis of the occurrences of these emotion expressions through different textual genres and periods, we hope to shed some light on the way certain physiological manifestations were linked to specific emotions in a particular type of text and period, and on the reasons why changes in the usage of this vocabulary came into being.

2. Methodology and data

3 It should be noted that the influence of the imported Christian “courtly culture”, partly translated into Norse in Norway by Icelanders, helped to restrict the expression of aggressive emotions among the Icelanders, at least on a literary level (Ferrer 2012: 3; Nedkvitne 2010: 33).
In order to analyze the way metaphor and metonymy mediate the conceptualization of emotions in Old Norse texts, and how certain words and expressions were adapted to express the new emotions imported into Iceland with the change in literary fashions, we will (mostly) read our examples within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereafter CMT) as developed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980; 1999) and Kövecses (2000; 2002; 2005). To date, CMT has focused on the study of the function of metaphor in language and thought. In the case of emotion metaphors, it has contributed to our understanding of the structure of emotion concepts within and across cultures including the way in which, in many metaphorical formulations, the body functions as an emotional container.

In recent decades, however, some of CMT’s core principles, such as the embodiment or the relationship between metaphor and culture, and the way CMT claims to account both for universality and for culture specificity (Rakova 2002), have come under criticism. In this debate concerning the relationship between culture and the conceptualization of emotion through language, the idea that emotions are composed of semantic universals has been the prevailing one. Recent discussions, however, have come to the conclusion that the conceptualization of emotions is sensitive to social, cultural and historical influences (Kövecses 2005; Geeraerts & Gevaert 2008; Díaz-Vera 2011b, 2014; Díaz-Vera & Manrique Antón 2015). This new approach, which emerged from the study of cross-cultural conceptual metaphors/metonymies in the cognitive linguistic tradition, introduces the idea of the “embodied cultural prototype”, and synthesizes the two aforementioned diverging views. Its advocates argue that the conceptualization of emotion concepts across cultures is based as much on universal human embodied experiences as on socio-cultural constructions. That is to say, that while general conceptualization of emotion concepts depends on universal human experiences, different cultures may attach different cultural specific realizations to these quasi-universal conceptual metaphors.

With respect to the study of the representation of emotions in medieval literature within the framework of CMT (Gevaert 2002; Geeraerts & Gevaert 2008; Díaz-Vera 2013, 2014), the opinion that behavioural reactions and the physiological effects of an emotion frequently stand for that emotion is the prevalent one. Following this approach and by analyzing the occurrence of certain verbs such as roðna, sortna, blikna, and other common terms in the representation of involuntary somatic responses in Old Norse texts, we will try to map the use of these expressions on the representation of
basic emotions among Icelandic writers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As we shall see, some of the figurative expressions used in Old Norse reflect what are generally perceived to be universal notions, such as the idea that anger is “redness” or a “rise in body temperature” (Kövecses 2000: 188), although we will also argue that many uses of the above mentioned verbs could correspond to the so-called “culturally determined experiences” and are subject to different literary agendas.

According to current trends in CMT, metaphorical conceptualization in natural situations is subject to the influence of the pressure of the embodiment, the pressure of the context and the cognitive preferences or style, what Kövecses (2005) calls “pressure of coherence”. Especially interesting for our study is the idea that the context, according to Kövecses, is characterized by socio-cultural or discourse aspects and depends on such factors as the audience, the topic, the medium, etc. In this case, linguistic metaphors would be primarily determined by universal embodied experience, but also modified by the cultural contexts and the style preferences of the users, as we will henceforth attempt to demonstrate in the case of Old Norse. Along the same lines, we will also aim to demonstrate that different linguistic-literary needs within a particular community had a strong influence over the adaptation or the adoption of new metaphorical expressions.

Our main source for the metaphorical expression of emotions occurring in Old Norse is the electronic version of the Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog (hereafter ONP), which records the vocabulary of prose writings of the period subject to our analysis and is by far the largest of the dictionaries available for Old Norse-Icelandic. Since the ONP is not a comprehensive corpus, the validity of our conclusions is somewhat limited. Therefore, we have crosschecked the occurrences of the terms in the printed versions of both Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog (Fritzner 1886–96) and An Icelandic-English Dictionary (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1967). The resulting quotations of the expressions have been classified according to their meaning. We have firstly eliminated the ones with literal meanings and then analyzed those that unequivocally

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4 The Old Norse examples used in this research come directly from the ONP, which records sentences from a wide variety of editorial sources illustrating very different editorial practices. Consequently, our examples do not represent a standardized variety of Old Norse. For the editions of the texts cited, see individual entries in the ONP.

5 Although both Skaldic and Eddic poetry are outside the scope of this article, a recent study by Theodore Anderson (2003: 193-203) regarding the change of focus in the expression of emotions in Eddic poetry, has revived the traditional distinction between an older “emotionally understated” layer and a later one “focused on sentiment and melancholy”, which, putting aside chronological issues, might also have some bearing on the conceptualization of emotions in Old Norse prose writings.
refer to the somatic accompaniments of basic emotions, such as anger and shame, according to semantic and historical-linguistic criteria.

This paper also forms part of a more general project concerning the conceptualization of emotions and the existence of the so-called “textual and emotional communities” in Old Norse literature. Therefore, and in order to clarify some aspects of the aforementioned evolution, we will make occasional references to the concept of “textual or emotional communities”, defined as those “created and reinforced by ideologies, teachings and common presuppositions” and those which often made use of fixed vocabulary sets “with controlling and disciplining functions” (Rosenwein 2007: 25).

3. The expression of emotion-related bodily changes in Old Norse.

The Classical Greek division between mind and body, that is, “psyche” (mind) and “soma” (body), has traditionally shaped our understanding of the term “somatic”. A more modern, specialized and emotion-related approach to the term “somatic”, however, understands it as the mixture of body related responses that hallmark an emotion. From the assertions of the thirteenth-century author of the Málskrúðsfraedu about the association between bodily responses and certain emotions “paleness/fear” and “redness/shame” cited at the beginning of this paper, we could infer that educated Icelanders of that period were aware of the differences between psychological and physical aspects in the conceptualization of emotions. In all certainty they were also aware that not all emotions are associated with distinctive bodily profiles, for example, the verb þegja “to remain silent” was used to express various emotional and cognitive states including love, anger and embarrassment. A few examples from various sources where the emotive force of silence is evident will suffice to stress the fact that the interpretation ascribed to the verb þegja depended to some extent on the emotional-textual community to which the author belonged. Thus, þegja was associated with more basic sentiments like anger or fear, in those genres whose main characters shared a common warrior “emotional regime” (examples 1 and 2), but with the introduction of Christian ideas and models, it also served for more complex emotions like shame, pride or regret (example 3).

In Grettis saga, a clear example of the verb þegja related to fear occurs when, threatened with death, the slave Glaumr loses the power of speech:
(1) “Gerðu annathavrt,” segir hann Öngull, “at þú þegi í stað ok seg oss frá hýbýlum yðrum, ella drep ek þik.” Pá þagði Glaumr, sem honum væri í vatn drepit. (Grettis saga 259⁴)

“Do one thing or the other”, said Öngull, “either be silent this moment and tell me all about your household, or be killed.” Glaumr was as silent as if he had been dipped in water.

The next example, taken from Orkneyinga saga (c. 1300), shows Earl Páll’s angry reaction at the tidings that the relics of Earl Magnus were to be brought to Kirkwall (an action Páll clearly opposed):

(2) Pall iarl þagþi hia, sem hann hefði vatn i munni, ok sætti dreyrrauðan (Orkneyinga saga 134²²)

Earl Pall remained silent as though he had water in his mouth, and turned as red as blood.

Finally, in the following extract from the thirteenth-century Thomas saga Erkibyskups (The life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury), the verb þegja appears together with the substantive “shame” to express what the king’s men felt when their evil intentions were exposed:

(3) En er þæir heyra, at hann er heima, hverfa þæir þegar brott þægianđe saker þæirrar skammar, er þæir hava af sinum illullia […] (Thomas saga Erkibyskups (80¹⁵)

And when they heard that he (the archbishop) was at home, they went away in silence ashamed of their ill will […].

3.1. Old Norse roðna “to go red”
The ON verb roðna “to go red, to blush” (from Indo-European *reudʰ- “red”; Pokorny, 1959: 1423), together with similar lexical units (raudr, roði, roðmi, kinnroði, dreyrrauðr), is normally included in the set of metonymies which organize the
emotional domains of anger and shame, although at a later stage, i.e., with the arrival of translated literature, it was also associated with other emotions, such as love.

The interpretation of Tables 1 and 2 allows us to draw some conclusions about how we could account for a lexical specialization in Old Norse, where certain terms were preferred to others depending on whether our authors were dealing with religious or secular themes. For example, the adjective *dreyrrauðr*, “blood-red”, is only attested in secular sagas, both vernacular and translated, and nearly always associated with the type of silent anger stereotypical of angry kings and warriors. This is also the case for the adjective *rauðr*, “red”, mostly used in literal descriptions, which appears 14 times in secular writings (10 occasions in vernacular sagas) to express anger.

**Table 1.** Literal and metaphorical use of *roðna* and related expressions (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>metaphorical religious</th>
<th>metaphorical secular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>roðna</em></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>roði, roðmi</em></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kinnroði</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dreyrrauðr</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rauðr</em></td>
<td>203</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.** Emotions related to *roðna* and related expressions (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>anger</th>
<th>shame</th>
<th>love</th>
<th>fear?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>roðna</em></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>roði, roðmi</em></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>kinnroði</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>dreyrrauðr</em></td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>rauðr</em></td>
<td>14</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned elsewhere (Días-Vera & Manrique-Antón 2015), *roðna* appears either in a literal sense or associated with anger in writings where kings and warlike Icelanders were said to redden and get angry very quickly. One example of this occurs in *Landnámabók* (*The Book of Settlements*), when Holmstein’s declaration that he will either marry Helga or no one else very clearly upset his foster-brother Leifr who was also in love with her.
Leifr rodnad í at sjá, ok vard fátt med þeim Holmsteini er þeir skildu. (Landnámabók 6)

Leifr reddened (in anger) and Holmstein and himself did not have much to say to each other when they parted.

The following examples from Egils Saga Skalla-Grímssonar demonstrate royal anger, manifested by both redness and silence. Egill rejects King Æthelstan’s offer to enter his service and thus replace his brother who was killed in battle:

(5) Nú mun ek ekki taka þat ráð. Eigi mun ek þjóna þér [...] Konungr þagði, ok setti hann dreyrraudan á at sjá. (Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar 25)

And I will not follow your advice. I will not serve you [...] the king remained silent and his face turned blood-red.

(6) Konungr settisk í hásæti; en er alskipat var it efra ok it fremra, þá sásk konungr um ok roðnaði ok maelti ekki, ok þottusk menn finna, at hann var reiðr. (Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar 11)

The king sat in the high seat; but when everyone was in place, higher and lower, then the king looked around, reddened, said nothing, and people were sure that he was angry.

The fact that roðna also appears in connection with anger in religious texts (e.g., Stjórn, the Icelandic translation of the Bible), but always with reference to people of aristocratic origins, probably points to the already mentioned fact that the act of flushing with anger was the expected somatic response from socially prominent characters. In the Old Testament, Book of Samuel 20, for instance, David asks Jonathan to observe the king’s response to the news that he intends to visit his friends:

(7) Enn ef hann roðnar oc ræðiz við, þa mantu vita at hann fylliz upp illzko mot mer (Stjórn 471)
And if he reddens and gets angry, you will know that he is full of hatred against me.

That reddening in the face was associated with anger in the minds of the Icelanders is beyond a doubt if we consider the examples already given, but it is even more explicit in the following quotation from *Fóstbræðra saga* which describes Þorgeirr’s reaction, or rather, lack of reaction, to the news that his father had been killed (8). Here, the author of the saga, probably for rhetorical-stylistic reasons, opted to emphasize Þorgeirr’s immutability by enumerating a number of bodily responses, which could follow anger:

(8) Eigi roðnadi hann, þvi at eigi ran honum reiði i haurund; eigi bliknaði hann, þvi at honum lagði eigi heipt i briost; eigi blanaði hann, þvi at honum ran eigi i bein reiði; helldr bra hann ser engan veg við sagaenda saugnina

*Fóstbræðra saga* 10

He did not redden, because anger did not run through his skin; he did not turn pale, because he had no hatred in his chest; he did not go livid, because anger did not run through his bones; on the contrary, he did not show any reaction when he was told the news.

Nouns related to roðna, such as kinnroði “cheek-blushing, a blush of shame”, are almost exclusively found in religious contexts and were probably coined to render Latin rubore or verecundia “modesty, shame”, such as the examples in the translated *Marthe saga og Marie Magdalene* (9) and *Jóns saga Postula* (10) below. They are a witness to the specialization of certain bodily responses for “new” Christian emotions, as is the case of shame originating in sin or immoral behaviour (9). At the same time, the ever-increasing importance of the *New Testament* in Medieval Scandinavia contributed to a tendency towards the repression of certain feelings and their bodily responses, and the ability to control such emotions was seen as a sign of virtue. The fact that Saint John the Apostle did not show any sign of redness (anger) or paleness (fear) after he drank poison from a cup to prove the supremacy of his God, for example, was viewed as a
sign both of his own personal superiority and of that of the new faith he proclaimed (10).

(9) *En því at synd hennar var opinber, bætti hun með mikiðum ok merkiligum kinnroða* (*Marthe saga og Marie Magdalene* 518\textsuperscript{16})

And because her sin was known, she repented with great and remarkable “cheek-blushing” (i.e., shame).

(10) *Alldri sa þeir hann roðna ne blikna eða annan veg bregdaz í sinu yfirbragði* (*Jóns saga Postula* 43\textsuperscript{24})

They never saw him redden or go pale or perceived any changes in his demeanour.

The fact the metonymy SHAME IS REDNESS IN THE FACE mostly appears in texts of rather late origin, and which are principally derived from foreign traditions, could point to the fact that it was a conceptual borrowing from Latin into Old Norse (Díaz-Vera & Manrique Antón 2015). This may well be the case for the quotation cited at the beginning of this paper: “[h]ere pale refers to fearful because paleness is a result of fear in the same way that redness is a sign of shame”. As Guðrún Nordal (2001: 83) has demonstrated, the work from which this quotation is taken, *The Third Grammatical Treatise*, is a very close adaptation of a foreign text, specifically the third book of Donatus’s *Ars Maior*.

The influence of continental literature resulted in the introduction of new saga genres, such as the *riddarasögur*, the “sagas of chivalry” which were translations of predominantly French courtly romances. Such literary imports brought not only a change in the literary taste but also new models for the expression/conceptualization of emotions.\textsuperscript{6} Bowing to the demands of the well-travelled elite of Iceland, now quite well acquainted with the writings produced on the continent, the rare expression of feelings in saga narratives was gradually substituted by a tendency towards greater subjectivity.

\textsuperscript{6} The most popular among these *Riddarasögur*, which were mainly produced in Norway in the course of the thirteenth century, were *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar* and the versions of Chrétien de Troyes’ romances, *Parcevals saga, Erex saga, Ivens saga* and *Karlamagnús saga*. 
Bodily responses like roðna traditionally associated with male characters and strong feelings, like anger, were now used for different emotions and for female characters, who were now given more prominent roles. In Parcivals saga, one of the most popular riddarasögor, for instance, the new heroes are softened by the pleas of harshly treated ladies and show their emotions in ways quite different to the reserved attitude exhibited by the protagonists of the Icelandic sagas:

(11) *En Parceval roðnàði af sköm ok spurði hví hón maelti svá (Parcivals saga 34)*

And Parceval reddened out of shame and asked her why she talked in that fashion.

*Mottuls saga*, the Old Norse translation of the late twelfth-century *Le Lai du cort mantel*, probably translated from the French under the patronage of King Hákon Hákonarson (1217-63) of Norway, contains many examples of this shift in emphasis:

(12) *Roðnàði hón þegar í anliti af sköm, ok því næst bliknaði hón af angri ok reiði (Mottuls saga 179)*

She blushed out of shame and then turned pale out of anger and fury.

The subject matter of the riddarasögur opened the way for a blossoming of the emotion related vocabulary. Once the often-praised objectivity of the first vernacular literary attempts of the Icelanders was first complemented, and then gradually replaced, by a certain degree of subjectivity, the gap between a “blush of shame or modesty” to the more refined courtly displays of “blush of love” became very narrow. The new vernacular subgenre of the lygisögur (“lying” or “fictional sagas”), which developed from the riddarasögur, represents the culmination of this process. In Rémundar saga keisarasonar, for instance, one of the most representative sagas of this subgenre, it was not unusual to read about ladies blushing after having received a love letter:
And once she had read it, her appearance changed suddenly, then her face blushed in such a way, more than was usual, that it could be compared [...]  

3.2. Old Norse blikna, fölna “to become pale”

With respectively 33 and 56 attested examples in the ONP, the Old Norse expressions blikna (derived from the Indo-European root *bʰeleg- “shine”; Pokorny 1959: 209-210), and fölna/fölr (derived from the Indo-European ro *pel- “grey, pale”; Pokorny 1959: 1335), are the most frequently used when referring to the physiological effect of paleness produced by a wide variety of emotions. Blikna not only refers to fear, as we have seen in the case of the words of Óláfr Þórðarsson þvat bliknan kemr eptir hræzlu, but also to anger, sadness or shame. In the following analysis we have not considered the expression hvítna “to turn white” because most, if not all, of its occurrences, show a high degree of literality and when used metaphorically, they do not convey any emotion, but rather Christian related concepts, such as religious purity, as in the example below:

 And even though your sins are ugly and hateful like coal or soot, they will quickly turn white like new-fallen snow.

According to the ONP, the expression blikna, as Table 3 shows, was predominately used to refer to the physical effect caused by fear, by the expectation of danger, but also to the physiological responses caused by anger, sadness and shame.
The analysis of the examples of the expression *blikna* as a result of fear, shows that its use is more frequent in secular texts (Table 3). We can clearly observe that the origin of that emotion seems to be very different among clerics and laity, which could point to the existence of several emotional communities among the learned Icelanders of the time. The type of fear conveyed by the expression *blikna* could refer to something positive or commendable, such as the fear of God, or to something that encodes more negative aspects of fear, such as physical paralysis or the need to escape away, as argued by Díaz-Vera (2011a: 90) in his study on the Old English cultural model for fear.

In the following examples of religious fear, the protagonists turn pale when facing the prospect of death or punishment. In the first one, Criserius, a great sinner, reacts in panic before the image of his impending death and the eternal suffering in hell (15), while in (16) we are witnesses to the effects of fear produced by the presence of the Virgin Mary on the bishop Bonus:

(15)  *Ok er hann var at bana kominn, þa sa hann standa fyrir ser svarta anda [...] Þa tok hann at skialfa ok *blikna* ok sveitaþ [...] (Díalógar Gregors páfa 251)

And when he was about to die, he saw a black spirit standing before him […]. Then he began to shiver, turn pale and to sweat […]
(16) *Virðurligr maðr guðs biskupinn, sem hann heyrir fruinnar orð þvilik, bliknar hann ok piprar allr af hræslu […]* (Mikjáls saga 7016)

The venerable man of God, the bishop, went pale and started to shake when he heard the word of Our Lady […]

In secular texts, on the other hand, fear is regularly the result of an impending peril. Example (17), taken from *Flóvents saga Frakkakonungs*, a thirteenth-century Icelandic riddarasaga, describes the reaction of a worried young woman when her father is about to receive a mortal blow from her lover, the mighty Flóvent.

(17) [….] þviat Flovent soti hann fast, ok hio hvar til annars af miklu afli. Þa bliknaði hon a at sia. (*Flóvents saga* 16135)

[[…]] because Flovent attacked him fiercely and both attacked each other with great strength. Then she turned pale at the sight of it.

However, it is not only anxious ladies who go pale out of fear. In *Karlamagnúss saga*, the thirteenth-century Norwegian adaptation of the romances relating to Charlemagne, Jamund and Rollant exchange blows and when the latter loses his sword, he too shows fear through paleness:

(18) *Sem Jamund kenndi at hann hafði ekki í hendi nema brynglófann tóman, þa minkadí metnad ðans ok bliknaði hann þá.* (*Karlamagnúss saga* 31329)

And when Jamund realized that he did not have anything in his hand but an empty gauntlet, then his bravery diminished and he turned pale.

The expression *fölna*, as Table 3 shows, appears mainly in a literal sense, and the very few examples where it is used metonymically for basic emotions like anger or fear appear in works of a secular nature (examples 19, 20 and 21). Example 22 shows how in translated texts it referred to more complex feelings, such as empathy.

(19) *Glámr veik heim, ok setti at honum hátr, ol brá honum svá við, at hann gerði fölvan í andliti, ok hrutu ór augum honum tár þau, er því váru lík sem*
Glúmr went home, and then a fit of laughter came upon him, so that he turned pale, and tears burst from his eyes, just like large hailstones. He often afterwards reacted so when he felt like killing someone.

(20) *Pa er sagt at iotvninn Hymir gerþiz litverpr. *fávelnáþi *ok rædþiz, er hann sa ormin* (Edda Snorra Sturlusonar 63<sup>2</sup>)

Then, it is said, that the giant Hymir changed color, grew pale and was terrified, when he saw the serpent.

(21) *Pa blicnaði hann oc varð *faulr *sem nár oc felluz honom hendr. Konungr fann hrezlu a honom [...] (Óláfs saga helga 173<sup>13</sup>)

Then he blanched, was as pale as a corpse, and dropped his hands. The king could feel his fear [...] 

(22) *En þó þótti þá micklu á auka, er menn sá Corneliam læidda af skipi ok svá *fólva, að æigi mátti síá mannzlit í andlitinu ok hafði laust hárið* (Rómverja saga 129<sup>27</sup>)

And it [the pain] was even worse, when the people saw Cornelia led from the ship and so pale that she had no color in her face and she had lost her hair.

The expression fólna and its derivatives are rarely used in religious texts (only 4 occurrences) and in most cases refer to extreme sadness, as in *Maríu saga*, the translated story of the Virgin Mary:

(23) *Fliota nu noglig taar af hans augun, ok af hans hiartaligum harmi fólnar hans aasiona* (Maríu saga 825<sup>29</sup>)
Then some tears flow from his eyes and his appearance turns pale because of his heart-felt grief.

3.3. Old Norse sortna “to grow black”

The expression sortna/svartr (derived from the Indo-European root *sųordo-s- “dark, black” (Pokorny 1959: 1704)) is mostly used in a literal sense in descriptions (sometimes to stress negative characteristics) and less often metaphorically in religious writings to refer to the concept of spiritual dirtiness and impurity. In the same way that hvítna and related expressions are linked to morality and honesty (14), some synonyms of svartr, e.g., myrkr “dark”, are used to stress impiety and blasphemy, as in frelsa mik af þeim villum hinum myrkum “deliver me from the dark heresies” (Barlaams saga ok Jósaðats 21418).

Table 5. Distribution of sortna in literary texts (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>metaphorical religious</th>
<th>metaphorical secular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sortna</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Emotions related to sortna (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fear</th>
<th>sadness</th>
<th>anger</th>
<th>shame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sortna</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>svartr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In our analysis of sortna, of the 29 occurrences we have encountered, only in eight can we attest a clear link with emotions like fear, sadness or anger. Related expressions such as the adjective svartr “black” and the noun sorti “blackness” are almost exclusively used in literal descriptions and rarely in connection with emotions. All metaphorical attestations of sortna but one, contained in the Vitae Patrum (related to the fear experienced before death), are found in works of a secular nature, mostly in translated romances. The first example below, however, is from one of the Kings’ sagas and
shows the reaction of a fear-stricken servant when questioned by the Earl Hákon about his exaggerated reaction. Such behaviour is very much in accordance with the phlegmatic type described in the humoral theory, but the metaphor is absent from Kövecses’s list of source domains for fear:

(24) Hvat er nu, hvi ertu sva bliekr en stundum svartr sem iörð. Er eigi þat at þu villr svikia mik...Eigi er þat, en hit ma þer eigi undarligt þickia at ek hraðumz orð þessa mannz (Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar 235)

What’s wrong? Why are you suddenly so pale and the next moment as black as the earth? You are not going to betray me, are you? …No that is not it, and it will not seem strange to you if I say that I am terrified by the words of that man.

In one of the translated chivalric sagas, Bevers saga, we are witnesses to the princess’s heart-breaking response when Bever tells her that he cannot accept her proposal because they believe in different gods. Such conceptualization of sorrow corresponds in this case with one of the source domains of the metaphors for sadness as enumerated in Kövecses (2000): SADNESS IS DARKNESS.

(25) En sem hun heyrdi þetta sortnadi hun sem kol ok af þeirri sorg fiel hun i óvit. (Bevers saga 75)

And when she heard it, she turned as black as coal and fainted out of sorrow.

Our last example, from the translated Strengleikar (based on the Old French Lais of Marie de France), describes the angry reaction of an offended dwarf at the accusations of a harper. As in example (24) above, the idea of a person turning black out of anger does not correspond to the universal metaphors for anger, which probably points to a culture-specific concept of that emotion:

(26) Dvergrenn sortnæðe allr ok svaræðe harpranom at han laug. Eigi em ec vandr maðr ec em kvad hann guðs skepna […] (Strengleikar 174)
The dwarf turned black all over and responded to the harper that he was lying. I am not an evil man, he said, I am one of God’s creatures.

3.4. Old Norse þrútna “to swell”

The verb þrútna (derived from the Indo-European root *strēu- “stiff, solid”; Pokorny 1959: 1662) and its derivate þrútninn are found in a total of 130 attestations distributed over a wide variety of texts, both religious and secular. It appears mostly in relatively late texts, which could point to the influence of the humoral theory, according to which, an excess of one of the fluids (blood) was responsible for the increase of body heat, redness and swelling. At the same time metaphors containing the verb “to swell” related to body parts (heart, head, bosom and breast) used to serve the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions and obeyed the internal logic of the already mentioned container schema.7 Þrútna relates especially to one of the most conventional emotion metaphors, AN EMOTION IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, and is particularly used to refer to anger (29 occurrences), but also to sorrow (7 occurrences) and pride (12 occurrences), as we can see in the following tables:

Table 7. Literal and metaphorical use of þrútna (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>metaphorical religious</th>
<th>metaphorical secular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>þrútna</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þrútninn</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Emotions related to þrútna (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>anger</th>
<th>sorrow</th>
<th>pride</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>þrútna</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þrútninn</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 For a detailed study of cardiocentric psychology and the hydraulic models of the mind in Anglo-Saxon literary tradition, see Lockett (2011).
A typical example of the use of *þrútna* in religious foreign writings where the heart is said to swell as a result of reading one of Saint Augustine’s books (28), or when the evil world is the cause of the inflamed pride and disgrace (29):

(27)  *Petta leidizt Albanus ok tekr nu at þrútna hans reiði ok hitna hans kapp* (Adóníass saga 216\(^{23}\))

Albanus loathed it, his anger started to swell, and his zeal to get hot.

(28)  *Prutnar hiartat þvi meirr, sem leingr lesit af þeiri saumu bok* (Ágústínus saga 148\(^{21}\))

The more one reads from this book, the more ones heart swells

(29)  *Petta lif her i heimi er helldr daudi en lif; þrutnar þat af metnadi ok þverr af vansa, þornar af hita […]* (Cecíliu saga 281\(^{15}\))

This life here in this world is more death than life; it swells out of pride, shrinks out of shame, dries out with heat.

The vernacular literature also contains a number of instances of characters swelling from sorrow and anger. Egill Skalla-Grímsson was said to have reacted in this fashion at the burial of his son Bödvar:

(30)  *Pat er sogn manna, at hann þrúnaði svá, at kyrillinn rifnaði af honum ok svá hosurnar* (Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar 148\(^{9}\))

And people said, that he swelled so much that his shirt burst off him and also the hose.

(31)  *Þórhalli Ásgrímssyni brá svá við, er honum var sagt at Njáll, fóstri hans, var dauðr […] at hann þrúnaði allr ok blóðbogi stóð ór hváritveggju hlustinni, ok varð eigi stöðvat, ok fell hann í óvit, ok þá stöðvaðisk.* (Njáls saga 344\(^{23}\))
Þórhallr Ásgrimur’s son was so shocked when he was told that his foster-father Njáll was dead […], that he swelled all over, and a stream of blood burst out of both his ears, and could not be staunched, he fell unconscious, and then it was staunched.

3.5. Other somatic markers

3.5.1. Old Norse hitna. Other common physiological reactions, which follow the container schema, include the verb *hitna* “to become hot, to burn” (derived from the Indo-European root *kăi-* “heat”; Pokorny 1959: 891). Used metaphorically, hitna (36 occurrences) relates to a wide variety of emotions, especially frequent in texts of a religious nature, to express how the heart becomes inflamed by the love of Christ. In secular texts, as is to be expected, hitna appears associated with more worldly emotions like anger or sexual desire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9. Literal and metaphorical use of hitna (ONP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>literal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10. Emotions related to hitna (ONP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated by this data, most of our examples of the metaphorical use of hitna occur in translated religious texts and romances; the fact that there is only one example in a vernacular text (Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar), may be indicative of the change in literary models developed after the Christianization of Iceland. Hitna is a good example of the fact that the conceptualization of emotion in Old Norse corresponds to universal human experiences, but also to different cultural specific realization, since it is also linked to emotions like sorrow and shame, as in the following examples:

(32) Munkrinn hitnar hardla miok i sinu hiarta af sinni skomm (Mariu saga 823^1)
The monk’s heart was burning intensely because of his shame.

(33) *Borgar lydrinn var hitnadr med sorg ok sut ok grati* (Nikuláss saga erkiðbýskups 99\(^{15}\))

The people in the city were “hot” with affliction, sorrow and tears.

The more usual contexts for the verb are those where natural or supernatural passions are involved, or those where injustice or all types of violence arouse anger in the hearts of the people. Example (34), taken from *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, describes the *modus vivendi* of the (according to the writer) hideous pagan Earl Hákon:

(34) [...] *at astin hitnáði til saurlifís sva at hann hafði við hond ser konur manna oc stor ættadår oc margar meyiar oc varu þa með hanum viku eða manuð oc sendi þa heim svívirdar til feðra sinna oc möþra* (Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar 71\(^{16}\))

[...] passion inflamed him to fornication and thus he had at hand the wives of many men from great families and many maidens and they were with him for weeks or a month and then he sent them back home full of shame to their fathers and mothers.

(35) [...] *gilldrus fiandans skal hann auðvellílega yfirkoma, þvi at hughskot hans oc hiarta ornar og hitmar fírir guds ælsku saker.* (Barlaams saga ok Jósafats 82\(^{33}\))

[...] the traps of the devil he will overcome because his mind and his heart burn and “heat” for the love of the things of God.

(36) [...] *enn þó at sárin bærit aa hann þa dignadi hann eigi við þat helldr hitnadi hans reidi æ þvi meir.* (Adóníass saga 216\(^{19}\))
[...] and although his wound caused him to stir, he did not faint, on the contrary, his anger heated him even more.

3.5.2. Old Norse skjálfa. The verb skjalfa “to shake, to shiver” (derived from the Indo-European root *(s)kel- “to bend, be crooked”; Pokorny 1959: 1515), also belongs to the metaphors for the concept of fear EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, which at the same time is constituted by conceptual metonymies such as PHYSICAL AGITATION or INCREASE IN RATE OF HEARTBEAT (Kövecses 2000: 24).

Table 11. Literal and metaphorical use of skjálfa (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>religious</td>
<td>secular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skjal</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Emotions related to skjal (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fear</th>
<th>sorrow</th>
<th>love of God</th>
<th>love of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>skjal</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see in Table 11, skjalfa was mainly used in a literal sense to describe, for example, the unsteadiness of buildings or mountains. When used metonymically, rather than being associated with heat, the verb refers to the coldness one feels when facing a peril or death (38 and 41). It is a fact that emotional experiences are based in the functioning of the human body and thus fear or sorrow (37) are linked to real or assumed changes in body temperature (Kövecses 2000). What is interesting in the Old Norse attestations of skjalfa is that, in the translated romances or religious stories, shivering is also considered a triggering factor of love (39) or of happiness (40), despite Kövecses’s theory that romantic love is for the most part conceptualized in terms of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS FIRE (Kövecses, 2000: 27).

(37)  Ok er han hafði nokvra stvund at hvgat þeiri vitran, er honum birtiz, tok hann at skialva af akafligym harmi. (Antóniuss saga 11031)
And once he had reconsidered the great wisdom that had been revealed to him, he began to shiver out of overpowering sorrow.

(38)  […] engi var sa er eigi skalf eða ívaðz i tru af ræzlo oc ogn. (Barlaams saga ok Jósafats 117)

[…] and there was nobody, who did not tremble or doubt his faith out of fear and terror.

(39)  […] en með þui at hon er sua lik þærre er ec ann sua mioc ok allr skælfr hugr minn ok hiarta, þa vil ec giarna roeða við hana. (Strengleikar 36)

[…] and because she is very much like the one that I love so much, my whole mind and heart shivers, and I would very much like to talk to her.

(40)  Þessi miskunn uerdr hann sua feginn, at hann skelfr allr ok piprar, þuiat þacklætis andinn hafði varla rum I briostinu […] (Maríu saga 418)

For this mercy, he becomes so glad that he shivers and quivers all because there was hardly room for the spirit of thankfulness in his chest.

(41)  […] at skialfandi oc hraeðdr mnv ek þat gera, þvi at þa er Sverrir Konvnr fekk mer þetta starf (Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar 436)

[…] that I will do it shivering and very much afraid, because King Sverrir asked me to do this job.

3.5.3. Old Norse bregða í brún, léttbrúnn. In a culture where emotions were seldom vocalized, small movements in the facial features were also highly significant. Old Norse has a wide range of expressions related to the eyebrows (sing. brún, pl. brýnn), which are used metonymically to denote a number of emotional states including not only displeasure and surprise, but also happiness. In the ONP, the most commonly occurring of these emotion-related expressions is bregða í brún, “to raise/twist/knit the eyebrows” meaning “to be taken aback”, which appears both in secular and religious
texts without significant differences. The act of raising the eyebrows could also signify cheerfulness or good humor, as in the expressions: *hefr* (*heldr*) *upp brún*; *hleypa brún*; *vera létt-brýnn*, while a lowering of the eye-brows usually indicated displeasure.

Table 13. Metonymical uses of *brún* in emotion-related expressions (ONP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLD NORSE</th>
<th>ENGLISH TRANSLATION</th>
<th>N° OF OCCURRENCES IN ONP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>þúr í brún</td>
<td>to furrow his brow or become concerned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bregðr í brún</td>
<td>to be taken aback or to be disquieted</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>færa brún á nef</td>
<td>to become concerned</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hefr</em> (<em>heldr</em>) <em>upp</em> brún</td>
<td>to become cheerful</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hleypa brún</em></td>
<td>to be in a good mood /glad</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láta brún síga</td>
<td>to show disapproval or anger</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setja síða brún</td>
<td>to show disapproval or anger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vera létt-brýnn</em></td>
<td>to be in a good mood /glad</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the use of *brún* in emotion-related expressions:

(42) *Nu bregðr monnum i brun* mjög, margir hafðu adr enga frett af haft *(Bandamanna saga 35)*

And the people “twisted their eyebrows” (were very much taken aback), then many of them had not received any news.

(43) *En Ulien lét síga brýnn* sínar ok reiddist ok var ódum manni líkari *(Karlamagnúss saga 33)*

And Ulien “lowered his eyebrows” (showed his disapproval), got angry and behaved like a mad man.

(44) * […] er konungr sá […] at skattrinn var miklu meiri ok betri, en fyrr hafði verit, þá hóf honum helldr vpp brún* *(Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar 39)*
[...] and when the king saw [...] that the tribute was higher and much better than before, he “raised his eyebrows” (became rather cheerful).

4. Conclusions

Our analysis of the occurrences of the main somatic emotion-related expressions in the Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog, appears to support the idea that elementary bodily experiences were shaped in Old Norse by universal emotion concepts but also by culture-specific models both native and imported. Icelandic vernacular genres were penned by nationally biased Icelanders who followed their own literary strategies and conceptualized the emotional reactions of their characters following their own agendas and the oral or written traditions on which they were based. Thus, some of the metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations of emotions discussed in this paper can be interpreted in terms of universal embodied cognition as is the case in the metonymic principle BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR EMOTION, where a rise in body temperature was normally equated with feelings of anger, and a drop in body temperature with fear or unfriendliness. However, as we have seen in example (26), some somatic responses, such as “turning black in anger” do not conform to the universal precepts, and seem to represent a localized phenomenon. Also, it is clear that in the new translated genres, certain metonymies were introduced to represent conceptualization models, which, previous to this time, were unknown in the Old Norse language. Thus, while in the vernacular writings the verb skjalfa “to shiver” was a somatic response equated with the emotion fear, in later translated texts, which had a different repertory of narrative models and emotion idioms, it was used to denote states of passionate love or happiness. Similarly, in the pre-Christian culture as depicted by the Icelandic family sagas, the idea of blushing, either for love or out of shame, was an alien concept.

As we have outlined above, the re-adscription of meaning of some emotion-related somatic responses is directly connected to the progressive shift in the local system of values backed by the Church. Thus, the verb roðna, originally connected to the expression of anger in the vernacular subgenre of the Islendingasögur (33 occurrences), was soon given a new role (40 occurrences) in the articulation of more “refined” feelings like shame, modesty or female shyness, as portrayed in the
riddarasögur or in the helgi- and postulasögur (especially kinnroði with 29 occurrences). In like manner, the verb hitna, which appears rather sparsely in the indigenous stories about the first Icelandic settlers to render anger (7 occurrences) or sorrow (only 1 occurrence), occurs much more frequently in religious contexts to express devotion or piety (16 occurrences), and also in secular texts to express romantic love (8 occurrences).

Our analysis shows, therefore, that Old Norse speakers instilled a new meaning into various somatic responses and thus accommodated the conceptualization of emotions to the changing cultural context, which followed the arrival of Christianity and the introduction of new literary trends in Iceland. By measuring the frequency and distribution of the expression of the somatic responses to emotions in Old Norse, we have traced some of the socio-cultural and literary factors that determined the choice of a particular emotion-related word in Old Norse Literature.

As can be seen from the data provided in section 3, cultural and religious models seem to have played a decisive role in the construction of the linguistic structure and the semantic meaning in emotion-related vocabulary in Old Norse literature. At first sight, the differences in the occurrence of somatic expressions between religious (99 attestations) and secular genres (156 attestations) is not especially striking. A breakdown of the general term “secular genre” into subgenres, translated and vernacular (Table 15), and a further breakdown into different emotions, however, provides a different perspective (Table 15).

Table 14. Occurrences of somatic expressions attending to genre division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>metaph. religious</th>
<th>metaph. secular (vernacular)</th>
<th>metaph. secular (translated)</th>
<th>literal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>roðna</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blikna fôlna</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prútna</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hitna</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skjalfa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sortna</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>659</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although our data is limited to an analysis of the occurrences in the ONP, we can confidently argue that emotion-related somatic expressions in Old Norse are more prominent in texts of a translated origin, both religious and secular. This should come as no surprise, since the translated Latin works served as models for the burgeoning of the Icelandic vernacular literature of the 12th and 13th centuries, and also because of the increasing prevalence of subjectivity in the narratives, which were influenced by new saga genres (fornaldarsögur and riddarasögur), which in turn had also evolved from translated literature, particularly European courtly romances.\(^8\) Therefore, our data confirms Kövecses’s (2005) theory that the metaphorical conceptualization in a language is subject to the “pressure of context” and depends on such factors as the audience, the topic or the medium.

All in all, our collection of examples reflects a medieval society in transition. Translations and adaptations of religious and secular literature imported from the continent became increasingly popular, eventually overtaking the native genres such as the Icelandic family sagas which hearken back to an ancient pagan warrior-culture. This change led to the introduction of previously unknown emotions such as shame and courtly love, and thus to the expansion and modification of the repertoire of emotion-related vocabulary in Old Norse. The usage of these terms could differ considerably from one emotional community to another, as we have seen above in the example

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\(^8\) As early as the mid-twelfth century, the author of the \textit{First Grammatical Treatise} mentions the existence of þýðingar helgar or “holy translations/interpretations”, which points to the fact that at such early date, mediaeval Icelanders were acquainted with the lives of foreign saints and that later vernacular hagiographic works were based upon them.

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Table 15. Occurrence of somatic attestations attending to emotion division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>fear</th>
<th>sorrow</th>
<th>anger</th>
<th>pride</th>
<th>love (religious &amp; secular)</th>
<th>shame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{skjalfa}</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1+3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hitna}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16+8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{þrútna}</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{blikna}</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{roðna}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sortna}</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textbf{TOTAL}</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kinnroð, which was clearly the preferred term for blushing in a religious context. Our study therefore corroborates Kövecses’s conclusion (2002) that emotion metaphors (and the somatic expressions connected to them) vary not only cross-culturally, but also within a culture. As we have seen, in the Icelandic case, this variation depended more on pragmatic (textual types, audience) and social (emotional communities) factors than on individual factors such as the speaker’s rank or class, since at the time a certain social uniformity prevailed in the Icelandic Commonwealth.

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